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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY

AND

POLITICS

OF THE YEAR

1848.

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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR

1848.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Re-assembling of Parliament, after the Christmas Recess, on the 3rd of February—The West Indian Question becomes the first subject of discussion—Lord George Bentinck moves for a Select Committee of Inquiry—His Speech—Speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. James Wilson, Mr. T. Baring, Mr. Bernal, and Mr. Disraeli—The Motion is agreed to without a division—Loan of 200,000l. to some of the West Indian Colonies proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Discussion thereon—Unfavourable Intelligence received respecting the Condition of the West Indian Interest—Remedial Measures—Lord John Russell proposes his Plan in the House of Commons on the 16th of June—He reviews the past Legislation and existing Position of the Question at great length—The Ministerial Scheme is unfavourably received—Sir John Pakington moves an Amendment on the 18th of June, asserting the Claim of the Colonies to more effectual Relief—Speeches of Sir E. Buxton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. K. Seymer, Mr. Hume, Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Hawes, and other Members—A warm personal Discussion arises touching the Administration of the Colonial Office—The Debate is continued by Adjournments at great length—Important Speech of Sir Robert Peel in favour of the Ministerial Measure—The Amendment is rejected by 260 to 245—Several other Amendments are moved, but without success, by Mr. Bright, Mr. Barkly, Mr. Bouverie, and other Members.—Lord John Russell's Resolutions are finally agreed to and embodied in a Bill, which passes through the House of Commons—

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Debates in the House of Lords on West Indian Affairs—Earl Grey introduces the Question discussed in the House of Commons affecting the Colonial Office, and vindicates his own Conduct—Speeches of Lord Stanley, Lord Brougham, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and other Members.—Debate on the Second Reading of the Sugar Duties Bill—Speeches of Earl Grey, Lord Redesdale, and Lord Denman —The Second Reading is agreed to, and the Bill becomes Law.

THE Session of Parliament having commenced, by a departure from the usual custom, in November, 1847, and being adjourned for the Christmas holydays, the two Houses resumed business again on the 3rd of February. The condition of the West Indian Colonies was the first subject that occupied the attention of the House of Commons, a motion being brought forward by Lord George Bentinck, the indefatigable advocate of that interest, for a Select Committee of Inquiry. The noble Lord, before entering upon his subject, presented three important petitions; one from the Standing Committee of the West Indian Planters, another from the merchants of Greenock, against restraints on immigration and on the employment of labour, and a third from merchants and others in Jamaica, praying for the removal of burthens, for a full supply of African labour, an alteration of the Navigation Laws, and an assimilation of the duties on colonial rum to those paid by the British distiller. The motion of Lord George Bentinck ran as follows:—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present condition and prospects of the interests connected with, and dependent on, sugar and coffee planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian possessions and the Mauritius; and to consider whether any and what measures can be adopted by Parliament for their relief."

In introducing this motion to the House, Lord George first defined his own position. His personal wish, as he was aware that his motion would be unopposed by Her Majesty's Ministers, was to make no statement to the House: the observations he should make were offered only in deference to what he believed to be the general desire of the House and of the parties at large interested in the question. It had been represented to him by the colonial interest that the planters were *in extremis*, and that whilst redress was under discussion by the Committee that great interest would perish. His motion had, indeed, been termed pusillanimous. It was, however, for himself to consider what was his power to obtain any substantial relief by a direct vote of the House. In July 1846, only five gentlemen connected with the West or the East Indian interests had voted with him in a minority of 130 against the majority of 265, who then negatived the protection now sought: he thought, therefore, that the West Indian interests had no right to blame him on the present occasion. He had no reason to suppose that the minority had been converted into a majority; but, to justify inquiry, he pointed to the extremity of the West Indies, to the failure of fifty great houses in this country, with liabilities exceeding 6,300,000*l.*, and

to the change in the public feeling on the subject of slavery and slave-trading; at the last general election not a wrod was said on the subject; those who were omnipotent in 1832, were powerless in 1847. In proposing his inquiry, he wished it to be distinctly understood that he neither precluded himself nor wished to preclude others, if a substantial measure for immediate and effectual relief should be brought forward, from lending their support to any such proposal. He hoped that he should be able, through the instrumentality of a Committee of inquiry, to prevail upon the House to change its policy with regard to this great question. He did not seek to enforce the distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar, because that attempt would be followed by the overthrow of the Government—which he did not desire.

Alluding to the petition from Jamaica, Lord George declared that he could not agree with the demand for the repeal of the Navigation Laws; and he entered into a long statement of the rates of freight, to show that the West Indians suffer no injury from those laws. With respect to the differential duty on spirits, he thought that the British distiller would need its maintenance. He was not indisposed to give every facility for immigration, but doubted whether it would do much good. The state of Barbadoes, as densely peopled as China, shows that increased numbers will not suffice. He agreed with Mr. Merivale, the new Under-Secretary for the Colonies, that free labour never can successfully compete with slave labour. At the highest estimate, the cost of maintaining a slave in the West Indies is 50*s.* a year; in Jamaica a free labourer is paid half-a-dollar a day, for six or seven hours' work, and he can scarcely be got to work four or five days in the week. In Cuba the slave is made to work sixteen or even twenty hours a day; the driver armed with whip, cutlass, and dagger, attended by bloodhounds. That is the kind of slavery which we are stimulating by the admission of slave-grown sugar into this country. However, there is no objection to immigration. Sir Charles Metcalfe declared, in 1840, that the fertile soil of Jamaica could provide for any multitude without diminishing the comforts of the existing population; and similar reports were made from other colonies. But the cost of immigration is too great for the planters to bear, especially with the obligation to send back the immigrants at the end of five years. He did not know why there should be this delicacy about removing an African, a Cooly, or Chinaman, when he is only transferred from one hot climate to another, and no such delicacy is shown to the British soldier, who is bound to remain ten years in an uncongenial climate.

Lord George adverted to the case of the East Indies, invited by Parliament to exert themselves in producing free-labour sugar—contending that the faith of Parliament was as much pledged to them to enable them to repay themselves for the outlay of that capital, as it was pledged to repay the fundholder the debt that was due to him.

In July last, Mr. Hawes had described the Mauritius as being in a state of most flourishing prosperity; since that, out of six great firms in the Mauritius trade, but one re-

mained standing: the liabilities of those that had fallen are estimated at 2,900,000*l.*; Ministers have been obliged to advance 450,000*l.* on sugar to enable the colony to go on, and to supply rice from India for the food of the labourers. That fact showed how utterly Ministers had been in the dark respecting the true state of Her Majesty's colonial possessions, and would alone justify inquiry.

He wanted the inquiry also as a bridge of retreat for Ministers and the free-traders. He would not hint to them that it should be a bridge such as acted as a guide to a certain proposition in Euclid. They wanted no bridge for the blockheads who had predicted all the evils that had occurred; they must have a bridge for the men of brains, which the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire and his friends might be permitted to pass over; but certainly not with colours flying, or drums beating, nor with bands playing "See the Conquering Hero comes," or the tune of "Cœur de Lion," with which the hon. Gentleman was, he believed, greeted abroad; but they might be permitted to pass over with arms reversed, and with muffled drums, muttering perhaps between their teeth, "If our cause is of God, it will live; but if not, it must perish." Their cause was not of God, and therefore it must perish. To make out the failure of the recent measures of free trade, Lord George plunged into an immense mass of statistical details. Against cheap sugar, he set off the failure of our great merchants for more than 6,300,000*l.*, asked how free trade had benefited Lancashire, now in so miserable a state; whether it had fulfilled the promise of opening the trade of Brazil? Comparing the sixteen months before with the sixteen months after the admission of slave-grown sugar, there had been a gross decrease in the production of cotton goods to the amount of 1,339,244 pounds, against an increase of 168,082 pounds: taking into account the enhanced price of raw cotton, the balance remaining for wages and profits had declined by 1,871,003*l.*

Lord George assailed the system for suppressing the slave trade, calculating, with a great array of figures, that from first to last it had cost this country 100,000,000*l.* He proposed a substitute for the ineffective blockade of Africa. They would never put down the slave trade so long as it depended upon blockading 10,260 miles of coast. He would, as Captain Pilkington recommended, strike a blow at the head and not at the hand. He would not send an army to destroy every individual hornet, but go to the hornets' nest at once, and smother that nest of the slave trade which now existed in Cuba. He had read in the *Times* an extract from an United States paper, in which it was stated that if the United States did not possess herself of Cuba, Great Britain would; and that England had a stronger claim by a hundredfold to Cuba than the United States had to Mexico, because a sum of 45,000,000*l.* was due to British subjects upon Spanish bonds, and Cuba was hypothecated for the payment of that debt.

Sir Charles Wood. — "But would you seize the Brazils as well?"

Lord George Bentinck. — The case of Cuba stood upon its own merits, and upon the debt of 45,000,000*l.* In taking possession

of it we should only be distraining for a just debt, of which we had long demanded payment in vain. We might then emancipate the slaves of Cuba; and having thus destroyed slavery itself in that quarter of the world, there would be no difficulty in allowing the British merchant to go to Africa, for the purpose of obtaining there, by the offer of good wages and other advantages, a number of free Africans to cultivate his estates.

Sir Charles Wood, though not opposing the appointment of the Committee, guarded himself against the supposition that the Government meant to recede from the course which they had chosen in 1846, and thought that he should be showing most kindness to the West Indians by stating distinctly what were the views and intentions of the Ministry. He declined to follow his noble Friend through many of those topics which he had presented to the House, especially as he thought that no sound inferences, with regard to the future, could be drawn from the state of trade during the last twelve months. The extraordinary fall in the price of sugar, for example, he regarded as transitory, because he thought it owing to the generally disastrous state of commerce during the autumn. As great a fall was to be found in the prices of other articles; in indigo, 25 per cent.; in rice, 26; in sago, 51; and in tea 48 per cent. The houses in the Mauritius trade had fallen from causes totally independent of the price of sugar; and in like manner the West Indies had suffered from the failure of the West India Bank.

As to the grievances of the West Indies, Sir Charles contended that they had been much exaggerated; resting his case partly on a pamphlet entitled "Ministers and the Sugar Duties." "The curtailment of the apprenticeship," he said, "had worked well; the anticipation formed, in 1844, that there would be a large increase in the production of free-labour sugar, had not been confirmed; and the distinction between free-labour and slave-labour sugar had proved to be incompatible with treaties. As the question of slavery had to be omitted from consideration, they were led to consider solely whether there should be protection or no protection. The proposal of the West Indians was to fix the differential duty at 10*s.* per cwt., or 10*l.* per ton; the avowed object being to enhance the price by that amount. Last year the consumption of sugar amounted to 290,000 tons; the proposed enhancement of price, therefore, would be equivalent to a tax of 2,900,000*l.*, or say, in round numbers, 3,000,000*l.* On the other hand, diminished protection had benefited the revenue, which had risen from 3,743,362*l.* in 1845, to 4,596,696*l.* in 1847, despite the great distress. Her Majesty's Ministers held that duties should be imposed with reference to revenue alone. Government intended to propose such an alteration in the Navigation Laws as would completely put an end to any discontent springing from that source. He should be happy to extend the use of molasses to brewers; but he thought that it would not be practicable, as molasses could not, like sugar, be made to bear an amount of duty equal to that on malt: but the experience of the past year had shown that there was no difficulty in admitting molasses into distilleries; he proposed, therefore, to

introduce a Bill, immediately, authorizing the admission of molasses into distilleries upon terms such as those on which sugar had been heretofore admitted. Cane-juice might be admitted on payment of an equivalent duty, but he understood that that would be prohibitory.

"With respect to immigration, a statement which he held in his hand showed that it had been extensive and beneficial. The details to which he referred were as follows:—

Number of Slaves in 1829. *Free Labourers imported into the following Colonies to* 1846.

Slaves.	Labourers.
Mauritius, 28,000	63,000 Free.
	23,000 Liberated Africans.
Jamaica, 322,000	8,500 Free.
	3,000 Liberated Africans.
British Guiana, 90,000	33,850 Free.
	6,180 Liberated Africans.
Trinidad, 24,000	17,788 Free.
	3,181 Liberated Africans.

"It had been found, however, that the present system of immigration did not answer; and he proposed a change. He knew that there was a risk in allowing the practice of taking negroes from Africa; that if parties were permitted to buy negroes for slaves, and to bring them from Africa upon the pretext of their being made free labourers in the West Indies, the permission would offer a direct encouragement to a renewal of all the horrors of the slave trade. With this conviction, provision must be made that if natives were brought from Africa to the West Indies, it should be with their own free will, though the Government were not disposed to throw any fresh obstruction in the way of the importation of free labour; and they were prepared to advance a sum of money not exceeding 200,000*l.* for that purpose. Another source consisted in the liberated Africans. At present the cost of these liberated negroes was defrayed by the colonists; but the Government were prepared to cast upon this country the cost of conveying these negroes to the West Indies. But the great body of these negroes were set free at Sierra Leone; and he believed the transferring them to the West Indies would be not only beneficial to these colonies, but beneficial to the negroes themselves, and to the colony of Sierra Leone itself.

"Another measure of relief would be to postpone the repayment of the hurricane loan for five years; and a new loan would be made to Tobago, as a relief on account of the last hurricane."

Reading various extracts from the memorial of the Jamaica House of Assembly and other documents, Sir Charles contended that there was vast room for agricultural improvements in the West Indies; and if proper exertions were made, he did not despair of seeing those colonies restored to a state of comparative prosperity.

Mr. Robinson gave credit to the Government for the openness of their declaration, but thought that if the West Indies were to have no other measure of relief than that suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they must be prepared for total and irreparable ruin.

Mr. Hume and Mr. Ellice also made a light account of the promised measures, but urged Lord G. Bentinck to withdraw his motion and leave the matter to the responsibility of Government.

Mr. James Wilson entered into the subject at considerable length. He commenced by observing that he should not follow the noble

Mover into those general questions of commercial policy into which he had deviated, but should confine himself exclusively to the interests of the cultivators of sugar. He placed the whole question on the interest of the West Indian planters, on their demands for protection, and on the power of Government to grant those demands. The West Indians rested their demands for protection on four distinct grounds; of which the first was, that if moral considerations compelled us to exclude slavery from our colonies, they also compelled us to exclude all sugar, the produce of slave labour, from the home market; the second, that slave labour was cheaper than free labour, and that it was therefore unequal and unjust to confine the West Indians to free labour entirely; the third, that the sugar of Cuba was the produce of slave labour, and ought, therefore, to be excluded; and the fourth, that the Imperial Legislature had power to protect the sugar colonies by excluding all sugar the produce of foreign colonies employing slave labour. He contended at great length that not one of these four propositions was true; and, in the course of his observations, entered into a laboured refutation of most of the arguments advanced last night by Lord G. Bentinck. He showed that 250,000 tons of sugar were now annually produced by free labour in countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, and suggested that even if the Legislature were to exclude the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, on the ground that they were the produce of slave labour, the West Indian planters would still find it impossible to compete without difficulty with that enormous amount of free-labour produce. He admitted that he had heard with great satisfaction the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last night, not merely because he (Sir C. Wood) had announced the intention of the Government to adhere to the Act of 1846, but because he had also announced his intention to remove many restrictions which still pressed heavily on the West Indian planters; but he nevertheless thought that much further good might be conferred on the colonies by going into this Committee, for if those planters were to be saved, it must be by a considerable change in the social relations of the islands in which they lived. In the British West Indian islands the whites formed only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole population, whilst the labourers formed the other $92\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; for the whites only went there to make their fortunes, and, when they had done so, returned home to spend them. But it was not so in Cuba. In that island there were ancient families resident on their estates, and therefore attentive to the improvement and prosperity of their country. Nothing of this kind was to be found in the British West Indies; and, as a proof of the wretched consequences of such a system, he mentioned that there were 800 miles of railroad in Cuba, and not above a dozen in the whole of our West Indian possessions. Considerable mischief had also been done to our planters by the onerous restrictions placed on them as employers of labour with regard to the importation of labourers. They had also suffered injury from the want of laws for the prevention of squatting and vagrancy. Now, these were all considerations, and many others might be suggested, connected with the police

and finance of the West Indian islands, which might usefully become subjects of inquiry before a Select Committee; and, such being the case, he hoped that Lord G. Bentinck would not accede to the proposition of Mr. Hume, but would persevere in his motion for inquiry.

Mr. T. Baring observed, that of all the disheartening statements which this debate had brought forward, none was more so than the description which Mr. Wilson had given of the flourishing condition of Cuba, and of the depressed condition of the West Indian islands. Mr. Wilson had also told the House that no protection could save our Colonies; for such was the growth of sugar in countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, that he was only surprised that our Colonies were not worse off than they were, having such an amount of produce recently raised to compete with in the market. But why was this? Because the planters in the east were not fettered in their labour, and because there had not been among them that great revolution which took from them the means of producing sugar at the very moment at which it opened the home market to other sugars. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserted that the Act of 1846 had not produced the distress of the West Indian interest, and that sugar was now only suffering the same depression of price to which other articles were now liable, he overlooked the real question, whether the same fall of price had taken place in the sugars which were not introduced into this country before 1846, as had taken place in the sugars of our own Colonies. Mr. Baring then proceeded to show that the price of the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico had not fallen in the same proportion as the price of British sugars; and, having established that point, he concluded that the Act of 1846 must have had some share in producing the existing distress. Almost all the requests of the colonists the Chancellor of the Exchequer had rejected, contending that it was not the law, but the absenteeism of the proprietors, and their want of management in their estates, which had caused all the distress. Now, he (Mr. T. Baring) was afraid that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find that the residents in the Colonies had suffered as much as the absentees, and that West Indian estates were as well managed by agents as by proprietors. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had quoted extracts from many nameless pamphlets to show that West Indian estates were not well managed; but he would have been better pleased had Sir C. Wood given the House extracts from the despatches of our different governors—Sir C. Grey, Lord Harris, and other men of intelligence and station. But how were those estates to be better managed, when in consequence of the Act of 1846 the credit and capital of our West Indies were destroyed, and the credit and capital of Cuba and Brazil had risen upon their ruin? The House had raised hopes in the West Indian planters in 1840, and in 1844, which it had subsequently disappointed. It had given them a compensation which was clearly inadequate, for it was founded on the value of the slave, and without any consideration of the fact that when the slave was taken away from the property the property was rendered valueless. He would not

say, that if it were possible to restore slavery to the Mauritius and the West Indies, it would not be a good bargain for those Colonies to pay back that money to this country. He did not set himself up as an advocate for free trade; but, if he did, he should contend that the case of the West Indians was an exception from the ordinary principles of free trade. If it were not, would the free traders rest the truth of their principles on the success of the experiment which they had tried in the Act of 1846? They had said that it would benefit all, injure none, and produce a low price of sugar; but if it should throw out of cultivation the existing sugar plantations, as he anticipated, then it would destroy the planters, and ultimately enhance the price of sugar itself. It had been said that free trade was certain to produce harmony in all quarters; but the commencement of the era of harmony would not be very favourable if free trade should produce discord between our Colonies and the mother country. Let the House then declare whether it attached value to those Colonies or not; whether it would allow them to transfer their allegiance to another power; and whether, according to the principles of free trade, they would allow them to sell themselves in the dearest, and to buy their Government in the cheapest market. With regard to the motion of Lord G. Bentinck, he wished to say, that although the West Indian interest would look with confidence to the appointment of a Committee, if Government would give them any assurance of substantial relief, they did not attach much importance to it now, as any relief which the Committee might suggest would come too late. The alteration of the duties on rum and molasses might be of use if connected with other measures, but would be of no use by itself. He would therefore leave the responsibility upon Ministers to decide whether the country should pay an additional price for its sugar for the purpose of giving free labour a fair trial, and of so making free labour the best exterminator of slave labour. He called upon the country to observe their conduct, and to insist upon their saying whether they would restore hope to the Colonies, to enable them to struggle against the competition of slave labour, or whether, after acknowledging their distress, they would not give them a farthing in relief, although last year they had given 8,000,000*l.* to mitigate the sufferings of Ireland.

Mr. Bernal supported the claims of the West Indians, as did Sir Edward Buxton, and Mr. Goulburn, the two latter resting their arguments rather on anti-slavery grounds. Mr. Bagshaw asserted the rights of the East Indies to relief. Mr. Labouchere backed up Sir Charles Wood's argument, repeating his assertion that free labour would be able to compete successfully with slave labour. Mr. Disraeli supported the motion in his usual lively and pungent style of oratory.

The real problem before the House, he said, was the success of the new commercial system in the only branch of our imperial industry upon which it had been tried: it had proved, he maintained, a total failure. But the bulk of his speech was a very animated and trenchant attack on the paltriness of the Government policy and measures. He announced, in the outset, that he should give an unqualified opposition to the vote

of 200,000*l.* for immigration. He could not bring himself to think that such a sum could exercise any influence on the distress of the Colonies; it could not exercise any influence at all; and therefore he would not encourage the lax practice of public men, who, after having got themselves, by want of prescience, into difficulty, endeavoured to extricate themselves from it by a grant of public money. If there were the money to spare, it might become a question what would be the best thing to do with it: perhaps it might be, to build a new National Gallery.

He contrasted the brief notice bestowed on the avowed remedies —the ten minutes devoted to molasses and immigration—with the hour and a half given to secret and inuendo remedies—the cardinal virtues of "energy" and "enterprise," preached by Her Majesty's Government, in jingling words, in smooth phrases, and loose abstractions.

Sir Charles Wood had preached "competition," but competition presumes equality of circumstances; and what is the equality between the Spanish and British Colonies in the West Indies? the Spanish Colonies having abundance of labour, for which they pay nothing; the British Colonies deficiency of labour, for which they pay dear? Our headlong legislation, in fact, has created a differential duty in favour of the Spaniards. Such is the effect of being ruled not by facts, but by phrases!

The West Indian supply of 250,000 tons of sugar will disappear from the markets of the world; and what will then become of cheap sugar? Of what use will the Colonies be, except as garrisons? and, indeed, what use can we have of garrisons, in the coming millennium of free trade? Turning to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Disraeli concluded with a pointed and emphatic denunciation of the quackery of economic science.

Lord George Bentinck, in his reply, explained why he could not yield to the recommendations of Mr. Hume and Mr. Ellice to withdraw his motion. If either of those gentlemen had expressed a readiness to support any substantial measures of relief to the West Indies, he would have acceded to their request; but all that he had heard from them was that Government would not do more than what it had announced, and that his Committee would excite hopes which would only be disappointed. He thought it worth trying whether he could not obtain by this Committee such evidence as would at last bring conviction even to the House of Commons.

The motion for a Committee was agreed to without a division.

The next proceeding in Parliament relative to West Indian affairs, was a proposal made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 1st May, to the House of Commons, to authorize a loan of 200,000*l.* for the purpose of promoting the immigration of free labourers into the Colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad. This motion was stoutly opposed by Mr. Hume, who urged that, as the report of the Select Committee on West Indian affairs would shortly be presented to the House, it would be more advisable to postpone the proposed grant until that time. It appeared, however, on further explanation, that the money had already been expended, upon the authority of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey; a proceeding against which the Earl of Leicester and some other Mem-

bers protested as contrary to usage and constitutional rule. Ultimately, upon the suggestion of Mr. Herries, Lord John Russell consented to take a reduced grant of 170,000*l.*, which was carried on a division by 70 to 21.

As the Session advanced it became evident, from the increasingly adverse tenor of the accounts received from the West Indies, that some measure of relief or assistance must be extended to these Colonies, as the only means of extricating them from imminent insolvency and ruin. Although the Ministers had some months before avowed their determination to adhere to their settlement of the preceding year, symptoms of concession began to manifest themselves; and at length, on the 16th of June, Lord John Russell laid before the House of Commons his proposed measure of relief. In moving that the House should resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Act of 9 & 10 Vict. c. 63, Lord John reviewed the past legislation affecting the West Indies, especially referring to the Emancipation Act of 1834, and to the alteration of the Sugar Duties, by admitting foreign free-labour sugar in 1845, and all foreign sugar in 1846. The first measure he declared to be an act of humanity and justice, and he verily believed, that if it had not passed, we should have had a series of insurrections and disturbances, which would have been fatal to the prosperity of the West Indies. The gift of 20,000,000*l.* to the West Indian proprietors showed that the Parliament and people of England were disposed to make important sacrifices to prevent distress and ruin from falling on them. Both that Act and the Acts of 1846, he maintained, had been completely successful. The main object of the Act of 1834 was to give freedom to 800,000 slaves, and to place them in a condition of independence and prosperity. That object was admitted on all hands to have been attained. The main object of the Act of 1846 was to obtain a cheaper and larger supply of sugar, with a diminution of burdens to the people of England; an object which he showed by financial returns had been completely accomplished. The consumption of sugar had increased from 244,000 tons in 1845 to 290,700 tons in 1847, and was still increasing. The revenue derived from the duties on sugar had increased from 3,745,000*l.* in 1845, to 4,596,000*l.* in 1847.

Lord John reviewed the measures which had been taken for introducing labourers from the East Indies into the Mauritius, and from the East Indies and Africa into the West Indian Colonies; which he admitted had not been very successful. The present state of the case was, that labourers might be introduced from any British possession in Africa, with only this provision, that there should be an officer on board the vessel who should take care that there were no transactions resembling the purchase of slaves or the slave trade, and that the person who emigrates to the West Indies, should go there with his own consent. Also, "liberated Africans," from captured slave ships, were conveyed direct to the West Indies, instead of being sent first to Sierra Leone. But the suspicion entertained in this country, that the slave trade might be revived under the pretence of immigration—the fear that slaves should be compelled to work in the West Indies—retarded for a longer

period than was quite fair or just to the West Indian proprietors the immigration into the West Indies. He proposed, therefore, to do more now than he should have done had that question been settled some years ago, and had there been a fair import of labour since the year 1834. He proposed to make an advance to the Colonies, on the security of the colonial revenues, for the purpose of meeting the expense of immigration; or rather, he should say, that he proposed to guarantee a colonial loan, not exceeding 500,000*l.*, in addition to 160,000*l.* which the House had already guaranteed this Session.

Complaints had been made of the too rapid operation of the Act of 1846; and that under it one class of sugar had an advantage over every other class in the classification of duties, which it ought not fairly to have. In considering that subject, he frankly avowed that he did not think it fair to the British consumer to impose a differential duty of 10*s.* on sugar, to last for ten years or more, for the purpose of reviving the industry and prosperity of the West Indies. He therefore looked in another direction: he looked to the experience of late years, in which he saw that, with regard to many articles on which the duty had been diminished and the price had been lowered, the revenue had been no loser, whilst the consumer had been a great gainer. He quoted a table showing that from 1825 to 1841 every fall in the duty on sugar had been accompanied by a rise in the consumption, and every rise of duty by a fall in the consumption; a fact also shown by the returns for 1845-7. He therefore looked to a large consumption of sugar for the means of modifying the Act of 1846. What he proposed was, that the duty on colonial sugar should be reduced after the 5th of July in the present year to 13*s.*, and should be reduced subsequently a shilling every succeeding year until it reached 10*s.* He likewise proposed that the duty on ordinary foreign Muscovado sugar should remain as fixed by the Act of 1846; but he proposed a new distinctive duty for foreign brown clayed sugar. In this species of sugar, the foreign producer had an undue advantage, from the wide variation of quality which might be made to come under that head; and thus the foreigner was able to introduce a very high quality of that sugar under the low range of duty. Lord John proposed a distinctive scale for brown clayed, or qualities equal to brown clayed, foreign sugar: from the 5th July, 1848, to the 5th July, 1849, the duty would remain at 20*s.*; and it would then be reduced by 1*s.* 6*d.* a year, until it reached a 10*s.* duty in July 1854. The proposed duties, then, would stand thus:—

Year ending July 5.	Foreign. Brown Clayed.		Foreign. Musc.		Colonial. Muscovado.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1849	20	0	18	6	13	0
1850	18	6	17	0	12	0
1851	17	0	15	6	11	0
1852	15	6	14	0	10	0
1853	14	6	13	0	10	0
1854	13	0	12	0	10	0
Equal	10	0	10	0	10	0

Of course such a change in these Sugar Duties would require a corresponding change to be made in the duties on refined and double refined white-clayed sugars, and on molasses.

Complaints had been made by the West Indian proprietors of the differential duty on rum. Last year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed that the dif-

ferential duty on rum should be 6*d*. Some difficulty arose on that proposition, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer raised it to 9*d*., although he maintained that 6*d*. was quite sufficient. The Chairman of the Board of Excise thought that 4*d*. was sufficient as a differential duty; and Lord John therefore could not agree to impose a higher differential duty on rum than that sum. There was one question connected with this reduction of duty, which would make it necessary to withdraw the permission given last year to use sugar in breweries. With regard to the use of sugar in distilleries, no change in the present law would be made.

The proposition of the Government was received with a good deal of disapprobation in several quarters of the House.

Sir Robert Inglis and Sir John Pakington condemned it, on the ground that it would encourage the slave trade.

Mr. Bernal, Mr. Barkly, Mr. Henry Baillie, Mr. Hume, Mr. Henry Drummond, Mr. Philip Miles, Mr. Henley, Mr. Hudson, and Mr. Evelyn Denison, all condemned the plan as totally insufficient to avert the ruin of the West Indies. Mr. Barkly declared that the loan of 500,000*l*. would be useless for purposes of immigration—it might as well be thrown into the sea. Mr. Bernal claimed, on behalf of the West Indian proprietors, the right to import their produce into this country free from all duties whatever.

Mr. Herries, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli, vigorously urged both objections—the encouragement of the slave trade, and the insufficient aid to the West Indies. Mr. Disraeli called it a paltry and perilous measure; and sharply accused the Government of breaking faith with the West Indies. Lord George fastened a serious imputation upon Mr. Hawes, of having withheld from the Committee on the West Indies, for fifty-six days, a despatch of Sir Charles Grey, Governor of Jamaica, suggesting a plan of relief for the West Indies.

The measure was attacked on free-trade grounds by Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Charles Villiers; Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright calling upon the House not to overlook the sufferings of their own fellow-countrymen in Yorkshire and Lancashire.

On the 18th the subject was renewed, Sir John Pakington proposing an amendment condemnatory of the Ministerial scheme in the following terms:—

"That this House, considering the evidence taken during the present Session before a Select Committee, is of opinion that the remedies proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the great distress of the sugar-growing possessions of the Crown, and which that Committee has said will require the immediate application of relief, will neither effect that object, nor check the stimulus to the slave trade which the diminution of the cultivation of sugar in those colonies has inevitably occasioned." The object of this amendment, he said, was not to create embarrassment and delay, but to rescue the Colonies from the danger which was impending over them. He did not argue the question as one of protection or anti-protection, but contended that the differential duty now proposed by the Government was quite inadequate to the present crisis, and totally incapable affording relief to the distress

of the British Colonies. He proved this by referring to the comparative cost of producing sugar in the British West Indies and in the slave colonies of Cuba and the Brazils. He also objected to that part of Lord John Russell's scheme which permitted the captured Africans to be landed in Jamaica and the other West Indian islands free of cost, on the ground that it may lead to the renewal of the slave trade. He likewise complained of the mode in which the Act of 1846 had been passed, and of the results which it had produced in the West Indies. No less than eighteen mercantile houses in the West Indies had already become bankrupt, and if the present state of things continued, other firms must be involved in the same ruin. He showed that equally melancholy results had been produced by the same cause in the Mauritius and in the East Indies; and quoted the opinions of the most competent authorities in all our Colonies to prove that our sugar planters could not cultivate their estates to advantage without competent protection. He then turned to that portion of the subject which is connected with slavery and the slave trade, and contended that the Act of 1846 had increased both to an extent almost incalculable. If we wished to exterminate the slave trade we must enable the British planter to enter into competition with slave labour, and to do that we must give him competent protection. He therefore implored the House to retrace its steps, as it valued the dependencies of the British Crown and the reputation and character of this Christian land.

Sir E. Buxton seconded the amendment, though he did not approach the question altogether with the same views as Sir J. Pakington. The true policy of this country was, he thought, to exclude from its shores all slave-labour sugar, and to admit from every country, without any restriction, sugar the produce of free labour. He was anxious to let the people of England have sugar at a low price; but he firmly believed that if they were informed that they could not have low-priced sugar without the destruction of the man who made it, they would reject it with abhorrence, and would gladly give a higher price for the sugar raised by the freeman.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had listened to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the amendment with great attention, in the vain hope that he should find in some portion of them a substitute for the measure of the Government which they condemned; but with all his desire to dive into the meaning of Sir J. Pakington's amendment, he could not make out either what he would do for the relief of the West Indian planter, or what protection he would grant to his sugar. Sir E. Buxton was somewhat more explicit, for he proposed the perpetual exclusion of slave-labour sugar; but, unfortunately, Parliament had already decided against that proposition, as well as against the perpetual high protective duty to which Sir J. Pakington appeared inclined. He then proceeded to contend, in opposition to the same gentlemen, that the Act of 1846 had not caused that increase of slavery and the slave trade which had been attributed to it; that neither slavery nor the slave trade could be put down by high protective duties; and that the only mode of extinguishing either was

by establishing the superior cheapness of free labour. He admitted that there was no hope of restoring the prosperity of the West Indies, unless we could enable their planters to compete successfully with the planters in Cuba and in the Brazils; and at the risk of being lectured by Mr. Ellice as Lord J. Russell had been for alluding to the extravagance of the West Indies, he would repeat, that one mode of enabling them to meet that competition was the diminution of their expenses, and especially of the cost of managing their estates. After showing that protection had operated very injuriously in the West Indies by increasing the rate of wages, which was an essential ingredient in the price of production, he argued at great length that Government would defeat its own object if it were to restore the high protection which formerly existed, and that the best plan for renewing the prosperity of the West Indies and for suppressing the slave trade would be the plan of the Government,which gave at once a free supply of labour to those colonies which wanted it, and an extension for three years longer of the moderate protection now in force. He then travelled over much of the same ground as on Friday last, defending the Government resolutions in all their details, and contending that whilst they were beneficial to the West Indies, they were not injurious to the consumers in this country. He also maintained that no injury would accrue to the revenue from the changes now proposed, as they were calculated to produce an increased consumption of sugar.

Mr. Seymer supported the amendment, in the hope that if it were carried it would compel the Government to reconsider the whole of this subject. After a strong attack on the political economists, whom he characterized as dull deceivers, who were sometimes right in their decimals but always wrong in their millions, he expressed himself unable to conceive how the country, which had so nobly abolished slavery in 1807, could have passed the Act of 1846, which not only encouraged slavery but also renewed the slave trade, or how it could accede to a proposition like the present. It was true that the Act of 1846 had rendered sugar cheap; but did the House never hear of parties selling their wares at a tremendous sacrifice? Many of our planters were already ruined, and those who were not were declining business; and the result would be that the supply of sugar would diminish, and before long the price would again increase. He should have gladly given his vote in favour of a 10*s.* discriminating duty against all foreign sugar; but, as that question was not at present before the House, he should vote in favour of Sir J. Pakington's amendment.

Mr. Hume rose as a free trader to show that free trade had nothing to do with the question then before the House. Free trade could only operate where the parties were in like circumstances, and where both could apply the same objects to the same ends. Now, it was the opinion of Mr. Deacon Hume that if the British West Indies could be placed on a footing of equality with Cuba or Porto Rico, they would be able to compete with them successfully; and that gentleman entertained that opinion with great confidence, because, up to a recent period, this country had

been the great mart for the sugar, coffee, and rum of the West Indies. "But," said he, "when you abolished slavery you deprived the British planter of the labour which he enjoyed before in common with the Spanish colonist; and until you have again placed him on a level with his rivals in that respect, you cannot call upon him to meet the competition of free trade." The British planter therefore had a claim to a discriminating duty, not as a matter of favour, but as a matter of right. And why? Because every arrangement into which Great Britain had entered with him at the period of emancipation had been grossly violated. He had, therefore, not had the requisite means for the cultivation of his estates, and hence his present distress. He believed that free labour was the only mode by which you could put down slave labour; but his complaint was, that the colonists had never had an opportunity of giving free labour a fair trial. The Colonial Office had prevented that —the Colonial Office, which from first to last had always been a nuisance. Fortunate would it have been for the Colonies if that Office had been locked up, for, if we had allowed them to manage their own affairs, they would have known nothing of this distress. As we had not allowed them the labour which they wanted, and as the loss of that labour had occasioned high wages, we ought to consider whether we could not restore the confidence which we had destroyed by giving them a supply of labour, and that protection which we had promised but had subsequently withdrawn. He was of opinion that the measure of Government would have no effect in restoring their prosperity, and that it would be better to let them die quickly than to keep them in a lingering and painful existence. For his own part, he was of opinion that if we were to withdraw our squadron from the coast of Africa, and apply the expense of it to the relief of the distress in the West Indies, in ten years their prosperity would be restored, and all their distress would vanish.

The debate after Mr. Hume's speech was adjourned, and on the following night was resumed; Mr. P. Miles and Lord George Bentinck opposing the Government plan, and Mr. Hawes defending it. The discussion now assumed a very personal shape, Lord G. Bentinck accusing the Colonial Office in round terms of suppressing important information, in order to keep the House and the public in the dark as to the real predicament of the Colonies. Mr. Hawes warmly repelled the imputation, and Lord John Russell coming to the assistance of his colleagues, especially of Earl Grey, attacked Lord G. Bentinck with great warmth and personality. The following passage will exhibit a specimen of the tone of this unusually acrimonious discussion. Lord John Russell said:—

"In general, with regard to those matters, it is quite evident that these mean frauds—these extremely disgraceful tricks—which the noble Lord imputes to my noble friend—are not the faults and the characteristics of men high in office in this country. They are the characteristics of men who are engaged in pursuits which the noble Lord long followed. (*Loud cries of 'Oh, oh!' and great uproar.*) Some time ago, the noble Lord very greatly distinguished himself by detecting a fraud of this nature—

(*loud cheers and counter-cheers*)—with respect to the name and age of a horse; a transaction in which he showed very great quickness of apprehension." (*Great confusion.*)

Lord John continued his remarks in the same tone, interrupted by renewed bursts of angry interruption, and applause from his own side.

Mr. Disraeli took up the quarrel. He suggested that charges of this nature were not to be disposed of by appeals to high station or pedigree. Lord George Bentinck's indefatigable spirit of investigation and courage were not to be cowed by any bravo, whatever his position—not to be bullied either in the ring or on the Treasury bench. In the matter of the horse, Lord George had been thanked by a meeting at Newmarket, the chairman of which meeting was the Duke of Bedford. This was not the first time that despatches had been treated unsatisfactorily by an Administration. The House might remember the suppressions in the despatches of Sir Alexander Burnes.

Several other members took part in the contention, and warm recriminations were interchanged, until Mr. Hawes was called to order by the Speaker. Lord Palmerston interposed with an ingenious and good-humoured speech, endeavouring to heal the breach by explaining the affair to have originated in a misconception between Mr. Goulburn and Mr. Hawes. The debate was again adjourned, and on its resumption the personal imputations affecting the Colonial Administration again became the subject of discussion. Mr. Hawes entered into a lengthened explanation of the facts affecting the despatches alleged to have been suppressed, but Lord George Bentinck declined to make any distinct retractation of his former charges, and after much fruitless altercation the debate on the main question was resumed. Mr. Bernal began by laying before the House some personal knowledge of the depreciation and ruin that was overspreading planters' estates in Jamaica. He, however, announced his intention of giving his vote in favour of Lord John Russell's proposition, although he was not a warm admirer either of that plan or of any other that had been proposed.

Sir James Graham rapidly reviewed the circumstances of the first infringement of the policy of excluding from this country the sugar of slave-labour countries; and he defended the Act of 1845 on the whole case as it then stood. He admitted, however, as an imperfection of that Act, that prominency had not been given in it to the question of encouragement or non-encouragement of the slave-trade. The steps following that Act were a necessary sequel to the first steps taken in the new course: the subject was one of great difficulty, but the balance was in favour of the course taken. The Act of 1846 received Sir James's unwilling support, on the grounds stated by Sir Robert Peel. He now opposed a ten-shilling protective duty for six years, as inexpedient for the colonies themselves, from its probable effects in exaggerating the competition for labour, and raising wages. He had also a more general ground of objection. On the first night of this session Mr. Disraeli had referred to a prophecy made by him two years ago, that there would be a reaction in our commercial policy; and he now triumphed in what he believed to be the near accomplishment of that prophecy—he believed

that the time had arrived when that reaction would commence. Nor was that all: Lord Stanley had the other night, in another place, asked for a prolongation of the time during which the existing Corn Law was to continue; and Mr. Herries had deliberately given it as his opinion that nothing would be really effectual for the relief of the West Indies except a discriminating duty approaching in its character to a prohibition. Why, if we were to revert to a system of prohibitory duties on foreign sugar, and if, under the terms lately issued by the Protection Society and signed by the Duke of Richmond, the idea of cheapness was to be made the subject of ridicule and scorn, then he would at once say, to any such reaction he was opposed. In passing, he would advert to what had been said with respect to cheap sugar, and the connexion which the noble Lord said there existed between cheap production and low wages. He did not shrink from that declaration. His official experience—

Lord George Bentinck—"You have stated it both ways."

Sir James Graham—"That taunt falls upon me harmlessly. No taunt can now drive me from office, to make way for others. I have no power which the noble Lord or others may desire to deprive me of, to bestow it elsewhere. I desire nothing but to speak the plain truth. I was formerly of opinion that low prices made low wages; but my official experience seems to justify the conclusion that high prices make low wages; and that the effects of low wages fall most heavily on the working classes at a time when they are least able to bear that evil, because then they are in a condition the least able to purchase the prime necessaries of life. I am satisfied you must be most cautious not to let anything enhance the prices of articles of the first necessity. Cheap sugar is not to be laughed at, notwithstanding the anathema of the Duke of Richmond. Sugar enters into the comforts of every family; it is the only little luxury that many families can enjoy; it renders palatable their rice, their gruel, their crout, their indifferent tea and coffee. It is our duty, as far as possible, to cheapen everything. When it becomes a question of reaction and of prohibitory duties, I oppose myself to reaction; for I believe that in the present state of the country that policy is impracticable — if practicable, most dangerous; and if carried into effect I should tremble for the consequences. I most sincerely intend to give my vote against the amendment."

The debate again adjourned was continued at great length. The Government plan was opposed on Anti-Slavery grounds by Sir Robert Inglis, on Protectionist grounds by the Marquis of Granby and Mr. Urquhart. Mr. Muntz objected to re-open the settlement of 1845. Mr. Labouchere defended the Ministerial scheme, but without novelty of argument.

Mr. Barkly defended the planters from exploded charges which had been renewed by Mr. Hawes, and corrected that gentleman's statement in several details; giving his own personal experience gathered on the spot. He showed that the unremunerative condition of sugar-planting does not arise from absenteeism or careless cultivation. He described the exertions of a planter who had spent 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* and great personal exertion without success. In Berbice, he

saw a person who had lived on his own estate for fifty years; two years before Mr. Barkly's visit, he had refused for his property 60,000*l.*, offered by a nobleman now in the House of Peers; when Mr. Barkly saw him, that person had sold his estate for 1000 dollars, and was then living on an allowance granted to him by his former manager: the manager had crossed over to the Dutch slave-holding colony, and there soon amassed a fortune.

Mr. Goulburn took a view similar to Mr. Gladstone's; but, although he disclaimed a recurrence to protection, leaning more to that side; and also differing in his practical conclusions as to the vote which he should give. He observed that the gentlemen opposite came into office on the 6th of July, 1846; and on the 20th of July, after fourteen days' consideration, cutting short the experiment then in progress, they came down to the House and proposed a total change in the system that had been for some time previous in operation. They called for the assent of Parliament to the measure which they proposed, and pledged upon it the existence of the Government. He for one gave his assent to the scheme brought forward in these circumstances, not that he approved of the measure itself, but because he thought there was a possibility that the Colonies might escape the destruction that many persons foretold was certain to ensue; and because at that particular moment there was, as it appeared to him, danger to the general interests of the empire from another change of Administration, which, in his mind, outweighed those chances of misfortune that were likely to fall on the Colonies.

Sir Robert Peel commenced by expressing his deep sympathy with the distress of our Colonies in the West Indies—Colonies which had stood by us unflinchingly during the American and the French revolutions, and had been the conductors by which the tempest of war had on both occasions been averted from our own shores. There were, however, social relations connected with those Colonies of even still higher value than political relations. The smaller the white population was in them, the more important was it for the purposes of civilization, humanity, and religion, that we should come forward to protect them. Their distress was now admitted on all hands, and there was a general desire to remedy it. On this occasion he would not say anything of the interests of the consumer, but would apply himself to those of the colonists alone. Her Majesty's Government had made proposals for their relief, and Sir John Pakington had called on the House to refuse consideration of those proposals, and on the Government to bring forward a better plan, or else to leave others the introduction of one. The West Indies were looking to this country for a remedy, and if the proposals of Government were condemned as unworthy of consideration, the news would be wafted in great triumph to them, and the next day would bring back a demand for new remedies. He then discussed the merits of Lord G. Bentinck's plan, and took a rapid review of the present position of the West Indies. Having done that, he asked whether, if he agreed to the amendment, he could go back to the measure of 1844, and re-establish the distinction between slave-labour and free-labour sugar? He thought that he could not. In

1846 he agreed to the law which put an end to that distinction, and he could not shrink from the vote which he then gave. He therefore could not hold out any hopes to the West India interest in that direction; neither could he hold out to them any hopes from the reduction of Colonial expenditure, although he thought that that expenditure admitted of great reduction, and ought to be reduced to the narrowest limits. The payment of the salaries of our Colonial Governors by the Home Government, and the passing of police laws for the prevention of vagrancy and squatting, were measures to be recommended, but were not measures to remove the existing distress. He then referred to the measures of relief to be derived from the reduction of differential duties on rum to 4*d.* a gallon, from the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and from the withdrawal of our squadron from the coast of Africa, and delivered his opinion on each of them. He then observed that there were only two other suggestions of any importance left for the mitigation of West India suffering. The first of them was, that there should be a great supply of labour by immigration; and the second, that there should be direct assistance given to them by this country by the increase and continuance of protection to their produce. Now Her Majesty's Government had proposed a loan of public money for the first purpose. For his own part, he did not attach much importance to this increased supply of labour. To pour in a large number of Coolies or other strangers would be injudicious; for you would only be adding to the population of the Colonies without providing it with permanent employment. If you were to have immigration at all, you should have it at the cost of private speculation. He would, therefore, facilitate the enterprise of individual proprietors to obtain labour in every possible way, taking care at the same time that no ground should be afforded for the imputation that we were recurring to the slave trade. He begged Government to consider the best mode of extending to the Colonies the pecuniary relief which they had determined to grant, and suggested that their present scheme might be ameliorated by devoting the public funds to private remedies against drought by irrigation, better draining, and various other measures of local improvement. He came to the last of the two suggestions which he had just mentioned—a 10*s.* protecting duty for six years. Now, if he could vote for that, he would vote for the amendment of Sir J. Pakington; but he could not vote for that amendment without giving the West India body a right to expect that he would give them that amount of duty. He was, therefore, prepared to vote against it from a sincere and conscientious conviction that such protection was not for the benefit of the West Indies themselves. Having given his reasons for that conviction at some length, he observed that the best plan of benefiting the West Indies was to reduce the cost of cultivation to the planter, so as to enable him to enter into competition with the foreign cultivator. He could not hold out any hope of carrying that plan into execution, and, therefore, he must again decline to vote in favour of the amendment. He would not say anything upon the scheme of the Government, for it was not regularly before the House

at present. He did not despair of the West Indies; but he was convinced, that if we were to allow them a monopoly of the British market, it would not tend to their prosperity. There might now be a temporary prosperity in the slave colonies of Cuba and Brazils; but he must be blind to the signs of the times who thought that slave labour could be ultimately maintained in those colonies. In both of them there was no confidence in the continuance of their prosperity. At no time, and under no circumstances, could a Government be secure which contained within itself the accursed system of slavery. If he could suppose that a temporary protection would mitigate the horrors of that system, he would vote for such a protection at once; but it would not produce any mitigation. He reminded the West Indians that there were other circumstances at present which aggravated the insecurity of all slave states. The mighty heavings of the convulsion in France had already been felt at the other side of the Atlantic. They were already reading lessons by which Cuba and the United States ought to take warning. There was an increasing sympathy at present with the slave; and he who imported a slave into any country stood in slippery places, and should take heed lest he fall. He believed that the doom of slavery was fixed, and that the slave at no distant period would be emancipated, and would stand, in the eloquent language of Curran, "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible principle of universal emancipation."

Lord John Russell, in reply, pointed out the futility involved in the amendment of Sir J. Pakington, inasmuch as many gentlemen who intended to vote for it would not vote for his remedies for the West Indies. The only effect of his success would be to destroy the proposition of the Government; it would not enable him to advance a step on his road to the protection of West India produce. His Lordship then proceeded to enforce his former arguments and observations in support of the scheme of Government. In the course of his remarks he replied to Sir R. Peel's question, whether the loan of 500,000*l.* could not be appropriated to other purposes than those of immigration, by stating that the multiplicity and variety of the applications would render it impossible to advance it to individual applicants. If there were any great works undertaken in the West Indies which were calculated to increase their produce, or if any great plan were devised for irrigating the country and for removing drought by better drainage, he should have no objection to extend the appropriation of the loan to such purposes. He then replied at considerable length to the speech of Mr. Gladstone on the discriminating duties, and that of Sir B. Inglis on the increase of slavery and the slave trade.

On a division there appeared,—

Ayes	260
Noes	245
Majority against the Amendment . .	15

Upon going into Committee on the 30th June, Mr. Bright reopened the discussion with a new amendment, viz.: that it is not expedient to make any alteration in the Sugar Duties Act of 1846. He observed that hitherto the de-

bate had turned on the question, whether the Committee should agree to the small protection proposed by the Government, or to the large protection that was proposed by members on the other side. One great party in this transaction had been entirely forgotten. Great sympathy had been exhibited for the colonists, and also for the slaves; but none had been expressed in behalf of the consumers of sugar at home. On their behalf he implored the House and the Government not to alter the Act of 1846; and he did so because he was convinced, that after the 20,000,000*l.* which it had paid for the emancipation of the negroes, and after the 30,000,000*l.* which it had given to the planters by means of the protection which they had enjoyed for the last eleven years, Parliament owed nothing to the colonists, whilst it owed a great deal to the consumers of this country, who had been deeply wronged by the protection granted for so many years to the sugar growers. He therefore protested against Parliament now taxing the people of England to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* or 3,000,000*l.* annually, for the benefit of the West Indian interest. He reminded Lord J. Russell that his Cabinet had been broken up in 1841, and Sir. R. Peel's Cabinet in 1846, on this very question of protection; and that even this morning the Ministry had been *in articulo mortis*, had received extreme unction, and had only been saved from dissolution by the votes of 15 members, who differed from it *in toto* as to the mode of relief. Never had a measure been passed by Parliament of which the success had been so immediate and complete as that of 1846, both as regarded the revenue, the producer, and the consumer. Why then disturb a settlement so recently made, which had been productive of so much benefit to the comforts, industry, and exports of this country? Mr. Wilson, before his succession to the Administration, had made it as clear as demonstration could make any conclusion, that the protection which he now advocated would do no good, but much harm, to the West Indian interest, to whom he now offered it as a boon. Sir R. Peel, in his speech last night, had made the same declaration, and he therefore expected that the right hon. baronet would not oppose, but support his amendment. Having submitted Lord J. Russell's speech of last night to a very severe criticism, and having pointed out the manifold inconsistencies which it contained, he accused his Lordship of having done much mischief in disturbing the principle of free trade as applied to sugar, and warned him to be cautious of disturbing it as applied to corn. If his Lordship ventured upon such a vagary he would not escape even with a majority of 15, as he had that morning. Indeed, he ought to make up his mind to provide for the present defalcation in the revenue, before he made a further gap in it by applying 500,000*l.* wrung from the pockets of the poor to the support of an experiment which even the West Indian body repudiated.

Mr. Bright's amendment was opposed, on behalf of the colonial interests, by Mr. Grantley Berkeley, Mr. Bagshaw, Mr. Tollemache, Mr. Hastie, and Lord Nugent.—On the part of the Government by Mr. Wilson and Sir Charles Wood. The latter expressed his

agreement in great part of Mr. Bright's principles and speech; but, while he contended that the Ministerial proposition would not injure the revenue, he maintained that Government was bound to attempt a check to that destruction of property which was threatened in the West Indies, from the utter want of credit. He estimated the consumption of next year at 309,000 or 310,000 tons—being an increase of 15,000 or 20,000 tons. The amount of revenue would depend on the proportionate increase of foreign or colonial sugar: the utmost loss could not be more than 55,000*l.*; but he calculated on a revenue of 4,625,000*l.*, being an increase of 284,000*l.* As bearing on the resolution before the House, Sir Charles Wood proceeded to make a statement of the existing financial prospects of the country. This part of the subject will more appropriately find a place in another chapter.

After some further debate, in which Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Mowatt, and Lord John Russell took part, the Committee divided, when Mr. Bright's amendment was declared to be rejected by 302 to 36.

Further amendments were proposed in Committee, and a good deal of discussion took place upon the details of the Bill. An amendment moved by Sir John Pakington, for increasing the differential duty in favour of British colonial sugar to 10*s.*, was negatived, after a long debate, by 231 to 169. Another was proposed by Mr. Barkly, which he thus explained:—He did not propose to alter the rates of duty upon foreign and colonial sugar, but simply to arrest the progress of the Bill of 1846; except that he proposed to make an alteration in the standard sample at the Custom-house on which the duties are levied, and to substitute the new standard which the Government had adopted for brown-clayed sugars, so that there might be only one class for all clayed sugars, instead of the two classes as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He proposed to give a minimum protection of 4*s.* 6*d.* per hundredweight on Muscovado for six years, and a maximum protection of 7*s.* 7*d.* upon clayed sugar for the same period; so as to obviate the complaints of the sliding scale of duties in the Bill of 1846. He objected to the Government plan, that reductions of one shilling ata time would not benefit the consumer, but would only fritter away the revenue.

Sir Charles Wood objected to the amendment that the prearranged and sudden reduction of the duty would cause a previous stagnation of trade. The proposition was also opposed by Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Jas. Wilson, and Mr. Godson;—it was supported by Mr. W. Gladstone, Mr. Cayley, Sir George Clark, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Henry Baillie. The debate again took a financial turn, and was ultimately adjourned. Being resumed on the 10th July, Lord Geo. Bentinck availed himself of the opportunity afforded him to explain at great length the views which he had propounded as Chairman of the West India Committee. The question at present was, which of all the propositions made to the House on this subject was most worthy of its attention? He was bound to say, that the amendment of Mr. Barkly was one of which he approved very little; but the question which he had then to determine was, whether it was better

or worse than the proposition of the Government? Now, the sum total of the protection for six years given by Mr. Barkly's amendment amounted to 45*s.* a cwt. on the highest, and to 27*s.* a cwt. on the lower qualities of sugar. The whole protection proposed by the Ministers amounted in six years to 32*s.* 6*d.* a cwt. in the same time. He therefore felt it impossible to deny that the proposal of Mr. Barkly was better for the Colonies than that of Government. He should, therefore, vote for the former; but, in so doing, it was his duty on behalf of the West Indies, of the Mauritius, and of the East Indies, and on behalf of the gentlemen who had supported his views in the Committee, to repudiate it altogether as a settlement of this question. It was an expedient which would give no satisfaction either to the West Indies, or to the Mauritius, or to the East Indies. He then explained to the House at great length the reasons which had induced him to submit his scheme of sugar duties to the West India Committee, complaining that all the force of the Government had been mustered to defeat it, and contending that, if it were adopted, it would reduce the price of the poor man's sugar ¾*d.* a pound, increase the consumption, benefit the revenue, and produce innumerable advantages to the sugar colonies. In the course of his speech he frankly declared that neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, nor Mr. Goulburn, nor Mr. Cardwell, nor Mr. Gladstone, knew anything of the sugar question, and insisted that there was no correctness in their estimates, and no accuracy in any calculations but his own. He could see nothing to approve in the proposition of Her Majesty's Government. It would aggravate the slave trade in its character, and increase it in its amount. Instead of reducing the profits of the slaveholder by increasing the differential duty, and making the slaveholders pay it, their scheme selected other victims, and robbed the distillers of Scotland and Ireland of 70,000*l.* a year. He also accused the Chancellor of the Exchequer of bribing the shipowners to agree to his Act of 1846 by promises of a great increase in the freight of their vessels, arising from the increased consumption of sugar in Great Britain, and of bilking them now by depriving them of the Act which had seduced many of them from the strict path of duty. He concluded an elaborate speech, full of statistics, by declaring that the people of England were not disposed, for the gain of a farthing in the pound, to refuse to do justice to the British colonies, or to endure the continuance of the slave trade. They had not adopted the two doctrines of the Manchester school—first, that

"Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum;"

and next—

"rem, facias rem;
"Si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo rem."

No, they rather adopted the wiser language of the poet, when he said

"Hic murus aheneus esto,
"Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ."

Lord J. Russell observed that, although Lord G. Bentinck, from the attention which he had given to this subject in the inquiry conducted before the West India Committee, had a right to be heard upon it before the close of

the discussion, he had still exercised his privilege of addressing the Committee that evening almost to an abuse, for he had said nothing to the question before it except a few sentences at the commencement of his speech, and a few at its end. He had, it was true, given the House several Latin quotations not altogether unknown to it; and he (Lord John Russell) might therefore be permitted to use another, and say, that his Lordship, foreseeing that he could retrieve the fortunes of his party by delay, had determined, like the Roman general, to achieve for himself the reputation of

"Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem."

Taking his leave of Lord G. Bentinck with this quotation, he explained to the Committee that the question then before it did not involve any question of humanity, or any question of the prohibition or non-prohibition of slave-labour sugar. Both the proposition of Mr. Barkly and that of the Government admitted that slave-labour sugar was to be introduced at a differential duty; and at the end of six years it would be introduced at the same rate of duty under both propositions. The question then for the Committee to consider was, whether for the benefit of the consumer, of the West Indian body, and without any great risk to the revenue, it could not reduce from 14*s.* to 10*s.* the duty on sugar, the amendment proposing that that duty should remain stationary at 14*s.* Now, the reduction of 4*s.* of duty on every cwt. upon a consumption of 300,000 tons of sugar was a benefit of 1,200,000*l.* to the consumer, and that was a benefit not to be recklessly thrown away by any Government, inasmuch as it would give to the consumer that sum to expend upon the other necessaries and comforts of life. He then entered into a statement of considerable length to prove that the Government plan would give a better chance of restoring prosperity to the Colonies. He referred also to the recommendation given to him by Mr. Gladstone on a former night, to save the revenue by increasing taxation during the present session. Now, he admitted, that if, at the commencement of the next session, the state of Europe should be so threatening as not to permit us to reduce our establishments, it would not do to go on another year without making the income of the country superior to its expenditure by increased taxation. But if pacific counsels should, as he hoped they would, prevail at that time, and if there were no danger to the preservation of peace both at home and abroad, he thought that we should be able to reduce our expenditure to our income by the exercise of a rigid and unsparing economy. He thought, however, that it would be unwise to come to any decision upon that point now. He concluded by recommending the Government scheme to the approbation and support of the Committee.

Mr. Goulburn contended, that of the two propositions which were then under discussion, the Committee was bound to consider by which the prosperity of the Colonies would be best promoted, and the increase of slavery and the slave trade most effectually checked. Neither of them deserved his approbation, for neither of them met the real evil of the case—the evil

arising from a want of labour in the West Indies, occasioned by our legislation, and the evil arising from a superfluity of it in the East Indies. Both the West and the East Indies had been deceived by the assurance given to them by Parliament that they should not have to contend in future with the produce of slave labour in Cuba and the Brazils. Driven to choose between the two propositions then before the Committee, he had no hesitation in giving his support to that of Mr. Barkly; first, because he feared the effect of Lord J. Russell's plan on the finances of the state, and, secondly, because he believed that Mr. Barkly's plan was more likely to restore that confidence which could alone rescue the West Indies from their present state of ruin and despair.

The House then divided on Mr. Barkly's amendment as follows—

Ayes	124
Noes	180
Majority against . .	56

Another amendment, proposed by Mr. Bouverie and supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Goulburn, was to the following effect:—

"That provision be made for the admission of such foreign sugars as shall be cleared out of the foreign, West Indian, and American ports, before the 1st day of August next, and out of ports east of the Cape of Good Hope before the 1st day of September next, at the rates of duty imposed on such sugars respectively by the act 9 & 10 Victoria, c. 63."

It was lost on a division by 142 to 34. The whole of the Ministerial resolutions were then agreed to; and after some further debate, in which the accuracy of the Ministerial calculations for adjusting the scale of duties was impugned by Lord Geo. Bentinck, and some corrections were introduced by Sir Charles Wood, the Sugar Duties Bill finally passed through the House of Commons.

In the House of Lords, the measure underwent but slender discussion. Previously to the Bill coming into that House, a debate of some interest occurred, involving the conduct of the Colonial Administration, with reference to those charges of suppressing information and garbling despatches, which Lord George Bentinck had so strenuously urged in the Lower House. Earl Grey took up the matter in his own vindication as Colonial Minister, and took the opportunity of explaining his conduct by moving for copies of the despatches in question. The charge made against him, said the noble Earl, amounted to this, that he, in concert with Mr. Hawes, had endeavoured to mislead the Committee of Inquiry on the subject of West India distress by deliberately withholding papers which favoured the opinions of those who attributed that distress, to the Act of 1846. This charge, he observed, involved imputations so disgraceful, that, if it were maintainable, he should be unworthy of holding the office he filled. A distinction, it was true, had been attempted to be drawn between a personal imputation and one cast upon him in his political capacity, but he repudiated such a distinction; a Minister of the Crown capable of thus deceiving Parliament was personally culpable. The noble Earl then detailed the particular circumstances connected with these

despatches, which have been repeatedly stated in the House of Commons. He admitted that Sir Charles Grey's despatch ought to have been laid before the Committee. He had intended it should have been, and, up to a recent period, he never suspected it had not been communicated to the Committee, never doubting that his minute to that effect would be attended to. A mistake had, however, occurred, and the noble Earl explained very minutely the cause of it, which partly arose from the vast pressure of business. He pledged his honour that it was a mistake. With regard to the despatch of Governor Light, his Lordship freely avowed that it was by his direction that the extract was sent to the Committee, and the despatch kept back, for reasons which he stated. He considered that whilst the facts stated in the portion of the despatch withheld were notorious, they furnished an argument for—not against—the views which he (Lord Grey) was supposed to be anxious to press upon the Committee. The despatch of Lord Harris was included in a motion for a large collection of similar papers, which could not be prepared before the Committee had ceased to sit; but it had been laid before the House of Commons, and if dishonest concealment had been his object, he would have suppressed it altogether. The noble Earl then proceeded to notice the charge of his having read in the House, on the 7th of February, a portion only of a memorial from Jamaica, which supported his own views. He admitted that he did so, and he justified such use of the memorial. Having thus disposed of all the specific matters of charge, the noble Earl appealed to his own character, and to the justice of the country, which would not convict him of sullying the name he bore by a mean and dishonourable act. He treated the attacks upon him not with contempt, but with disregard, convinced that high-minded and honourable men would condemn the degradation of a great question of policy to the low level of petty personalities.

Lord Stanley, though he was not surprised that the noble Earl should desire to vindicate himself and his department from charges made against them in their official, not their personal capacity, regretted the statement he had made, because it was a proceeding wholly irregular, and because it obliged him, in vindicating a noble friend, to appear to be an accuser of the Colonial Department, and of the noble Earl, to whose personal honour he bore testimony. After an allusion to the remark of Lord J. Russell upon Lord G. Bentinck's connection with the Jockey Club, Lord Stanley proceeded to justify the examination which had been pressed in the other House into the public acts of the Colonial-office. It was the right and the duty of a member of Parliament, without regard to personal feelings, to expose what he believed to be delinquency. He did not justify every expression which might have been used elsewhere, but he would state facts which laid a ground for suspicion, and called for the notice of Parliament. The Colonial-office was charged with suppressing documents, and portions of documents, and perverting their meaning, so as to mislead Parliament. The noble Lord then went over the details respecting the despatch of Sir C. Grey, and the replies of

Mr. Hawes before the Committee with reference to communications from Jamaica, and contended that, giving entire credit to the explanation of Earl Grey, the withholding of this despatch formed a reasonable ground of suspicion, which was augmented by the discovery that other despatches from other colonies had been similarly treated. The noble Lord dwelt at some length upon a variety of circumstances which appeared to strengthen the suspicion which attached to the Colonial-office. The noble Lord then passed from the Colonial-office to the noble Earl at the head of it, whom he directly charged with making an unfair use of documents in that House. On the 7th of February, when he (Lord Stanley) presented certain petitions to their Lordships, and called their attention to the state of the colonies, having stated that the bulk of their distress had been caused by the acts of the British Legislature, Earl Grey had endeavoured to show that, on the contrary, the distress had been mainly attributable to other causes, to waste and extravagance, and to the absence of the proprietors; and, in order to support that view of the case, he had quoted an extract from a Memorial from the planters of Jamaica, which was not a fair extract, but involved an inference directly opposed to the scope of the document itself. The passage read by the noble Earl led their Lordships to believe that 142,000*l.* had been invested in sugar cultivation upon that island by resident planters, and that the experiment had been eminently successful; whereas the noble Earl had proof in his hand, in that very document, that the experiment had failed and had overwhelmed the parties with loss. He left it to their Lordships to say how far the noble Earl had justified himself; he did not say that the noble Earl had been wilfully suppressing and perverting documents; but he (Lord Stanley) had demonstrated that Lord George Bentinck, who had devoted himself with so much zeal to West India interests, had ground for grave suspicion as to the manner in which the Colonial Department had dealt with the papers, and he had expressed those suspicions in strong and warm terms; but neither the noble Earl, nor the Government, he thought, had a right to be offended.

Earl Grey, in reply to Lord Stanley, whilst he admitted the right and duty of Members of Parliament to scrutinize the conduct of Ministers of the Crown, protested against the imputation of motives. Lord G. Bentinck seemed to think that he (Earl Grey) was influenced by a desire to oppress and discourage the West India colonies. He had heard with deep regret Lord Stanley, adopting the views of this subject entertained by his political allies, and speaking with all the ingenuity and practised art of a skilful advocate, still endeavour to convict him of intentional prevarication. The noble Earl defended Lord John Russell against the charge of taunting Lord G. Bentinck with his pursuits on the turf, and explained the real intention of that noble Lord in the remark he made in the other House. Even if his noble friend had been betrayed by the heat of argument on that occasion beyond the strict line of debate, their Lordships, when they remembered the unexampled

patience, temper, and forbearance with which Lord John bore the bitterest attacks upon himself, would at least pardon an excess of warmth provoked in his generous mind by an attack upon an absent friend. The noble Earl then vindicated himself from the charge of partial citations, observing that those passages in the despatches of governors which related to facts were of the utmost value, but he did not always so highly appreciate their opinions. He had quoted so much of Governor Higginson's despatch as he deemed valuable in the course of an incidental discussion; and with respect to the Jamaica memorial he had quoted that to prove certain facts, declaring at the time he did so that the Memorial complained of distress. Whilst, however, the memorialists complained of distress they admitted the fact that there was a part of Jamaica in which a very considerable change was taking place; that there was springing up a class of owners and lessees of property carrying on the cultivation of sugar on their own account. This very Memorial had been included amongst the papers laid before the Committee at an early stage of their inquiry.

Lord Stanley, in explanation, observed that he had not volunteered his share in this discussion, and had followed in it strictly the course pursued by Earl Grey, not with the view of showing that the noble Earl had been guilty of wilful suppression of documents, but that there were fair and reasonable grounds for believing that improper delay and neglect had taken place in the Colonial-office. With respect to the Memorial of the planters of Jamaica, he had not referred to opinions but to facts. He did not complain of the noble Earl's suppressing the opinions of the planters, but of giving some facts and suppressing others, namely, the result of the experiment, which had been a total failure.

Lord Brougham interposed as a peacemaker between his two noble friends. He regretted that the discussion should have taken place, regarding it as wholly irregular, and he hoped never to hear such a debate again. He paid a high tribute to the honourable feelings which had actuated Lord George Bentinck, but intimated his opinion that Earl Grey had satisfactorily vindicated both his own conduct and that of his subordinates. He could not conclude without suggesting, considering the enormous amount of business which now encumbered the Colonial office, the average number of despatches received being not less than 10,000 or 11,000 a year, the absolute necessity of an increase of the staff of that office, where errors, so easy to occur, might create immense mischief. The Marquis of Lansdowne bore testimony to the honourable character of Earl Grey, and his incapability of being guilty of intentional misconduct of the nature suggested. He hoped that this discussion would have the effect of impressing on the minds, both of their Lordships and of Members of the other House, the impolicy of mixing up matters of personal imputation with discussions of public affairs, and he trusted that the House would not again be the scene of a similar discussion.

Lord Redesdale declared that he considered Earl Grey's explanation very unsatisfactory, and he protested against the principle asserted by the noble Lord—that

he attended to the facts, and not to the opinions communicated by officers locally acquainted with the colonies.

The discussion then terminated.

The second reading of the Sugar Duties Bill, in the House of Lords, did not take place till the 27th of August. It was then moved by Earl Grey, who introduced the motion with a speech of some length.

Having on a former occasion hazarded some predictions, he took this opportunity to bring forward proof that his predictions had been fulfilled. Though the distress in the West Indies was still extremely severe, yet the despatches from some of the colonies stated the opinions of governors, that the worst time is past. Wages had fallen—singularly enough, they had fallen least where they were before highest; and the cost of production had been largely reduced. Governor Light, and Governor Lord Harris, and the Governor of Antigua, gave abundant testimony of a rising spirit of enterprise, previously unknown in the West Indian Colonies. Lord Grey quoted returns showing the increased production of Guiana in the present year. The transition to a better and a healthier state of things might be attended, and unfortunately was attended, with no small pressure and distress; still he believed that the change bore in it the seeds of prosperity and well-grounded hope for the future.

But if this was his opinion, he might be asked on what grounds he justified the present Bill? The object of that Bill was to extend to a longer period, and to grant to a greater extent, the protection and privileges accorded by the Bill of 1846 to the British sugar-growing Colonies; and the grounds on which he thought such a measure justifiable were these:—In the first place, there existed amongst the sugar growers a panic, which if not checked, must lead to the most disastrous results. His own opinion was, that this panic was a groundless one; but the planters had been so long taught to rely on protection, that he could not be surprised at their considering the withdrawal of that protection as equivalent to ruin. Besides, it was now confessed on all hands that the amount of advantage intended by the Act of 1846 to be conferred on the colonists had not as yet been fully or practically realized. This measure, while it conferred considerable advantages upon the British producer, he felt confident would not have an injurious effect upon the revenue. Among the measures introduced for the benefit of the planter, were the reduction of the differential duty upon rum, and a loan of 500,000*l.* He could have wished that this aid were larger; but the financial difficulties of the country rendered a larger loan an impossibility.

In conclusion, Lord Grey would offer one word of warning to the colonists—they should be careful not to aggravate their present difficulties by following the illegal advice tendered them from certain quarters. If they were persuaded to have recourse to rash proceedings, in the vain hope of inducing Parliament to alter that policy which it had adopted, they would only increase the present distress by preventing the influx of capital. They were blind observers of passing events, and the settled current of public opinion in this country, who could for a moment

believe that those proceedings could have the effect of inducing Parliament to alter that policy which it had adopted, to which the intelligence of the country was irrevocably pledged, and which he was convinced would never be departed from.

Lord Redesdale did not oppose the Bill, but he protested against the late introduction of it. The Earl of Granville alleged in explanation the protracted debates in the other House. The Duke of Argyle remarked that Earl Grey's speech contained no allusion to the slave trade. He was no Protectionist, and if he wished that system to endure in the West Indies, it was only in order that every means, direct and indirect, might be used to suppress the tended that free labour could never slave trade. Earl St. Vincent concontend with slave-labour.

Lord Denman addressed the House, in a speech bearing chiefly on the slave question, and on some matters personal to himself. It had been supposed that he had a personal interest in this matter, because one who was dear to him was largely engaged in it. On that subject he was utterly indifferent; the professional reputation of that individual might take care of itself. It had been said that he was a leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society. It so happened that he never was a member of the Anti-Slavery Society; he never even subscribed to it; he never attended their councils. The noble and learned Lord then went on to say—"A very formidable attack has been made upon me by a newspaper of high reputation and great name, and which is supposed to have lately passed into the care of a noble Earl, a person of great and high talents and attainments, and connected with a still more important personage, and also with a member of the Committee which inquired into the slave trade; and the proceedings of the Committee are in some degree detailed in that newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle*. Therefore I feel anxious as to what your lordships may think of this. I am accused of injustice and illiberality under the mask of justice and humanity, and even of calumny. The calumny is, that I made strong observations on the evidence of Dr. Cliffe, who states himself to be a slave-trader; that is to say, the worst man on the face of the earth—the greatest criminal—condemned by the laws of three countries in Europe, and the laws of the country in which he was born. I believe what he confesses, but I do not believe what he states in his own favour. I do not know that he has ceased to be a trader: he expresses that he was a slave-owner, but that he abstained from motives of humanity, and because he was so shocked at the horrors which were committed that his delicate nerves would no longer allow him to proceed in it. Have I no right to examine the history of a witness who comes to offer voluntary evidence before a Committee, as to his former conduct? Am I not to judge from his own story whether he is entitled to be believed? He declines on two or three occasions to enter into some particulars which the Committee ask. He says, 'I have told you I should lead an uncomfortable life in the country to which I am going, and you will be spending more money in your efforts to put down the slave-trade.' He seems to

have some secret; but this he does not tell, because he is afraid we shall spend our money. I am asked, 'Would you not, as a judge, hear the evidence of a person who has ceased to be a thief?'—I would hear the evidence of any man; but if he offered me counsel as to how I should suppress crimes in which he had himself been engaged, and he should let them be carried on to an extent in which a person was tempted by high profits to pursue them, I should know whether I was dealing with one who had those profits in his eye."

Lord Denman then turned to the general subject. He predicted that in the next six or eight years there would be a great glut, a great demand for slaves, and subsequently an insurrection of those slaves, and a massacre of all the white proprietors. Who could contemplate that without horror? After all, would it abolish slavery? The slaves consisted of various nations, and were often in a state of absolute hostility to one another. The massacre would not be confined to whites; it would be the destruction of all.

The second reading of the Bill passed without a division, and it underwent no further debate until it became law.

CHAPTER II.

Finance—Division of Public Opinion, at the commencement of the Session, respecting the National Defences—Views of the Free-Trade Leaders on the subject—Lord John Russell makes a Financial Statement on the 18*th of February—His Speech—Detail of the Income and Expenditure—Proposition for continuing the Income Tax for Three Years at the increased Rate of Five per Cent.—Unfavourable reception of the Ministerial Statement by the House—Sir Charles Wood endeavours to propitiate the Opposition by moving that the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates be referred to a Select Committee—Observations of Mr. Hume, Lord George Bentinck, and other Members—Great Agitation excited in various parts of the Country by the proposed augmentation of the Income Tax—The Chancellor of the Exchequer announces on the* 28*th that the Government do not intend to press the Resolution for increasing the Income Tax—His Statement of the Financial Prospects of the Country—Speeches of Mr. Wakley, Mr. Cobden, Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, and other Members. The public feeling is turned by these discussions to the unequal pressure of the Tax as then existing—Mr. Horsman proposes a Plan for graduating the Tax in respect to different kinds of Property—The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord John Russell oppose the Motion—It is rejected on a division by* 316 *to* 141*—Mr. Hume moves that the Tax be renewed for One Year only instead of Three—Sir Charles Wood opposes the Motion—General discussion on the Income Tax—Sir Robert Peel defends his own Measure and Policy—He is answered by Lord George Bentinck—Mr. J. Wilson defends, in an elaborate speech, the Free-Trade Measures of Sir Robert Peel—Mr. Disraeli argues on the other side—Mr. Gladstone vindicates the recent Commercial Changes in an able speech—Speeches of Mr. Cobden and Lord John Russell—The Debate, after two Adjournments, ends in the defeat of Mr. Hume's Motion by a Majority of* 225*—Sir B. Hall moves that the Income Tax be extended to Ireland—Summary of his arguments—It is opposed warmly by the Irish Members, and resisted by the Government—Majority against it* 80*—Unsatisfactory position of the Finances, with an anticipated Deficit—The Chancellor of the Exchequer promises to make a definite statement before the close of the Session—On the* 25*th of August he enters fully into the state of the Revenue, and announces his plan for supplying the deficiency—Proposition to raise* 2,031,226*l. by a Loan—Dissatisfac-*

tion created by this Proposal—Mr. Hume strongly objects, and again urges retrenchment of the Expenditure—He renews his objections on the 29th, when the Bill for giving effect to Sir Charles Wood's Plan is before the House—Speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Henley, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Cobden, Mr. A. Smith, and Lord John Russell—Mr. Hume's Motion for rejecting the Bill is negatived by 66 *to* 45, *and the latter is passed.*

SCARCELY any part of the ministerial policy occasioned so much dissatisfaction during the present session as that which related to the public finances. It forms a prominent chapter in the history of the session, and the retractation and variation of the schemes proposed by Government makes it necessary to devote to it a more extended space than is usually allotted to Finance in this volume. The Budget was originally announced for an early day—the 18th February—but, for reasons which will presently appear, the financial arrangements remained unsettled almost till the close of this very protracted session. It is necessary to premise, by way of introduction to the statement of the Prime Minister, now about to be given, that shortly before the reassembling of Parliament the validity of our armaments for the purpose of national defence had been the subject of much discussion in the public prints, and some eminent authorities, both military and civil, had expressed a good deal of distrust as to the predicament in which this country might be found in the possible contingency of a sudden invasion. On the other hand an active party, consisting mainly of the popular champions of the Free-Trade movement, had strenuously denounced such alarms as chimerical and delusive, and had avowed their opinion, that a reduction rather than an increase of military force and expenditure was called for by the circumstances of the country. It was naturally anticipated that the Government, in framing the Estimates for the present year, would exhibit their adhesion to one or other of these views; and this circumstance gave additional interest to the financial statement of the Premier. In opening the contents of his Budget, Lord John Russell rapidly surveyed the commercial distress caused by the scarcity, the high price of corn, &c.; its effect on trade, on the social condition of the people, on the Excise, and on the sources of the revenue generally. Mr. Huskisson had remarked, in 1817, that after a great famine a falling off of ten per cent. in the revenue ought not to be made a subject of wonder. Lord John also reminded the House, that in the last statement made by Mr. Goulburn, before he went out of office, he only took some of his estimates for three quarters of the year to which his speech applied. That circumstance, with some others, had transferred 628,000*l.* which ought properly to have been included in the expenditure of that year to the expenditure of the following year, 1847–8, apparently augmenting a deficit which was really no more than 304,000*l.* Lord John also took credit for the increase of revenue derived from the alteration of the Sugar Duties, which yielded 3,574,000*l.* in 1845, and 4,414,000*l.* in 1847. The balance-sheet of the past year was presented on the 3rd of February,

1848. From that it appeared that there was an excess of expenditure over income during the last year of 2,956,683*l.*; but in that sum was to be included 1,525,000*l.* granted for the relief of distress in Ireland, and 450,000*l.* the remaining China money, which was stopped at the Cape of Good Hope on its road to England and applied to the purposes of the Caffre war. The real excess would be 981,683*l.*

Lord John recited the estimate made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the past year, and stated the produce, of the revenue upon an estimate formed for the remainder of the year to the 5th of April, 1848. The Customs, estimated to produce 20,000,000*l.*, had only produced 19,774,000*l.*; the Excise, estimated at 13,700,000*l.*, had produced 13,340,000*l.*; Stamps, estimated at 7,500,000*l.*, produced 7,150,000*l.*; Taxes, estimated at 4,270,000*l.*, produced 4,340,000*l.*; Property Tax, estimated at 5,300,000*l.*, produced 5,450,000*l.*; Post Office, estimated at 845,000*l.*, produced 923,000*l.*; Crown-lands, estimated at 120,000*l.*, produced 60,000*l.*; Miscellaneous, estimated at 330,000*l.*, produced 325,000*l.*; the whole estimate, calculated at 52,065,000*l.*, had produced 51,362,060*l.* Referring to some of the more important items, Lord John Russell stated that there had been an increase in the produce of duties on molasses, sugar, rum, and tobacco; but, on the other hand, there had been a decrease in the revenue derived from the duties on corn, timber, wine, malt, and spirits.

The estimated expenditure for the year ending on the 5th of April, 1848, was 51,576,000*l.*; but the excess on the Navy Estimates had been 185,000*l.*, on the interest on the Loan 280,000*l.*, and interest on Exchequer Bills 142,000*l.* The expenditure actually voted for the year 1847–8, including several sums which were not contained in the budget, was 52,315,709*l.*; the estimated receipts to which he had alluded were 51,362,060*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 953,649*l.*

Lord John stated the estimate of the revenue for the year commencing on the 5th of April, 1848, and ending on the 5th April, 1849:—

Customs . .	£19,750,000
Excise . . .	13,000,000
Stage-coaches .	500,000
Stamps . . .	7,200,000
Taxes . . .	4,340,000
Income Tax .	5,200,000
Post Office . .	900,000
Crown lands .	60,000
Miscellaneous .	300,000

making a total amount of 51,250,000*l.* Taking the expenditure voted at 52,315,709*l.*, and the estimated receipt of revenue for the next year at 51,250,000*l.*, there would therefore be a deficiency of 1,065,709*l.*, that is, on the supposition that the expenditure would be the same in 1848–9 as in 1847–8. But there was at present a sum of 245,500*l.* due for the expenditure of the Navy for the year ending in April, 1847; there was also a sum of 1,100,000*l.*, to be paid for the expenses of the Caffre war; and, taking these two sums, together with the deficiency which he had already mentioned, there would be a deficiency of 2,141,209*l.*

Now he had been desirous to lay this condition of the finances at an early period before the House, in order that it might take it into the fullest consideration, and might resolve upon that course which was most fitting to the interests and the credit of the nation. Various courses were open to the

House; and all he had to do was to state the course which appeared to the Government to be best, leaving it to be decided by the deliberate judgment of the House whether what Ministers proposed was most fitting, or whether any other course would be more conducive to the welfare of the country.

It was obvious that the deficiency must be met either by taxation or by great reductions in the army and navy. Extreme opinions had been expressed out of doors on the defences of the country. On the one hand, it had been stated that Foreign Powers, especially France, were making great preparations; that there might be war, and possibly invasion; and that our preparations were inadequate to meet this danger. On the other hand, it was said that there was every prospect of peace; that the inclinations of Foreign Powers were friendly; that invasion was most improbable; and that our naval and military estimates were extravagantly high. In stating the views of the Government on these discordant opinions, he wished to guard himself against the supposition that there was anything in the present state of our relations with France which threatened the rupture of peace.

Lord John Russell here avowed, in the most emphatic terms, his anxiety for a cordial, intimate, and lasting alliance with the French nation. This portion of his speech was warmly cheered by the House.

He wished to guard himself upon another point. A foreign writer, animated by the most kindly feelings towards England, had described the Duke of Wellington as having made a pamphleteering reply to the Prince de Joinville. Nothing could be more foreign to the intentions of the Duke of Wellington. Nothing had given that illustrious individual greater pain than the publication of sentiments which he had confidentially expressed to a brother officer. The Duke of Wellington, as was his duty, had communicated to the Government of the country that which he conceived to be a deficiency in our defences; but, in so doing, nothing was further from his wish than to make any public appeal, or in any way to inflame or exasperate relations between England and other countries. No one could dispute, however, continued Lord John Russell, that this country *might* be involved in war. Since the peace of 1815, disputes between this country, the United States, Russia, and France, had been allayed only by great forbearance on both sides. However tranquil, therefore, the atmosphere might be at present, there might be at any time an unforeseen storm; and he was the more convinced of that circumstance when he recollected that Mr. Pitt in 1792 anticipated a long continuance of peace. It must be borne in mind, that in the last three hundred years the elements on various occasions had been our friends, and expeditions against us, prepared with the most zealous care, had been defeated only by adverse winds. The science and skill of late years had enabled seamen to traverse the sea against winds and tides; and that circumstance might induce hostile powers to consider this country more open to invasion. Under a king who was a sincere lover of peace, since 1833, the active preparations and increase of the naval force of France had been very extensive. Lord John read returns to the French Chambers; the number of seamen had increased from 18,000 to 29,000; vessels at

sea, from 153 to 216; steamers, from 66 to 120; the expenditure from 2,280,000*l.* to 3,902,000*l.*; the whole sum for the French army and navy in 1849 was 23,817,000*l.* Several of the French steamers are of such a size that they each carry from 1000 to 1500 men.

Preparations had not been wanting on our side. Since 1835, we had increased the number of our seamen from 26,000 to 43,000 men; of our soldiers, from 100,991 to 138,769; and of our ordnance corps from 8252 to 14,294; making an increase of 60,321 upon our military force in the whole. Besides, the late Government had organized 15,000 soldiers of the line as pensioners. The present Government had formed a force of 9800 men out of the workmen in the dockyards, who, as infantry and artillery, were in possession of, and capable of working, 1080 guns. A plan had also been carried into effect for drilling and organizing the Coast Guard, and for keeping a supplemental force ready in case the services of the Coast Guard should be wanted elsewhere; which would supply a force of 6000 men. Lord John showed that the charge of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, for the defence of the country, had increased from 11,730,073*l.* in 1835 to 17,340,096*l.* in 1847. He then called the attention of the House to our condition as regarded the Navy. He proposed to make an increase of 164,000*l.* upon the Naval Estimates; but of that sum only 70,000*l.* would go to the real increase of our naval expenditure; 94,000*l.* being for expenditure not naval. He read a letter of the First Lord of the Admiralty to himself, describing in detail the various ships which he intended to keep in commission, and in different degrees of preparation, during the present year. It was proposed to have a reserve of steamers at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Cork, and Sheerness. To the Marines would be added 1500 men; 1500 had been added last year. With regard to the defences of our ports and dockyards, their deficiencies had attracted the attention of the late Government, which had given orders for their examination. That subject had been too long neglected; but, since the year 1844, 262,000*l.* had been expended on the works for the defence of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Devonport, Pembroke, Sheerness, and the Thames; and they were now, in the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, and the Master of the Ordnance, in a satisfactory state. Returning to the Army, he said, that although Ministers did not propose to increase its force by a single man, yet the number of soldiers in the United Kingdom would be increased by the return this year of 5000 men, if not more, from India; so that in the course of the summer he expected that we should have a force of 60,000 men in the British islands. As compared with the year 1835, this would be an increase of 20,000 men. The increase on the estimate for the Army was 43,000*l.* only. Government proposed to make a much larger increase in the Ordnance Estimates. It was obvious that, while we could make a rapid increase in our infantry, we could not make an increase of our artillery in less than eighteen months or two years. It was therefore proposed to increase the grant for the Ordnance by a sum of 245,000*l.* The whole increase on the Military, Naval, and Ordnance Estimates would be 358,000*l.*

There was another species of force, respecting which a measure would be laid before the House in the course of the present session. In considering the question of national defence, it was necessary to take into calculation the chance, however remote, of an enemy's landing on our shores; and in that case our force of 60,000 men would not altogether suffice to garrison the dockyards and other points of defence, and to supply troops for the field. In former times the country looked for defence to what was the favourite force of one of the greatest men the country ever produced, Lord Chatham: he meant the militia. There were, however, difficulties on that subject now, which did not formerly exist. If you were to allow men to serve by substitute, it was probable, from the migratory habits of our labouring population, that the substitute would not be forthcoming when he was wanted: and, if you were to refuse permission to serve by substitute, you would place parties under military service who had hitherto been exempt from it. He should propose a measure to meet those difficulties. If it be practicable, he believed it to be right to have a portion of our people trained to the use of arms, and capable, on the breaking out of hostilities, of being marched to any point at which their services might be required. But, if the House should come to the conclusion that a Militia force was not desirable, then it must consider, next year, whether it would not be expedient to make an addition to the regular army of the country. He proposed, for the present, to take a grant of 150,000*l.* to lay the foundation of this Militia force.

Lord John stated the whole expenditure which he contemplated for the year ending the 5th of April, 1849, as follows—

	£.	£.
Funded Debt...	27,778,000	
Unfunded Debt..	752,600	
		28,530,600
Consolidated Fund charges.		2,750,000
Caffre War.....	1,100,000	
Naval excess....	245,500	
		1,345,500
Navy.....	7,726,610	
Army.....	7,162,996	
Ordnance.....	2,924,835	
Miscellaneous...	4,006,000	
		21,820,400
		54,446,500
Militia.....		150,000
		54,596,500

Now, it would be idle and presumptuous to say that the country would at once return to a state of prosperity; yet they might look forward to an improved condition of the commerce and manufactures. They might expect an improvement of income, and a diminution of the expenditure occasioned by the Caffre war, which Sir Harry Smith said was now at an end. Lord John, therefore, thought that only a temporary increase of taxation would be required. He proposed that they should continue the Income Tax, which would expire in April next, for five years, and increase its amount from 7*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound, or from 3 to 5 per cent. for the next two years. (*Loud ironical cheers.*) Considering the distress of Ireland, and the efforts which its landlords and tenants were making to relieve it —though in justice we had a right to impose this tax upon Ireland as well as upon England—(*Loud cheers*)—admitting fully the justice of that course, Ministers considered

that this was not the moment. (*Exclamations of dissent mingled with cheers from different parts of the House.*) He begged honourable gentlemen to consider, that if they checked the exertions in Ireland, they would check also the returning prosperity of the United Kingdom. He proposed the Property Tax exactly on the same principles as those on which it was proposed by Mr. Pitt, on which it was increased by Lords Grenville and Lansdowne, and on which it was imposed and defended in 1842 by Sir Robert Peel. (*Laughter.*)

He drew attention to the large reduction of duties which had taken place of late years on articles of consumption required by great bodies of the people. There had been taken off taxes on salt, candles, coals, leather, beer and cider, glass, sugar, butter and cheese, grain and meal, amounting to 10,543,672*l.* in late years; and the whole amount of annual taxes on articles of taxation taken off since the peace amounted to 39,705,341*l.* The result of his scheme would be this: the expenditure being 54,596,500*l.*, and the income 51,250,000*l.*, he proposed to make up the deficiency by the increase of the Income Tax, which he estimated to produce 3,500,000*l.*; making a total income of 54,750,000*l.* He also proposed to remit the highly injurious duties on copper ore, which were imposed in 1842, and produced 41,000*l.* When those duties were remitted, he should have a surplus of income over expenditure, amounting to 113,000*l.* In another year, he trusted that the surplus would be largely increased by the cessation of the expense occasioned by the Caffre war; and it might then be applied to the reduction of those taxes which pressed most heavily on the elastic springs of industry. It was not in his power at present to propose any such reduction. He had taken that which some considered the odious path of duty; and he should conclude by expressing his conviction, that, by adopting his suggestions, they would restore the commercial credit of the country, preserve the public faith unimpaired, and would run no danger of seeing the empire insulted or injured by any power whatever.

Lord John Russell then moved two Resolutions, embodying his plan for augmenting the Income Tax. A long and desultory debate ensued. Almost all the speakers expressed dismay and reprobation. Mr. Hume asked whether they were all mad, that in a time of increasing distress among manufacturers they should propose increased taxation? He should undoubtedly propose reduction in our establishments to meet the excess of expenditure. Mr. Bankes, the Marquis of Granby, Mr. G. R. Robinson, and Mr. Newdegate saw in the disastrous state of the finances the result of free trade. Mr. Osborne believed that, if there had been a regularly organized Opposition, such a financial statement would never have been made —it would have been the death-warrant of any Administration; Sir Robert Peel was now avenged for Lord John Russell's speeches against his Income Tax. Mr. Osborne thought they might have increased efficiency of national forces with their present expenditure. Sir Benjamin Hall hoped that the Income Tax would at least be more justly distributed. Colonel Sibthorp was surprised at no amount

of hypocrisy, duplicity, or tergiversation, from the Treasury-bench. Mr. Francis Baring could not concur in a proposition which recognised the Income Tax as a permanent impost; and he called the House to its duty of investigating the votes proposed by Government with somewhat more rigid attention to economy than had been the practice. Mr. Disraeli delivered one of his most animated criticisms on the formidable recurrence of a Whig deficit; on Sir Robert Peel's plausible professions that the Income Tax should only be temporary; on the result of the Reformed Parliament manifested in a constantly increasing expenditure—on free trade, that great principle which inflicted 5 per cent. Income Tax upon us; on Mr. Cobden's vision of perpetual peace, copied from St. Pierre, Rousseau, and Robespierre, that "apostle of perpetual peace," and followed by M. Crémieux's anticipation of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," the motto of the Jacobin banner. Mr. Cobden characterized Lord John Russell's speech as a menace to France, and enforced the policy of reducing the establishments to the level of income by means of sweeping retrenchments. Mr. Bright followed, in the same tone.

Some few speakers supported the Government. Sir Charles Wood defended the Ministerial scheme. Mr. Monckton Milnes extended to them the succour of a good-natured apology. Sir Robert Inglis gave his general concurrence.

In his defensive speech, Sir Charles Wood declared his belief that, when the Income Tax was voted in 1845, no man really believed that there was any prospect of its being taken off; and as to the addition of two per cent. now proposed for two years only, he would not make any promise, as he did not wish to be taunted with it hereafter.

Lord Palmerston wound up the debate with a few pacific observations, inferring from the long duration of peace its still longer continuance.

The Committee voted 8,000,000*l.* out of the Consolidated Fund towards the supply granted to Her Majesty, and ordered Lord John Russell's resolutions to be reported.

The unfavourable reception which the Budget, as first moved, had encountered in the House of Commons attended it also through the country at large, and the proposition for increasing the Military and Naval Estimates excited much unfavourable comment. By a statement which he made on moving that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of Supply three nights afterwards, Sir Charles Wood endeavoured to soften down some of the more unpleasing features of Lord John Russell's statement.

Sir Charles stated, that Ministers could not accede to the proposal of which Mr. Hume had given notice, to postpone the Committee of Supply on the Army and Navy Estimates till the House had decided on the proposal made on the former day by the First Lord of the Treasury. This would be a reversal of the constitutional usage, that a vote of supply should precede the consideration of the Ways and Means. The productiveness of the taxes could not rationally be the index of the amount of the vote: the amount should be voted according to the real exigencies of the State, and the "ways" in which that amount should be raised should

afterwards be adjusted in accordance with the "means" of the classes who pay the taxes. Sir Charles alluded to an impression which had arisen both in and out of the House, that the increased taxation was rendered necessary by the increased Estimates: he hoped that further consideration of what actually fell from the Prime Minister on the last occasion had shown this impression to be entirely unfounded. There was a present deficit on the past year, over which control was now gone. That must be met. That alone called for increased taxation, without reference to any additional or prospective demands. These additional demands arose in connection with the maintenance of convicts—formerly a local charge; the fittings of the new Houses of Parliament; the British Museum; the expedition in search of Sir John Franklin; the new scale of payments to certain petty officers, and the new modes of paying off seamen and marines. None of these expenses had a military aim—not even of defence. The Government seriously deprecated any parade of armament. The Ministers in their proposals meant simply to act according to the rule in such cases: a deficiency in a department of public service having occurred, they came with a specific proposal to the House for the addition which would fill up the new want. They had nothing more at heart than that the House should be fully satisfied.

As, however, necessary explanations could not conveniently be made to the House itself, Ministers proposed that a Select and Secret Committee be appointed to examine how far the Estimates of the Navy, Army, and Ordnance might be adopted, and to inquire generally into the affairs of those departments. This Committee would be distinct from the one he intended to move for next day for inquiring into the expenditure for Miscellaneous Services, and reporting whether any reductions or improvements be practicable under that head.

Sir Charles cited precedents. Sir Robert Peel in 1828 moved for a Finance Committee, and on that occasion recounted parallel cases in the years 1785, 1791, 1796, 1807, and 1817. So again a somewhat similar Committee sat in 1834, on the expenditure of the Colonial Department. Complete information could be laid before such a Select Committee; the statements made to the House at large could only be imperfect and unsatisfactory. The constitution of the Committee would not in the least be influenced by Ministers; and the full discussion, according to usage, would take place in the Committee of Ways and Means.

Meanwhile, the Secretaries at War and for the Navy would propose the votes necessary for carrying on the Public Service; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer deprecated any partial discussion in anticipation of the general one that would ensue of course on a subsequent day. He moved the reading of the Order of the Day for going into Committee of Supply.

Mr. Hume strongly objected to the course pursued by the Government. He advocated a reduction of expenditure as the true solution of the financial difficulties. If private men of prudence calculate their means before settling their expenses, the nation should do the like. The revenue of the country, after deducting the cost of collecting, was about the same

amount of 56,000,000*l.* in each of the two years 1846 and 1848. The expenditure, however, had varied by an amount of 6,756,000*l.* in those years—there was a surplus in receipts of 3,800,000*l.* in 1846, and an excess in payments of 2,956,000*l*, in 1848. Was this no justification of his endeavour to stop Government till some inquiry had been made whether expenditure might not be somewhere reduced? From 400,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* annuities had ceased, and Government might have been expected to propose retrenchments: they had instead proposed an increase of the Income Tax. The people would not bear the additional burden. Our navy showed a great waste of national resurces—ships uselessly lying in the Tagus, or engaged in the fruitless squadron on the coast of Africa. Mr. Hume also strongly objected to the proposed secrecy of the Committee.

Mr. Ewart and Mr. Sharman Crawford spoke to a similar effect.

Other Members expressed disapprobation of the Ministerial proposal, as tending to shift from the shoulders of the Government their constitutional responsibility. Lord John Russell vindicated the course proposed. He also took occasion to repudiate the imputation that the Estimates, as stated by him, were War Estimates, or that they had been framed in anticipation of a rupture with any Foreign Power.

The next evening, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his formal proposition for appointing two Committees—one to inquire into the Army, Navy, and Ordnance expenditure, the other into the Miscellaneous Estimates, and to report to the House whether any reductions could be effected or any improvements made in the finanical arrangements of these several departments.

The expenditure for the Navy, Army, and Ordnance had increased from 11,730,000*l*, in 1835, to 17,340,000*l.* in 1847. The Army increase was inconsiderable; the Navy increase was 3,500,000*l.*: but the Ordnance had doubled its cost since 1835. That increase was a very proper subject of inquiry. On their accession to office, Ministers intimated their intention of appointing a Committee to inquire into the Miscellaneous Expenditure. It was convenient to defer the time of appointing that Committee till this Session: in the mean time, Mr. Hume had suggested it should not be confined to a finance inquiry, but should investigate the whole subject of the national expenditure. Such an inquiry would be so wide as to lead to no result; but it was thought very desirable that these Estimates should be submitted to a Select Committee, who should inquire how far our increased expenditure was real or only nominal—how far, for instance, increased by efforts to improve the condition of our soldiers and sailors in actual service.

He was not anxious to adhere servilely to mere precedents; but if instances were demanded they could be found in abundance. Mr. Pitt had appointed three Committees of the kind, in 1791, 1797, and 1801. In 1817 Lord Liverpool gave an example; in 1828 the Duke of Wellington furnished another; and one was supplied as late as 1834, on a Colonial subject, by Lord Stanley. He thought that neither Mr. Pitt, nor the Duke of Wellington, nor Lord Stanley, were likely to yield too readily to pressure, or to avoid official responsibility. The Committee of 1828

had reported, among other things, the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, and then on the expenditure of the country. Although they failed in carrying out their inquiries to the full extent they contemplated, yet such information was obtained, especially on the examination of Sir Henry Hardinge, as led to the great and important reforms in the Admiralty introduced by Sir James Graham. Since that time, the expenditure had increased again, and fresh ground had been laid for inquiry.

Lord George Bentinck protested against any encroachment by the Committees on the proper functions of the Executive, but offered no further objection to the motion, which was then carried.

It very soon became evident that the proposition which Lord John Russell had made of increasing the unpopular Income Tax to 5 per cent was highly unpalatable to the public. The general depression of trade and reduced circumstances of almost all classes, consequent upon the late commercial crisis, had indisposed the country to bear patiently any increase of taxation. Besides this, a keen sense of the inequality of the mode of taxing incomes, according to the uniform 3 per cent. scale, generally prevailed; and, however the existing grievance might be endured, the aggravation of it, as now proposed by increasing the per-centage, was vigorously protested against. Petitions poured in from all the principal towns in the country, constituencies instructed their Members to oppose, on pain of forfeiting their future support, the Ministerial measure, and it became evident, from a variety of symptoms, that a formidable agitation was rising up in the country, which if resisted might sweep away the Income Tax and the Ministry together. The Government quickly perceived the danger of persevering in their project, and took the resolution to retract. On the 28th February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House with an amended budget, and announced the abandonment of the increased Income Tax. In making his statement the right honourable gentleman traversed exactly the same grounds as the Premier had done in introducing the budget, contrasting the ordinary income of the country with its ordinary expenditure, and pointing out the amount of the deficiency. He then adverted to the prospects of the year, commencing on the 5th of April, 1848, and ending on the 5th of April, 1849, and in the course of his observations explained the nature of our expenditure, and the small chance there was of making any great reductions in it. The Government had not proposed a larger amount of force for the military service of the country than it deemed indispensably necessary. He would not allude, except cursorily, to the external circumstances which had occurred since the Estimates were first proposed; it would be enough for him to say, that it would not be expedient for the Government to propose at present any reduction in the amount of our force. He then went through the different resources from which our income for the next year was to be derived, estimating it at 51,250,000*l.*, and showing that there would be a deficiency in it of 3,200,000*l.* to meet our expenditure in case the Income Tax at 3 per cent. were continued, and of 8,000,000*l.* in case it were not.

In looking to the best mode of providing for this deficiency, he concurred with Mr. T. Baring in thinking that we should not be justified in resorting to a loan. He had, therefore, turned his attention to the financial proceedings of the last few years, and had considered the measures which had been sanctioned and approved by Parliament. In 1842, when there was a deficiency, Sir R. Peel had proposed an Income Tax, partly to meet it, and partly to relieve the lower classes from the pressure of indirect taxation upon articles of general taxation. His (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's,) opposition to the Income Tax in 1842 was grounded on the argument that it was not worth the price which we were then called on to pay for it; but he had then stated that, if the Corn Duties, the Timber Duties, and the Sugar Duties were taken off, he should have no objection to vote for the tax which he then opposed. Those taxes had since been taken off; and he therefore felt himself justified in proposing in 1848 the very same law which he had opposed in 1842. He then reminded the House of what had occurred in 1845, when Sir Robert Peel proposed the continuance of the Income Tax for the sake of persevering in the commercial policy of 1842, and of taking off further duties on the raw materials of our manufactures, and on articles of general consumption. Various propositions were then made for the purpose of amending the Act, but no one got up and opposed it altogether. The House of Commons sanctioned it; and it would be a most extraordinary course for the Government to come forward now and propose to reverse it. The Government had, therefore proposed to renew it. Whether it should be renewed for three or for five years was a point to be considered in Committee; but the Government had proposed to renew it for five years, because it was of opinion that the country could not thoroughly recover its financial prosperity until the expiration of that period. Still, if the Income Tax were passed at the same percentage as at present, there would be a deficiency. It therefore became necessary to consider how it was to be supplied. The Ministry were of opinion that the deficiency would only be for a time. The Caffre war was already at an end. The expenditure in the dockyards would cease in eighteen months or two years, when the country would reap the benefit of the permanent works which had been erected. A reduction of expenditure might also be effected by the Committees recently appointed by the House. It would be hardly wise to impose a new tax for a time, as such a tax must have the effect of deranging trade without any corresponding benefit. A percentage on the existing taxes would in all probability fail in producing increased revenue. Under such circumstances, the Government, knowing that the Income Tax could be increased immediately without any increased expenditure in the collection of it, had determined to propose an increase of it to 5 per cent., to continue for two years. Having stated that it would not be politic to extend such a tax for so short a period to Ireland, and having further added that, if it were a tax for more than a temporary emergency, it would be just to make Ireland pay it, he replied to the question whether he would pledge himself to take it off from Great

Britain at the end of two years—Could any man foresee what the state of the world would be two years or even six months hence? How long was it since a gentleman, recently returned from France, had told them that the French people could have no object in making a revolution? Who could have foreseen, ten days ago, what had occurred in Paris during the last week? Making, then, no promise on the subject, he thought that no man could doubt that the increased per-centage for two years would he taken off at the end of that time, provided that our income rose to the level of the last year; and, if it did, it would leave us, at the end of two years, a surplus of 700,000*l*. He had now explained to the House the proposals of Ministers. He could not say that they had been well received, either in the House or in the country. From every quarter Ministers had received unequivocal demonstrations that they were strongly disapproved of. He then took a hasty review of the different objections raised to the Income Tax, as well by those who approved as by those who disapproved of direct taxation, and, after refuting them to the best of his power, expressed his regret that there was so universal a dislike to the increased per-centage which Lord J. Russell had proposed. He thought that, if the country would submit to that increase, it would derive great advantage from it; but, if there were any point on which the people had a right to dictate to the Government, it was on the subject of taxation. He therefore announced at once to the House, on the part of the Government, that it did not intend to press those resolutions which made an addition to the Property Tax. He made that announcement, he repeated, with regret, because at the present moment he considered a full Exchequer to be very desirable, and he should be sorry to draw on the balances, which were now high, for any part of the deficiency. He hoped at all events that the House would not refuse to Government the present Income Tax for three years, as it could not conduct affairs without having, for that time, the same average revenue which it had at present.

Mr. Hume defied the Chancellor of the Exchequer to continue the Property Tax with all its present inequalities. He was also of opinion, after what Sir C. Wood had said about the improbability of making any large reductions, that the House ought not to grant him this tax at all; for then the Government would be compelled, as the Government of 1816 was compelled, to reduce establishments. Alluding to Lord J. Russell's declaration of pacific intentions towards France, he called upon his lordship to produce confidence in it among the French people by diminishing the amount of our forces by 40,000 or 50,000 men.

Mr. Osborne followed on the same side, and threatened to oppose the Income Tax by the most energetic means in his power.

Mr. Wakley recommended the Government to withdraw the resolutions altogether. The budget bubble had burst; it was exploded—gone. He assured Ministers that a feeling of impatience was rising and spreading over the kingdom, engendered by bad and unjust legislation in Parliament. Sir Harry Verney suggested import-

ant improvements in some military departments—especially in regard to enlistments. Mr. Francis Baring approved of the course Government had now taken; but insisted that reductions should be made, not by the Committees, but by Government. Mr. Cobden joined in the protest against the present shape of the tax on precarious income. He found no outlet from the difficulties which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, save through reductions of our establishments,—effective as well as non-effective. Mr. Cobden confessed that, when he had lately spoken against the probability of any but the most peaceful aspect of affairs in France, he was unprepared for the political revolution which has occurred—for such insanity in a Minister, or such madness in a Monarch. Let them mark him: if it were the policy of the Government of this country to avoid a collision with France, it was perfectly easy for England to avoid it. He ventured to say that England was the last country that France was likely to attack as a nation, inasmuch as we were inacessible. But, unless the people of this country took the question into their own hands, there was a danger of war with France; if it were left with the Foreign Secretary—if it were left to the clubs and coteries of the Metropolis, or to the spirit he had seen evinced that night in reference to the state of France—he feared we might be involved in a war; and he took that opportunity of calling upon the country to beware of what would be impending if they did not take the matter into their own hands.

Lord John Russell, after some observations on the unsatisfactory and fruitless turn which the discussion had taken, proceeded to advert to some remarks which had fallen from Mr. Cobden.—"That honourable gentleman, after what I remarked to-night—and I believe he must admit that his prophecy was not a very successful one—(*Laughter*)—has tried to excite a suspicion, and to-induce those in this House, and perhaps those out of doors, to think that I was not sincere in the declaration I made, and that, when I intimated we did not mean to interfere with any disposal of her own institutions which France might choose to make, I still meant we were to be led by some 'coteries and clubs' to go to war with that nation, because she had adopted some particular form of government. Now, I can only reiterate what I said before, that it is not the intention of the Government to interfere, in any way whatever, with whatever settlement France may think proper to make with respect to her own government. (*Cheers.*) Our only interest in that settlement is the interest of neighbours and friends; and all we wish is that the institutions France may adopt shall tend as much as possible to her own prosperity. (*Cheers.*) I may, perhaps, be permitted to add, that of course I do not believe England would refuse to perform any of those sacred duties of hospitality which she has performed at all times to the vanquished, whoever they were, whether of extreme royalist opinions, of moderate opinions, or of extreme liberal opinions. Those duties of hospitality have made this country the asylum for the unfortunate; and I for one will

never consent that we should neglect them." (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Disraeli subscribed to the rule that observations should be reserved till the measures they concerned were fairly before the House. He proceeded, however, to criticize the proposition of Government in a speech of some length. Several other Members also censured the Ministerial plans, insisting on reductions and economy.

Sir Robert H. Inglis suggested stamp duties on foreign bills of exchange, and a tax on gas. He also urged an old suggestion of his own, that the taxation on incomes should begin at 150*l.*, such incomes to be rated only on the excess above 150*l.*

The question of the Income Tax having been once stirred by the unlucky proposition of the Government for augmenting it, the popular feeling against the tax, even in its original shape, revived, and the objections so often urged against it were forcibly represented both in Parliament and out of doors. The possibility of remodelling it, so as to place it upon a more equitable basis in regard to different classes of incomes, was much agitated, and several debates took place in the House of Commons upon motions introduced by private Members. One of the most plausible of the plans proposed was embodied in an amendment moved by Mr. Horsman on the 3rd of March, to the following effect:—

"That, if the Income Tax be continued, it is expedient to amend the Act, and not to impose the same charge on incomes arising from professional and precarious sources as on those derived from realized property."

Mr. Horsman dwelt on the excessively unequal incidence of the tax; an evil pardoned in a temporary impost, but intolerable in one that has evidently become permanent. He illustrated this position by quotations from former speeches, in which Lord John Russell had borne testimony to the inherent "inequality, vexation, and fraud" of the tax. Mr. Horsman suggested a different plan, of which we need only mention the main features. He showed that incomes derived from different kinds of property are of different values; that the just way to ascertain a common value was to capitalize the incomes, and then to calculate the tax on each kind of yearly income according to a ratio determined by its capitalized value. To apply this, and rearrange the tax so as to produce at least the present amount by a different scale, he took as his basis the returns obtained by Mr. Moffatt, for the year ending 6th of April, 1846; and, instead of a uniform rate of 7*d.* in the pound, he proposed the following rates,—8*d.* in the pound on incomes arising from realized property; 6*d.* on trade, commerce, and manufactures; 4*d.* on professional and other precarious sources. This would yield 300,000*l.* more than the present revenue.

Sir Charles Wood and Lord John Russell contended that Mr. Horsman's plan would be more odious than the present, because it would require a more inquisitorial machinery.

Mr. Francis Baring urged the Ministers to attempt the adjustment of the tax on a fairer basis: merely to continue it was only to postpone a difficulty with which they ought to grapple at once; for, if the tax were not rendered more acceptable, the country would compel its abolition. Several

other speakers joined in the debate, the balance of argument going against the tax. But, on a division, the amendment was negatived by 316 to 141.

A financial debate of more importance took place on the 6th of March upon another amendment, which was proposed by Mr. Hume, for altering the period for the renewal of the Income Tax from three years to one year.

Sir Charles Wood opposed the proposition, and appealed to the House to support him in sustaining the national credit. If he entertained any doubt that the revenue would in a certain time not only restore the balances now drawn upon for present deficiencies, but also exhibit a large surplus, he would not make his proposal. If the means of additional taxation were refused by the House, and the only course remaining were also denied to the Government, the repudiation would lie at the door of the House itself. He thought that the aditional Income Tax had better have been acceded to; but, surely, he continued, the House was bound, under the circumstances, to grant the renewal of the tax for such a time as would enable the Government to realize a surplus. If they did not, public credit would undoubtedly suffer; and he must say that, let whoever might undertake the task of carrying on the Government in such circumstances, Her Majesty's present advisers would not consent to so discreditable a course.

Sir Charles reviewed the history of the tax; denied that it was imposed on the country by stealth; and asserted that it was part of the scheme of commercial reform since carried out by the late and the present Governments. The great natural and commercial calamities that had occurred had deranged all calculation, and brought about the present state of the national finances. He could not say that he saw any early prospect of revival; because, if there were no other circumstance to interrupt its progress, he feared the state of affairs abroad, and the uncertainty that this would produce in trade and commerce, would prevent a revival at an early period: but that was a reason for continuing the Income Tax for a longer period than a year.

Mr. Spooner, Captain Townshend, and Mr. G. J. Turner dwelt strongly on the unjust operation of the tax. Sir William Clay supported the measure as proposed by the Government. Mr. Labouchere, taking the same course, pointed to some encouraging facts establishing the financial progress of the country. Sir Robert Peel (having been reflected on by some animadversions of preceding speakers with reference to the mode in which the Income Tax was carried) vindicated his own conduct, and that of the majority who passed it.—When in 1841 he was called to the Ministry, there had been a succession of deficits from the year 1838. The aggregate deficiencies of the years from 1838 to the 5th April 1843, he had estimated at not less than 10,000,000*l.* The House had itself caused a large part of that deficiency by surrendering to the nation a revenue of nearly 1,200,000*l.* a year from the Post office, and had thought itself bound to make an attempt in support of public credit. What was the source whence to obtain any augmentation of the revenue? Experiments made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day, in 1841, had

demonstrated that indirect taxation had already been tasked to its full powers; the additional 10 per cent. on Customs and Excise having yielded but 700,000*l.* in place of the 1,900,000*l.* looked for. Not so with direct taxation; the 10 per cent. added to the assessed taxes having, in place of the expected 275,000*l.*, given above 300,000*l.* Such was the financial part of the case; but there was the commercial also. It had been thought desirable to remodel the Customs Duties of the kingdom; to remove all prohibitions, and to simplify the protective tariff to an immense extent, by a far more uniform system of duties. The duties on 700 articles were to be lowered, and on 500 were to be repealed. The advantages to trade were expected to be immense; but they could only be had at the price of 7,000,000*l.* to the public revenue. How would it have been possible to accomplish such financial objects, and such a commercial revolution, but on the foundation of the Income Tax? In full cognizance of these things, the House assented to the scheme of financial policy submitted to it.

Sir Robert Peel then recapitulated the circumstances in which his Income Tax had originated, as connected with the great experiment of Free Trade. He appealed to his former speeches, and to the famous Elbing letter, to prove that the tax had been intended as the foundation of a commercial policy aimed at the removal of vexatious and onerous restrictions. In proposing the tax, he had had no covert design of perpetuating it, but had felt sanguine hopes that the prosperity of trade, under the policy of relaxation, would have so increased the ordinary revenue that the new impost might drop. He rejoiced to believe that the experiment had been greatly successful, though unexampled natural calamities had disappointed his fullest expectations. He exclaimed—"As long as I live I shall never repent that I proposed that alteration in the commercial policy of the country; and that I induced the House of Commons—not by fascination, not by deception, but by a full and explicit statement of the financial affairs of the country—to continue the tax; and that I induced the House, in lieu of the large reduction of duties upon imports, to impose a tax upon the income and property of the country." (*Cheers.*)

Sir Robert Peel then dealt with the question of the incidence of the tax. "Taking the circumstances of individual cases into consideration, instances of hardship cannot be denied; but I do not assent to the proposition that it is therefore an unjust tax. . . . . If you were to attempt to make a distinction such as the honourable Member for Cockermouth has suggested, it would be fallacious, and the same difficulties which are now pointed out in respect to the incomes of professional men and owners of real property would occur. No principle can, in my opinion, be devised which would be more just—or, I would rather say, would be more free from objection—than that which you are desirous of seeing removed."

He should give his decided support to the Ministerial proposition to renew the tax for three years. He had himself been alarmed at the great increase of expenditure; and in giving consent to that proposition he said nothing in denial of the necessity for most searching investigations. If the Govern-

ment had called more strenuously for the means to relieve their financial wants he would have supported them. Still, he did not blame them for the discretion they had used in retiring from their proposal to increase the tax. The difficulties of their situation were very great. "I am quite aware that it is probable there may be some increase of revenue from the ordinary sources. Some observations have been made with regard to the recovery of the Customs: but I must say that there never was such a combination of circumstances as those by which the trade and commercial energies of the country have for the last two years been affected; and I feel it my duty, in this day of commercial depression, to assert my continued adherence to the principles on which the remissions in the Customs Duties took place. (*Cheers.*) I have the firmest confidence in the justice of those remissions."

Sir Robert concluded with an allusion to the events abroad. "I must own I shall be influenced in my support of the proposal made by the Government by a reference to the wonderful events which have taken place within a very recent period in a neighbouring country. (*Loud cheers.*) I think they are an ample justification for this country not consenting to incur any risk of a larger deficit for a period of three years. I conceive it to be utterly inconsistent with sound policy not to make any reference to events which must have filled us all with astonishment. Of this I am perfectly confident, that the true policy of this country dictates the most complete and absolute abstinence from all interference in the internal affairs of that country in which such a wonderful social revolution has taken place. (*Loud cheers.*) I hope, however, that we shall not fail to exercise the rights of hospitality. I heard, with great satisfaction, the declaration that our Government has wisely determined to abstain from all interference in the internal concerns of France; and I am convinced that the principle so proclaimed will be acted upon with perfect good faith and scrupulous honour, and that the Government will not only abstain from any such interference on its own part, but will discourage any abuse of our hospitality for the purpose of interference on the part of others." (*Cheers.*)

Lord George Bentinck endeavoured to reply to Sir Robert Peel's exculpatory speech, urging the usual arguments of the Protectionist party in favour of raising large revenues by taxes on foreign imports. He preferred the restoration of some of the abandoned duties on timber, corn, cotton, &c., as sources of income, which would soon restore the prosperity of the Exchequer. He then referred to the events passing in France; disclaiming, like Sir R. Peel, the desire to interfere with the institutions which the French people might adopt, and expressing his hope that a Republican form of Government might prove as lastingly advantageous to that country as it had proved to our great Transatlantic rivals. At the same time, he said, he could not conceal from himself the possible result from the present changes of the ascendancy of ambitious leaders, who might force the country into measures of teritorial aggrandisement. He, therefore, could not consent for a moment to leave the military

or naval strength of this country in an impaired condition. To the sources of revenue he had indicated he would add the sum to be derived from raising the general postage on letters to twice its present amount. From this source he should expect 850,000*l.*; and from the whole he computed that an income of 4,650,000*l.* would be derived. His advice to the House was this:—Let them keep a tight hand on the Government; let them hold to this tax for another year; and when that term had expired it would be for them then to consider whether the expenditure could be reduced, if such an event were posssible, under their free imports and restricted currency; or whether, on the other hand, they would reject this tax and adopt a different system.

The debate having been adjourned, Mr. James Wilson, in an elaborate speech, replete with statistical detail, vindicated the commercial and financial policy of Sir Robert Peel, and undertook to prove by facts and figures its absolute success. The speech of Mr. Wilson was generally regarded as a very able one. He showed that, notwithstanding the reduction of taxes to the amount of 7,897,000*l.*, the decrease in the aggregate receipts of Customs and Excise in 1847 had been only about 700,000*l.* In 1842 the Deficiency Bills were 6,600,000*l.*; in 1847 none, and the Funded Debt has been reduced by 14,000,000*l.* In 1842 our exports were 47,000,000*l.*; in 1846, 57,000,000*l.* The distress arising from the famine, which we had shared with other countries, would have been much worse, but that this policy had been adopted just in time. Mr. Wilson argued, that the way to make good the deficiency of revenue, as compared with expenditure, would be to carry out the same policy; and as he foresaw continued difficulty and deficiency for the next year, he could not concur with Mr. Hume in continuing the Income Tax for so short a time. He vindicated an Income Tax as a proper element in the taxation of the country, but insisted on the necessity and practicability of rendering it a fair and equal tax. With such a prospect for the ensuing year, Mr. Wilson maintained that it would be most dangerous policy to entertain the Budget in its present shape, without distinctly providing for the deficiency. Mr. Cardwell followed up the same line of argument.

Mr. Disraeli undertook to answer these speeches. He denied the success of Sir Robert Peel's policy. The aggregate national income had fallen off to the extent of 17,500,000*l.*; and if the public debt had been reduced by 20,000,000*l.*, the reason was, that 39,000,000*l.* had been raised from Income Tax, China-money, and such extraordinary sources. Mr. Disraeli—describing himself as "a free-trader, but not a free-booter of the Manchester school"—went on to criticise Sir Robert Peel's policy in his peculiar style of analysis; his arguments not being so new as some of his illustrations and turns of expression. He contended that Sir Robert Peel had abandoned his policy of 1842, which was based on a fruitless expectation of commercial "reciprocity," and had, in 1845, introduced two new principles — that of the "cheapest market," and that of fighting hostile tariffs by free imports: hence, our present commercial distress and financial deficit; which ought to be made good by the

authors of such mischievous policy. Mr. Disraeli called the blue book of the Import-Duties Committee "the greatest work of imagination that the nineteenth century had produced;" he likened the Government, acting on such guides, to a man smoking a cigar on a barrel of gunpowder; and warned Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—the representatives of "peace and plenty," in the face of a starving people and a world in arms—not to venture on middle-class legislation against realized property.

Mr. Gladstone, passing by the clever declamation and witty personalities of Mr. Disraeli, handled the subject before the House with logical clearness, and vindicated, by reference to facts and statistical deductions, the complete success of Sir Robert Peel's free-trade policy. His conclusion was to support the proposition of the Government in preference to that of Mr. Hume, as absolutely necessary for the sustentation of public credit.

The debate being again adjourned, was renewed on the 13th; the Ministerial proposition being supported by Mr. Rice, Mr. Leonard, Lord Drumlanrig, and Mr. Henley. Mr. Hume's amendment was advocated by Mr. McGregor, Mr. Headlam, Mr. Buck, Mr. G. B. Roche, Mr. Alderman Sidney, Mr. Mowatt, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Muntz, and other Members. The most prominent speeches were those of Mr. Cobden and Lord John Russell. Mr. Cobden entered somewhat fully into the general question of taxation, expressing an abstract preference for direct over indirect taxation, and regarding the latter class of imposts as pressing with undue weight upon the poor. He said:

"While the House frets over its sevenpence in the pound, the poor are paying twice that number of shillings in the pound on the great staples of their consumption. For every 20*s.* the working classes expend on tea, they pay 10*s.* of duty; for every 20*s.* they expend on sugar, they pay 6*s.* of duty; for every 20*s.* they expended on coffee, they pay 8*s.* of duty; on soap, 5*s.*; on beer, 4*s.*; on tobacco, 16*s.*; on spirits, 14*s.* When you bear in mind that the working classes expend much more income on those articles than people of our class, you cannot but see that this amounts to an income-tax not of 7*d.* per pound, but sometimes of 12*s.*, 15*s.*, or 16*s.*, per pound; while men of some thousands a year expend a vast deal more in buying furniture, horses, carriages, books, and other things which pay comparatively little tax. And hence it is that in this country, where we derive so much revenue from articles which enter largely into the consumption of the working classes, you find, when trade is bad in Lancashire or throughout the country, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reminding you that the state of the revenue has been affected by the state of trade. Both for the sake of trade, then, and in justice to the people, you must diminish your expenditure, or increase the amount of your direct taxation."

Mr. Cobden would make the tax just, in order that it might be permanent. He thought it ridiculous to deny the broad demarcation between the incomes derived from trades and professions and those drawn from land. "Take the case of a tradesman with 10,000*l.* of capital: he gets 500*l.* a year interest and 500*l.* more for his skill and industry. Is this man's 1000*l.*

a year to be mulcted in the same amount with 1000*l.* a year derived from a real property capital of 25,000*l.*? So with the cases of professional men, who literally live by the waste of their brains. The plain fair dealing of the country revolts at an equal levy on such sorts of property. Professional men and men of business put in motion the wheels of the social system: it is their industry and enterprise that mainly give to realized property the value which it bears: to them, therefore, the State first owes sympathy and support. Every leading member has admitted the injustice of the tax; yet Government has neither taken any means nor shown any disposition to apply a remedy."

Mr. Cobden even now urged an inquiry with this object. "Appoint a Committee, and let there be upon it—what there is not in the Cabinet—an equal proportion of merchants, manufacturers, professional men, and landed proprietors or other possessors of realized property; and I engage that in less time than it would take to fix the tariff of a railway company, to determine whether coal shall pay a penny a ton, lime three halfpence, and corn two pence, they will find a mode of adjusting the tax upon equitable principles. But no attempt of that kind has been made, and no promise is held out that such an attempt will be made. It is the dry, pedantic adhesion to the letter of the law, which has roused the indignation of the country. If a distinction were made between permanent and precarious incomes—if a gradation of duty were established—I undertake to say that you would have no remonstrances from the great manufacturing seats in the North."

Part of the debate seemed to assume that if the tax were not given for three years the revenue would fail; but this was a gratuitous assumption. Next February, just as last month, the House could renew the tax if it should think proper; meanwhile, and long before twelve months have passed, if the House approved of the amendment before it, the Government would find means to render the tax acceptable to the whole people. The classes Mr. Cobden represented, who favour more direct taxation, would suffer far the most of any class by the catastrophe of a national bankruptcy; but, for this very reason, they pressed for substantial reductions of Government expenditure, and for the introduction of the same prudence and economy which were necessary to success in manufacturing and commercial pursuits.

Lord John Russell commented with some humour upon the heterogeneous elements of which Mr. Hume's supporters consisted, combining free-traders and protectionists—those who wished to reduce expenditure, and those who desired to see a great addition to direct taxes.

The question before the House was simple. In the year when the tax was last proposed, and the following year, taxation was reduced by 4,000,000*l.*, and an addition was made to the Navy Estimates: was it ever rationally supposed that if the revenue did not flourish the tax would be taken off at the end of three years, notwithstanding that a deficiency should have appeared by that time? In 1846 and 1847, food had been imported to supply the place of failing harvests, which required some 30,000,000*l.* to pay for it. Two commercial panics followed, and

failures of the greatest and strongest houses in the country. It might be beforehand inferred that such circumstances would cause the revenue to flag. No one could expect that in five years of such times 5,000,000*l.* could be replaced.

Lord John Russell admitted the inequality of the tax, the discussion of which he thought had already been disposed of. "Those who argue for rendering the tax lighter in its pressure, take either a particular schedule of trades or professions, or a schedule of particular kinds of occupation, but they leave many cases of hardship and injustice more glaring than those they remedy; or, if they do not take that course, and attempt to go further, then they must go almost into the individual cases which were alluded to with so much force by the honourable and learned Member for Newcastle, such as rent-charges for life, leaseholds, money in the funds settled upon distant relations, and every kind and predicament of property, tenure, and provision. But, in a country where the transactions of society are so complicated and intricate, if you attempt to do that, you will not only find yourself engaged in a task of inextricable difficulty, but the tax will be far more inquisitorial than it has ever yet been, and thus, in the end, you will find that you have made the tax only half as productive, whilst you have rendered it twice as vexatious. The only fair line you can take is to treat all classes justly. Whether they have land, or whether they are engaged in trades or professions, or whether they have money in the funds, assess your tax as justly as you possibly can, and never mind any question as to the merits of those who are engaged in trade or professions beyond those who are to be run down because they are the possessors of land. But the honourable gentleman says, it would have been some consolation if we had attempted to make this distinction. Why, sir, I said on a former evening that my right honourable friend and myself had attempted to draw some line by which we could make the tax, according to the sense of this House, appear more just; but we could find no line which would not have been immediately attacked and invaded, and which would not have obliged us to leave other cases of still greater hardship. Of course, having come to that conclusion, we should have been deserting our duty to this House had we taken a different course. We stated our conviction to the House; and the honourable gentleman cannot say that we have not made every attempt to render the tax more fair."

He dismissed the proposal of Lord George Bentinck to return to import duties on corn, and such staples of consumption, as a retrogression that no party could for a moment attempt in practice.

There remained only the alternative of Mr. Hume—greatly to reduce the Estimates. To the question, whether it is possible to make such a reduction in the Estimates proposed, as to enable the House to dispense with the Income Tax after one year, Lord John gave a decidedly negative reply. The Government desired even an additional two per cent. for two years; but, this being refused, they could not possibly do without a guarantee of the present impost for three years to come, in order that the years 1849, 1850 might cover any deficiency likely to arise. The

Estimates were proposed at a time when everything appeared tranquil: even then, he (Lord J. Russell) had refused to prophesy the events which a year might bring forth; much less would he now attempt to forecast the future.

The debate was at length brought to a division, when there appeared

For Mr. Hume's Amendment	138
Against it	363
Majority . .	225

The next financial proposition introduced, was a motion by Sir Benjamin Hall to extend the Income Tax to Ireland.

Sir Benjamin contended, that the new payment of poor rates by the land of Ireland constituted no fair exemption: that the landlord had for so long a period paid no poor rates, was no reason why he should not pay Income Tax now. He quoted statistical figures to show that Ireland could plead no special burden on the score of its poor; that the rates paid in Ireland were not so high as they had been; that Ireland was specially exempted from taxes which England pays, to the amount of 12,000,000*l.* annually; and that the Irish Members themselves, at a meeting over which Lord Cloncurry presided, had proposed an income tax in aid of poor rates. Looking to the conduct of Irish Members in the House, he found that 52 of them had voted in favour of the tax and only 8 against it; on the question of continuing it for a period of three years, 67 Irish Members had voted for that proposition and only 9 against it. If the Irish Members chose to saddle Great Britain with this tax, there was no reason why the English Members should not return the favour.

The motion was supported by Mr. John Williams, Sir John Tyrell, Mr. Horsman, Colonel Mure, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Wakley, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Muntz.

The Irish Members received it with great indignation. Sir Henry Barron (who nicknamed the mover "Conciliation Hall") pointed to the agitated state of France and Ireland as a warning to the House. He was followed by Mr. Fagan, by Mr. G. A. Hamilton (who opposed the motion on the score of the different condition of the two countries), Mr. Napier and Colonel Dunne (for the like reason), Mr. Roche (who reproached Sir Benjamin with creating more disaffection in Ireland than all the eloquence of Mr. Meagher), Colonel Conolly, Mr. Monsell, Mr. Reynolds, and Sir Arthur Brooke. Mr. Moore also opposed the motion; though he admitted that a species of property tax would reach those who eluded local liabilities, and might become absolutely necessary to restore the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

On behalf of the Government, Sir Charles Wood resisted the motion as impolitic and inexpedient. It has been found inconvenient to impose exactly the same taxes on Ireland as on England, and the Income Tax would be an impost particularly cruel at this moment of severe and calamitous affliction.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 218 to 138.

It has been seen that the Government found themselves compelled in the early part of the Session to back out of their unpopular proposal for augmenting the Income Tax to five per cent., but as this

measure, if carried, would have given them an increased revenue of three millions, which they had stated to be necessary to equalise income with expenditure, the withdrawal of the scheme of course involved the consequence of a deficit. The reduction in the Estimates of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, which the Ministers had consented to submit to the ordeal of a Select Committee, might indeed go some way to supply the expected defalcation; but as it could not be anticipated to equal the amount which it had been proposed to raise by taxation, a deficiency of ways and means, to a greater or less amount, seemed inevitable. Much suspense and anxiety prevailed among persons to whom the maintenance of a sound financial policy was an object of interest, as to the consequences of suffering the nation thus to exceed its income, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was frequently importuned, as the Session went on, to state definitely to the House, what the position of the country was likely to be. Sir Charles Wood, in answer to these applications, stated, that as the Estimates which had been referred to the Select Committee, were in course of reduction, it would be more convenient to defer his ultimate exposition of his views till the close of the Session; but he, from time to time, made partial disclosures to the House as to the progress effected in reducing the Estimates, and the anticipated results of his calculations. At length on the 25th of August he fulfilled his engagement by making a more complete and explicit disclosure of the state of the Exchequer, and of the mode in which he proposed to meet the exigencies of the public service.

In a Committee of the whole House on that day, he stated what he believed the financial condition of the country to be, and also the measures which it was the intention of Government to propose to meet it. He commenced his observations by recapitulating the leading points in Lord John Russell's statement at the commencement of the Session respecting the income and expenditure of the year, and referred to the measures which his lordship had proposed and Parliament had rejected, for meeting the deficiency which was then contemplated; tracing to its source the increase of our expenditure, for which, as Mr. Cobden had justly observed, neither this nor that Government was blameable, but the House of Commons. When Ministers withdrew their proposition for increased taxation, it became necessary to revise our present system, and to make such alterations in it as the altered circumstances of the country required. In the statement which he was about to make, he would deal in the first instance only with the income of the year as compared with its expenditure. After the decision of the House on the budget of Lord John Russell, Ministers felt that their first duty was to revise the expenditure; and with a view to its reduction they had appointed two Committees, one to examine into the Miscellaneous and the other into the Naval and Military expenditure. Having appointed these Committees, Ministers had called upon every department of the Government to revise its Estimates, and the result was that diminished Estimates had been submitted to and been sanctioned by Parliament. No reduction had been

made in the amount of our effective naval and military force. The House of Commons had confirmed the opinion of Ministers on that point, and nothing had since occurred to shake it. From Ireland, and the manufacturing districts of England, demands for protection had frequently been made; and we should have been ill able to afford it had our force been less than it was at present. On other points Ministers had been able to make several reductions. For instance, the Navy Estimates voted were less than those originally submitted to the House by 208,000*l.*; the Army Estimates were less by 150,000*l.*; the Ordnance Estimates were less by 123,000*l.*; the Miscellaneous by 235,000*l.*; and the Estimate for the Militia by 150,000*l.* The whole reduction on those Estimates amounted to 866,200*l.* Subsequently, however, the Secretary at War had taken 25,000*l.* for the pensioners, whom it had been found necessary to call out, and an addition had been made to the Miscellaneous Estimates of 13,200*l.*; so that the actual reduction on the original Estimates did not exceed 828,000*l.* Now, the charge of the Debt and the Consolidated Fund was 31,280,600*l.*, the charge for the Navy was 7,678,610*l.*, for the Army 7,012,795*l.*, for the Ordnance 2,078,000*l.*, and for the Miscellaneous Estimates 3,780,000*l.*, and the total expenditure of the year was 52,422,000*l.* Lord John Russell had estimated the income of the year at 51,210,000*l.* By an arrangement, however, which had been subsequently made as to the Appropriations in aid, a sum of 500,000*l.* had become available for the service of the year. The barley crop had also been so plentiful last year that malting had been carried on to a very great extent, and had led to a considerable increase in the revenue of the Excise. The Stamps, however, had fallen off. Nevertheless, he anticipated an increase of ordinary revenue above that contemplated by Lord John Russell of not less than 340,000*l.* Add to this a sum of 80,000*l.*, the last remnant of China money, and the income of the year would amount to 52,130,000*l.*; and, therefore, upon the balance of the income and expenditure of the year, there would only be a deficiency of 292,305*l.* He hoped that, after this statement, the Committee would be of opinion that Ministers had given some earnest of their desire to equalize the expenditure and income of the year. In the present condition of the trade and commerce of the country, it was difficult to anticipate the amount of the revenue of the year, but he entertained little doubt that at the close of the year ending 5th of April, 1849, the income would be equal to its expenditure. He then adverted to the necessity of providing for what he called the "extraordinary" expenditure of the year, in which he included the expense of the Caffre war and the amount of naval excess, amounting together to 1,345,411*l.* That sum had already been advanced, but it was necessary to replace it in the Exchequer. A few days ago he had proposed to vote away two sums, amounting to 393,510*l.*, partly for the relief of distress in Ireland, and partly for repaying to the province of Canada the charge to which it had been put during the last year for relieving the emigrants from Ireland. These sums added together amounted to

1,738,921*l.*, which, added to the deficiency of 292,305*l.* already mentioned, made the total deficiency to be provided for 2,031,226*l.* Now, if he were to follow the course which had been taken in similar circumstances before, he should throw this as a charge upon the Consolidated Fund. But he thought that such a course would be unadvisable at present, as a charge of 3,500,000*l.* had been placed in 1846 on the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of loans for drainage in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Of this 3,500,000*l.* only 500,000*l.* had been expended. He could not say what amount might be required this year, but for some years it would be a charge annually increasing. There were also other charges, for New Zealand, for the West India hurricane loan, &c., amounting to 300,000*l.*, on the Consolidated Fund; and therefore he thought it impolitic to increase the charge already upon it. What he proposed to do, in order to replace in the Treasury the amount of two millions, which was the excess of expenditure for the year, was to borrow the money in the market. Having explained the reasons why he did not adopt the course pursued by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, to cover the deficiency which then existed, he stated that he intended to raise the money either by an issue of Exchequer bills or by a creation of stock. No one felt more than he did that this, in ordinary circumstances, was an objectionable course. It was increasing the debt in the time of peace, and the Government deemed that so undesirable that it had even proposed increased taxation for two years. That proposition the House would not accede to, and Sir Robert Peel had declared that Ministers had done right in abandoning it. The circumstances under which Ministers had recourse to their present plan were not ordinary. During the last two years there had been famine in Ireland; during the last autumn there had been great commercial distress in this country; during this year there had been revolution in Europe, disorganizing all commercial arrangements; and there had been insurrection at home. Under such circumstances, it was very difficult to anticipate the revenue of future years, or even to say what the expenditure might be for Ireland next year. But unless matters took a worse turn than he anticipated, he thought that we should be able to reduce our expenditure next year, and that we might reckon upon a better revenue than we had gained in the present. It was most consolatory to know that even in the present year the revenue had maintained its amount; and taking the year as far as it had gone, our prospects were anything but unsatisfactory. Indeed, the revenue had kept up to an amount, this year, which had filled him with astonishment as he looked on it week by week. Taking the receipt of the revenue from the 5th of April to the 5th of August this year, and comparing it with that during the corresponding period of last year, the whole amount of decrease did not exceed 115,000*l.*; whilst upon Customs and Excise there had been a positive increase of 500,000*l.* Though our exports had fallen off, our imports had increased, owing to the general cheapness of commodities which had prevailed throughout the year. We had reason to be thankful for

the peace and tranquillity which had prevailed at home. The receipt of our own Customs, when compared with those of France, was most satisfactory, as he showed at some length. If the disaffected would only reflect upon it, they would see the injury they were inflicting on themselves by disturbing the public peace, and interrupting the ordinary avocations of industry. He was happy to say that trade, throughout the country, was still in a sound state. Though there had been a drain of bullion last week, it had been replaced in the present; and the reserve in the Bank had, in both weeks, amounted to 9,000,000*l.* He then adverted to the state of the crops and of the weather, which was to all a source of anxiety. He was sorry to say, that in the south and west of England there was danger of a considerable failure in the potato crops; but he was led to believe that in the north of England, and in Scotland, no serious injury had been done. The accounts respecting the harvest were conflicting. In some parts of England, he heard that the corn had sprouted, but he did not anticipate very considerable damage to it by the weather. The panic in London was not general; and in the north of England people were even complaining of the want of rain. As far, then, as this country was concerned, there was no great cause for anxiety. From Ireland the accounts were various. It would be impossible to go into details; but the inference he drew from them was this, that there was scarcely any part of Ireland in which the potato disease had not shown itself more or less. On the other hand, it appeared that the Irish had planted a larger quantity of potatoes than ever, and there was no reason to believe that there would not be the same amount of sound potatoes this year as there was the last. In his present state of information as to the crops, it would be impossible to calculate what would be the amount of produce available for human food; but unless there were a failure of the crops like that of 1846, there must be a quantity of food in the country capable of supporting the people for a very considerable time. It would be unjust to the people of England, and disadvantageous to the industry of Ireland, if a large and sweeping measure for the relief of Irish distress should again be adopted. At present, he believed that it was not needed; at the same time, he must say that it would be cruel and inhuman to withhold all assistance from such localities as were suffering severe distress. To hold out to them any hope of general and systematic relief would be inexpedient. He hoped, however, that Parliament would allow the Government to dispense such aid as might be necessary. If things should turn out worse than he anticipated, it would be necessary to apply for assistance to the wisdom of Parliament. But Parliament must see what the crops were, and what was the necessity of Ireland, before it decided on the course which it ought to pursue.

The statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was followed by a desultory discussion, in which several Members expressed dissatisfaction at the position in which the finances of the country were placed, and also at the method proposed for recruiting them. Mr. Hume, in particular, objected very strongly to the proposition for increasing the permanent debt in time of peace,

a measure which he regarded as being occasioned by the extravagant establishments kept up by the Government. He also demurred to the plan which Sir Charles Wood meant to adopt for raising the loan, it being in his opinion a preferable course to borrow the money in the market rather than to sell stock to the required amount, which he regarded as an improvident proceeding.

A more formal discussion upon these financial arrangements took place on the 29th August, when a motion was made for the committal of the Bill introduced to give effect to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's propositions. Mr. Hume, on this occasion, renewed at some length his opposition to the Ministerial plan. He objected, first, on the ground that the Bill was a measure for the creation of a loan of two millions in time of peace, which would add 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* to the interest of the debt, and, secondly, on the ground that it sanctioned a very impolitic mode of borrowing money for the country. Early in the Session he had urged on the Government the propriety of either diminishing the expenditure within the revenue, which then showed a deficiency of 2,900,000*l.*, or of providing by taxation to meet the excess of our expenditure. He had urged the propriety of not adding to the amount of the debt in time of peace, and had shown that a very large portion of our expenditure was not necessary. On a division the numbers were 157 in favour of continuing a large expenditure, and only 59 against it. After recapitulating at considerable length the various economical motions which he had proposed in the course of the Session, Mr. Hume dilated on the impolicy of contracting loans and increasing the debt in times of peace. He next went over the often repeated statements respecting the expense of collecting the revenue, which amounted to a sum of four or five millions a year, and increased our taxation to an amount of 59 millions a year, and then digressed into a long remonstrance against the mismanagement and expenditure of our Colonies. In the early part of next Session he would put his statements of that evening upon record, in order that every man who had leisure might read and reflect upon them. He concluded by moving that the Bill be taken into consideration that day three months.

Mr. Muntz seconded the amendment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer contended that the various reductions of expenditure which Mr. Hume had proposed in the course of the present Session were not consistent either with the safety or with the interests of the country, and he showed that a vast majority of the House had concurred in the amount of the various establishments now proposed for the defence and maintenance of our commercial greatness and national independence. He reminded the House that there were only three ways in which it could meet a deficient revenue. The first was by increased taxation; the second, by the reduction of establishments to the amount of the revenue; and the third, by having recourse to some such means as were now proposed, of borrowing money to meet our expenditure. If it were necessary to support our existing establishments, and if the country would not submit to increased taxation, the only course left to the Government—which nevertheless he ad-

mitted to be an objectionable course —was to cover an extraordinary and temporary expenditure by the loan which he now proposed. Having promised Mr. Hume that in the next Session the Administration would adopt all practicable measures of economy in every department of the State, he applied himself to a very brief exposure of the monetary doctrines of Mr. Muntz, and concluded by recommending the Bill to the support of the House.

Mr. Henley and Mr. H. Drummond declared their intention of supporting the Government. Mr. Spooner announced the same intention, but launched out into an emphatic invective against the present system of the Currency.

Mr. Cobden held up to the high admiration of the House and the country the declaration of Sir R. Peel, that he would not carry on the Administration of the country if he could not make its expenditure equal to its revenue. The present Government had departed from that rule; and, unless the country took the subject up and prevented this system of borrowing, it would be carried on to the same extent as it had been in France and Austria, and would plunge us into the same ruin. With our local expenditure in poor rates and in county rates our aggregate taxation amounted this year to 70 millions sterling. That sum was monstrous, and it was impossible for us to go on raising it. He then defended the speech which he had made at the commencement of the Session for the reduction of our military armaments, and he attributed the temporary panic of invasion which was then felt to the interested exertions of military men, who desired employment. He should certainly vote against this loan.

Mr. A. Smith contended that the Government had done all in its power to avoid the position in which it was now placed, of being obliged to borrow in time of peace. At the commencement of the Session Government had proposed increased taxation, but, in conformity to the wishes of the House and the country, had subsequently abandoned it. He had supported, and should have continued to support, Government in that taxation, but still he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the state of the world justified them in conceding to the deliberate decision of the House that it was not expedient to increase taxation this year. As then Ministers could not increase taxation or diminish establishments so as to equalize income and expenditure, no other resource was left to them but to incur a loan. He should, therefore, support the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In conclusion, he read Mr. Cobden a severe lecture for asserting that the apprehension of war at the commencement of the Session had been propagated by professional men for their own private interest and emolument. He utterly denied the truth of such an imputation.

Lord G. Bentinck contended that Mr. Cobden was the last man in the world who ought to charge his opponents with propagating delusions. Mr. Cobden might think that 17 millions might be reduced at one slash of the knife; but few gentlemen had been found to coincide with him in that opinion. Though the House at the commencement of the Session had refused to grant increased taxation to the Government, it had

never been asked whether it would reimpose the duties on Customs which had been lately repealed. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made such a proposition to the House, he should have given it his most hearty support. The taxes which had been repealed amounted to the deficiency which we had now to supply. He therefore called on the House not to look for the filling of the Exchequer to the spendthrift mode of inflicting debts on our posterity by incurring loans in the 33rd year of peace, but to the reimposition of the Customs Duties which we had repealed to our own damage and to the benefit of the foreigner.

If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he would re-enact the Corn Duties, which had produced 700,000*l.* of revenue in 1846, he did not believe that any man in the country would have grumbled at it. In conclusion, he exhorted the House to beware of those gentlemen who decried all who differed from them, who thought themselves the only oracles, and who declared, in the language of Jack Cade before he ordered Lord Sele off to execution, "I am the besom who shall sweep the House clean of all such villains as thou."

Lord J. Russell was of opinion after all the experience of this Session that the Government had not acted unwisely in proposing an increase of the Income Tax, in order to meet the deficiency in the revenue. On a former occasion he had shown that in the last few years ten millions of taxes, which pressed heavily on the springs of industry, had been taken off; and the result was, that when an extraordinary pressure took place on the resources of the country, our expenditure exceeded our income, and it became necessary to have recourse to a loan. It would not have been wise to increase the permanent taxation of the country to meet a temporary deficiency, and Government had in consequence proposed a temporary increase of the per-centage on property, which it was obliged subsequently to abandon. Having abandoned it, Government said that it would endeavour to ride over the difficulty by means of the balances in the Exchequer, provided that the Income Tax was continued for three years. In the present condition of the country, however, it did not appear to be wise to allow those balances to run too low, and it was therefore deemed expedient to supply them by a loan. He then proceeded to show that no better course had been suggested by any party in the House. Mr. Hume and Mr. Cobden thought that we might have made great reductions in the amount of our military force. He could not consent to those reductions when they were first proposed, and recent events had confirmed the propriety of the decision which he had then announced; for it was now evident that in February last the Government of France intended to make war in Belgium, and a war in Belgium would have kindled a conflagration in Europe. He would not enter into any refutation of the arguments used by Lord G. Bentinck in favour of the reimposition of the duties on timber and raw cotton, further than was necessary to remind the House that all the leading statesmen of this country, from the days of Sir R. Walpole down to the present time had declared taxes on the raw materials of manufactures to

be the worst taxes that could be imposed. As to the reimposition of the Corn Duties, he would only say that he very much rejoiced that in the present circumstances of the country we had not the sliding scale of 1845 to prevent the steady importation of foreign grain into our harbours.

The House then divided, when the amendment of Mr. Hume was negatived by a majority of 66 to 45.

CHAPTER III.

Alteration of the Navigation Laws—Announcement respecting them in the Queen's Speech—Mr. Labouchere, on the 15th of May, explains the Ministerial Scheme in a Committee of the whole House—His Speech—Lord George Bentinck declares his Opposition to the Plan, which is commented upon by various Members on either side—Mr. Herries moves a Resolution on the 29th May, in favour of maintaining the fundamental principles of the Navigation Laws—The Debate is prolonged for three nights by Adjournment—Speeches of Mr. Herries, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Alderman Thompson, Mr. Baillie, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Gibson, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Sir C. Wood, Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Disraeli, and Sir Robert Peel—Upon a Division, the Resolution is lost by 294 to 177—In consequence of the delay which had occurred, Mr. Labouchere, on the 12th August, announces the Postponement of the Measure till the next Session—Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill—Circumstances which led to the Introduction of this Measure—The Second Reading being moved on the 7th February, Mr. Augustus Stafford moves, as an Amendment, that it be read a Second Time that day Six Months—Lord Burghley seconds the Amendment—Speeches of Mr. W. P. Wood, Mr. Milnes, Sir W. Molesworth, Lord Mahon, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Newdegate, Sir Robert Peel, and other Members—The Second Reading is carried by a Majority of 73—Upon a subsequent stage, Mr. Goring moves an Amendment condemnatory of the Bill—After some discussion it is withdrawn—Various Amendments on the Bill moved by Sir R. H. Inglis, and other Members, are rejected—On the Motion for the Third Reading, Sir F. Thesiger moves that it be read a Third Time that day Six Months—After Speeches from Lord John Russell, and other Members, the Amendment is rejected, and the Bill passed—In the House of Lords the Second Reading is moved by the Marquis of Lansdowne on the 25th May—The Earl of Ellenborough moves the Rejection of the Bill—The Duke of Cambridge follows on the same side—It is supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Bishop of St. David's, Lord Brougham, and the Earl of Ellesmere; opposed by Lord Stanley, the Earl of Winchilsea, and the Bishop of Oxford—On a Division the Amendment is carried against the Bill by a majority of 35.

AMONG the measures which formed the Ministerial programme at the opening of Parliament, a settlement of the Navigation Laws was one of the most prominent. By the Free-Trade party the alteration of these laws was regarded as the complement of that commercial policy to which Parliament had already given its

sanction. The present Government had pledged itself to carry out the system in this direction, and the speech from the Throne had recommended the subject to the attentive consideration of the Legislature. Seven months of the Session, however, were suffered to pass without any step being taken to give effect to the engagement which the Ministers had entered into, and doubts began to be entertained of the sincerity of their intention to deal with a subject involved in much difficulty, and calculated to provoke vigorous opposition. At length, on the 15th of May, in a Committee of the whole House, the Ministerial plan for the modification of the Navigation Laws was formally propounded. On Mr. Labouchere, as President of the Board of Trade, the task devolved of developing the proposed measure, which he did in an able and comprehensive speech, tracing out the origin and history of this part of our legislation, and explaining the grounds on which an alteration in the system had been deemed advisable. In order to do justice to the argument, it will be necessary to give rather copious extracts from this important speech. Going back to the earliest records in our Statute Book, Mr. Labouchere stated, that in the reign of Richard the Second was passed the first Navigation Law in the English code. It enacted broadly, "that no subject of the King should ship any merchandise outwards or homewards in any but ships of the King's liegeance, on pain of forfeiting all the merchandise shipped." This Act was found too strong, and was next year altered: foreign ships were allowed to take freights if English could not be found. Some years after, reasonable freight-charges, and later still, a tariff of maximum freight-charges, were enacted for ships going between England and the chief ports of Europe. A system of exclusive monopoly lasted, with modifications, to the time of Elizabeth, when a new principle was engrafted upon the law—the principle of protection by differential duties. During Elizabeth's reign, this principle was adopted and acted upon throughout Europe, with but one exception. Holland, by a system of unrestricted freedom—by making her marshes the home of every citizen of the world who chose to seek them—built up the most magnificent fabric of commercial greatness and political power that up to that time the world had ever seen. While in this reign our foreign trade was somewhat opened, our coasting trade was for the first time made a close monopoly: the trade with our colonies, which then first grew important, was placed in the same position. With the Commonwealth commenced the system which attained full development in the Navigation Act of Charles the Second. That system was founded rather upon motives of state policy than maxims of trade; and was framed, firstly, in the hope of impeding the intercourse of the Royalists with their foreign allies, and, secondly, in simple jealousy of the great carrying trade then enjoyed by the Dutch. Its principle was monopoly and exclusion; its end was to make the British empire self-supported and self-relying. Its leading features have subsisted to the present day; though many successive events have interfered with its grand aim, and gradually abridged its action.

The first great breach in the system followed on the American war. A great colonial trade suddenly became a foreign trade when the independence of our Colonies was acknowledged. Any self-supporting power till then enjoyed by the empire was destroyed; and, in particular, the great intercolonial traffic which had hitherto subsisted between the United States and the West Indies was cut off. Parliament was unwilling to accept all the consequences of such changes: the influence of Mr. Pitt failed him when he, wisely and courageously, proposed to continue the commercial intercourse of the estranged countries on its former footing. Grievous embarrassments arose. No fewer than 15,000 slaves perished between 1780 and 1787, from want of the accustomed supplies of food from America. Palliatives were at last applied, and step by step a freer intercourse was allowed. It was reserved for our own times to give to the British West Indian Islands a perfect freedom of access to the United States for supplies. Other important changes had been the admission of Ireland to the English trade, the establishment of free ports, the introduction of the warehousing system, and the reciprocity treaties of Mr. Huskisson. Lastly, and recently, came the measure adopted for enabling those inland countries which, by means of steam navigation and of rivers, can carry on an intercourse with the sea near to the mouths of those rivers, to use the ports which they approach as if they were ports of their own. Mr. Labouchere thought that no man who looked into results could fail to see that this last measure had made a breach in our navigation system which it was too late to repair, and which it would be exceedingly difficult to prevent becoming much wider.

The existing law on the subject is comprised in three statutes. One is the Navigation Law, properly so called—the 8th and 9th Victoria, chapter 88—which is a summary of the provisions of our Navigation Laws; the next is the Act regulating the registration of British vessels, being the 8th and 9th Victoria, chapter 89; and the third is the statute for consolidating the laws relating to merchant seamen, and for keeping a registry of seamen, being the 7th and 8th Victoria, chapter 112. The Navigation Law enacts, with regard to our foreign trade, that certain enumerated European articles can only be imported in British ships, or in ships of the country from which the goods are exported, or of which the goods are the produce. Articles the produce of foreign Asia, Africa, and America, can only be imported direct from the producing country, in ships of that country, or in British ships. With regard to our colonial trade, it is throughout the empire—except the trade between this country and India, which is open to certain foreigners under treaty—confined to the medium of British ships, and kept quite to ourselves. A British ship in the foreign trade must be navigated by a British master, and by a crew at least three-fourths of which are British seamen, and about one-sixth apprentices. The term British seamen excludes a Lascar. Furthermore, a British ship must have been British-built, and must be British-owned. There is an anomalous legal rule, that a foreigner naturalized in Great

Britain can become a British ship-owner, while a foreigner naturalized in any of our Colonies cannot do so. As to the ships of our coasting trade, they must be wholly manned by British seamen.

The conclusion that these laws require alteration is supported by considerations regarding the security equally of the colonial trade, the long voyage trade, and the carrying trade. With regard to the colonial trade, Mr. Labouchere thought it impossible to deny the claim of the Colonies, that restrictions originally imposed on all for the good of all, and now removed from the mother country alone, should also be removed from the Colonies. Restrictions had ever been the leading colonial grievances. Mr. Huskisson even thought that they had more to do with the American war of separation than the question of taxation itself. Historical research would support that opinion. Mr. Labouchere referred to the history of Bryan Edwards, replete with accounts of complaints and struggles about navigation restrictions. So at this day, remonstrances and complaints against the Navigation Laws come from all parts of our colonial possessions.

On the 11th of July, 1847, the Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada adopted a joint Address to our Queen, praying for the opening of the St. Lawrence to all nations, and the abolition of the Navigation Laws. The United States strive by every means to entice across their own territory the traffic from the great Western lakes to the seaboard; and further inducements than exist must be offered by the rival route of the St. Lawrence. Considering the parties and the circumstances, a more important document than that Address could hardly solicit the attention of Parliament. In a despatch dated 16th March, 1847, Lord Elgin supported the Address with these statesmanlike opinions—"It will probably be urged in certain quarters, that the monopoly of the river navigation is essential to the maintenance of British supremacy in this portion of North America, and that the authority of the mother country will be imperilled if the United States are permitted to share the privilege. It may well be doubted, however, whether these apprehensions are well founded. One of the most efficacious expedients for securing the allegiance of a high-spirited and enterprising people, is to convince them that their material interests will not be advanced by separation; and with respect to any disposition on the part of the United States to resort to a policy of aggression, I think it may safely be affirmed that nothing will be more likely to keep such a tendency in check than the knowledge that it will entail the destruction of a flourishing trade in which the citizens of that country are largely engaged."

Mr. Labouchere then read an extract from a Memorial addressed to the Queen by the House of Assembly in Jamaica, in which that body prayed for a relaxation of the Navigation Laws, as a measure conducive alike to their own commercial advancement and to the true interests of England. He quoted also from a despatch from Lord Harris, the Governor of Trinidad, advocating the same policy as calculated to be most beneficial to that colony, and as a compensation justly due to its traders for the abolition of those differential duties on which the

West Indian interest had formerly depended.

As to the long voyage trade, Mr. Labouchere observed that the law prohibited exportation from Europe of Asiatic, African, and American produce, and compelled its importation in native or British ships direct from the producing country. He had received information that Members of the Opposition were prepared to abandon some part of the Navigation Laws, and he suspected it was this. He remarked that the pecuniary mulct on actual trade which this branch of the law inflicted was a trifling matter compared with the national loss it occasioned, by preventing trade from being carried on at all.

Then, as to the security of the indirect or carrying trade, the question whether or not the carrying trade shall be retained no longer rests with us alone. Foreign nations have acquired new powers, and have given us no obscure intimations of new intentions. Prussia has already spoken on the subject, with the voice of all Germany. In a letter of the 10th May, 1847, M. Bunsen thus addressed Lord Palmerston—"The treaty of 1841 does not allow Prussia, as the aggrieved interests and public opinion in Germany, which powerfully supports those interests, would require, to restrict in analogous manner the admission of British ships; for the second article of this treaty accords to Great Britain the rights of the most favoured nation with respect to the importation of sugar and rice. The expiration of the treaty at the end of the present year will restore that liberty to the Prussian Government, and a change in the laws affecting navigation has been the subject of its serious consideration." From another quarter—the United States of America—we have received, not a warning, but an invitation. Last autumn, Mr. Bancroft and Lord Palmerston had an official conversation on the Navigation Laws, in the course of which Mr. Bancroft expressed himself in these terms —"We are ready to do anything you like: if you can do but little, we must do little; if you can do much, we will do much; if you shall do all, we shall do all." Subsequently, Mr. Bancroft put these offers on record, and on the 3rd November, 1847, wrote as follows—"The prohibition of the indirect trade has but restrained enterprise; it has done good to neither country. To abrogate it would at once set free dormant commercial wealth, without injuring any one. Should Her Majesty's Government entertain similar views, the undersigned is prepared, on the part of the American Government, to propose that British ships may trade from any port in the world to any port in the United States, and be received, protected, and in respect to charges and duties treated like American ships, if, reciprocally, American ships may in like manner trade from any port of the world to any port under the dominion of Her Britannic Majesty." Lord Palmerston was unable to say more in reply than that his colleagues were prepared to submit propositions to Parliament in accordance with Mr. Bancroft's views. Mr. Labouchere would deeply lament to throw away such an opportunity as this.

The alterations contemplated by Government were thus announced by Mr. Labouchere. Reserving the coasting trade and fisheries, both of Great Britain and of the Colonies, he proposed

altogether to strike out of the Statute Book the present system, and to "throw open the whole navigation of the country, of every sort and description." He proposed, however, to retain to the Queen in Council the power of putting such restriction on the navigation of foreign countries as she might think fit, if those countries did not meet us on equal terms, — not making it obligatory on the Queen in Council, but enabling her to use the power in such a way as might be best for the interests of the country. As regards the coasting trade of the Colonies, that he proposed to reserve in the same manner as the coasting trade of the mother country; but he meant to allow each colony, if it should think fit, to pass an Act throwing open its coasting trade to foreign countries; such Act to have the consent of the Crown in the usual manner. In short, each colony should be allowed to deal with its coasting trade as it thought proper. If such a power were not given, the case of Canada and the navigation of the St. Lawrence would not be provided for at all. As to the intercolonial trade, a clause would be introduced into the Bill giving the Queen in Council general powers relating to that subject.

As to the manning, ownership, and building of British ships, he proposed to do away with the necessity that ships be British-built, but still to require them to be British-owned. The present regulations as to manning are to be retained both in the foreign and coasting trade—except those regarding apprentices, which are to be done away with entirely. Lascars are in future to be considered British sailors; and the anomalous disability of owners naturalized in our Colonies is to be removed.

Mr. Labouchere anticipated some of the objections which he supposed would be made; and quoted some facts from the evidence taken before the Select Committee, and also from the blue book of the Consul's Reports, in its support.

In reply to Mr. Hume, Mr. Labouchere stated that Ceylon would be treated as any other British colony. In reply to Mr. Gladstone, he said that foreign vessels from the deep-sea fisheries would be enabled to bring their produce direct to this country; but with respect to the coast and bank fisheries, it was proposed to retain to our own people their existing privileges. In further explanation he stated that it had not been thought expedient to communicate with other Governments except the two he had mentioned, while the sentiments of Parliament were unascertained. Lastly, he was not prepared to propose a compulsory system of examination of shipmasters. There was an increasing disposition among shipmasters to submit to the voluntary examination now made; and Government desired to give that system a further trial. They intended during the present Session to submit measures relating to the Light Dues and the Merchant Seamen's Fund; and they contemplated the formation of a new department of the Board of Trade, to be called the Department of the Mercantile Marine, which should consist of unpaid officers, and be presided over by a Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord George Bentinck took the lead in opposing the Ministerial proposition, repeating the main arguments on which the advocates of a

protective policy rely, and criticising in detail the grounds on which Mr. Labouchere had supported his proposition. In reply to the new points raised by the proposals of Prussia and America, Lord George insisted particularly on the obvious and one-sided interest of America in making such proposals to us. The anxiety of the American Minister to be present at this debate was perfectly natural, for the measures proposed would be simply measures for the encouragement of the United States marine. We propose to throw open to the States our colonial trade; this we did to some extent in 1822, and again in 1842 or 1843; and the result has been, that our own timber trade with the West Indies has fallen off 60,000 tons, and that of the States has increased by 140,000 tons. The Government ought to be prepared to inform the House what would be the reduction of freight-rates which their measures would effect. In the *Economist* — now, as Lord George supposed, an official organ —the honourable Member for Westbury lately set forth that 2*s.* 6*d.* a ton would be the saving effected by repeal of the Navigation Laws. A million sterling, therefore, was to be taken from the shipping interest and given to the consumer. Ought not the House to wait for further experience of the Free-Trade system before it struck so great a blow to the shipping interest?

It had not been shown that any interest was discontented but that of our North American Colonies; who, having been shorn of protection to their timber and corn, naturally now turn round and demand facilities of conveyance for their products. Lord George thought, now that the manufacturing interest had been, and the shipping interest was to be, shorn of exclusive benefits in the Canadian markets, it would be difficult any longer to see what advantage the Canadas could bring us, beyond the privilege of paying for their Government. As to the West Indian representations, Mr. Labouchere well knew that for every one person connected with that interest who desired a repeal of the Navigation Laws, there were three others who see that repeal would be of no use to the West Indian Islands unless it were confined to them. Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, would profit far more than our own islands by such measures as were now proposed. The American ships were better built for stowage of the sugar-freights of those places than ours for the hogsheads and butts in which West Indian sugars are packed; and the result must be an advantage to the Americans in the market. As to the Lascars, Lord George believed the Queen already had sufficient powers in council to regulate the proportions in which they might sail in our ships.

Mr. Ricardo replied to Lord George Bentinck. He believed that a reciprocal opening of trade between this country and America would be more to our advantage than our loss: for although we now excluded American ships from our Colonies, those ships now displaced ours from the better markets of Europe. The Americans, whose ships were the dearest built and manned in the world, had two-thirds of the whole trade between this country and the United States. On the other hand, the Russian ships, which were the cheapest built

and manned in the world, were obliged to yield to our ships the whole trade from their country to ours. It was clear that our success in a foreign trade depended on other elements than the high cost of ships or high wages. Mr. Ricardo adduced the great discrepancy of passage-rates charged here and at Bremen for emigration passages to Australia. The fare here was some 20*l.* a head; at Bremen it was nearer to 12*l.* English ships had a monopoly of freights to our Colonies. No man could tell how far the enterprise of the merchant was checked, and his operations prevented, by such laws. And what was the benefit they offered us in return? We were promised a better manning to our royal navy. But a law that had existed for two hundred years with this object ought before now to have made our captains and sailors the most perfect in the world. How little this was true as to the *officers* of our commercial marine, might be gathered from the reports of our Consuls as collected from stations all round the world, and now laid on the table of the House. Mr. Ricardo read several extracts from these reports, to support his assertion, that although our seamen were the most skilful, our shipmasters were commonly the least educated and moral of any in all the navies of the world.

Mr. Henley defended the English shipowners against "the abuse of every sort and kind" which the preceding speaker had heaped upon them. The best answer to such declaration, he said, was the rate of insurance at Lloyd's; where it was universally true that English ships paid a lower per centage than any other ships in the world. The emigration fares quoted as current here and at Bremen relatively carried untruth upon their very face. The fare hence to Bremen was but 2*l.* or 3*l.*, and what was there to prevent emigrants from going to Bremen, and then paying the cheaper fares to Australia?

Mr. Mitchell vindicated Mr. Ricardo's statements. He assured the House that the difference in the rates of passage-money had been scarcely at all exaggerated. With regard to the insurance, he informed the House, that though the underwriters at Lloyd's would insure a British bark at a lower rate than a foreign hull, they would not insure a cargo in a British vessel at so low a rate as one in a foreign vessel. The reason was that our ship-building was superior, but our captains were in intelligence and reputation inferior to foreign masters.

The other speakers were — against the Ministerial measure, Mr. Robinson, Captain Harris, Lord Ingestrie, and Mr. Hudson; in its favour, Mr. Hume.

The further progress of the Ministerial measure thus advanced was suspended by a debate introduced by Mr. Herries, who, by way of making a movement in an opposite direction, proposed a general resolution on the 29th May, in favour of maintaining the fundamental principles of the Navigation Laws. Mr. Herries' speech on this occasion may be considered as embodying all the leading arguments of the advocates of a restrictive policy, and we shall, therefore, cite *in extenso* the most material passages. After some preliminary objections as to the time and manner in which the Government measure had been broached, while a Committee of the Lords was still sitting on the subject, and the inquiry was therefore incomplete.

Mr. Herries proceeded to confront the reasons adduced by his opponents. He contended that no urgency in reasons of state had been shown for seeking so great alterations; and little ground for distrusting the established opinions that such a venture would be dangerous to the interests of the country. He criticised in succession the pleas in behalf of Prussia, America, and our West Indian Colonies, for repeal or modification of the present code. Prussia had nothing to give us in return for the concessions she sought: on the other hand, her warnings and threats of withdrawing those advantages she had already conceded, were of trivial moment. America, in the most kindly and friendly way no doubt, requested to join in our foreign and colonial trade in return for reciprocal concessions to be made to us: but America had no colonies; and it must be admitted that she had ever been too "smart" to make an offer from which she herself was not to be a gainer. As to the West Indies, Mr. Herries went into detailed statements to show that the petition against the Navigation Laws agreed to by the Jamaica House of Assembly could but very imperfectly have represented the real sentiments of that body, or of the island at large. It had been carried through in an unusual way, at an unusual time — had in fact been smuggled through: some Members had never heard of it, and one had even denied its existence, when examined before the House of Lords. Public memorials had been prepared both before and since that petition, and had passed through Committees of inquiry in the island Legislature, in which not a word occurred of allusion to the grievances of the Navigation Laws, or of solicitation for their repeal. Commenting on the reservation of the coasting trade in contrast to the opening of the colonial trade, Mr. Herries asserted his belief that if any alteration were desirable it should be applied to the former rather than the latter. It was also a great incongruity of the scheme, that, while it entirely abrogated all the protection hitherto afforded to British seamen, it left unrelieved the whole weight of the present burdens borne by British shipowners —burdens only borne in consideration of the protection hitherto granted. Mr. Herries relied much on the authority of Mr. Huskisson, and quoted him for a definition of that protective principle which he was willing to stand by; and which would reserve our colonial, coasting, and fishing trade wholly, and protect our foreign trade as far as was consistent with our relations and engagements with foreign countries. He approved the advantages given by Mr. Huskisson under his reciprocity treaties. He was not aware that any Members of the House were disposed to refuse all discussion of the subject, or the removal of any existing and real inconveniences which might be safely removed. If the House were agreed on the general principle of protecting our marine, it might, in Committee, remove anomalies which had been the object of censure and ridicule in some quarters, where attention seemed to have been bestowed only on the smaller parts of the subject: they might put an end to some of those difficulties as to sending nuts from Hamburg, and the like, which certainly might be described as absurdities.

Sketching statistically the enor-

mous magnitude of the interests embarked, he earnestly deprecated hasty legislation. He indicated the extent and nature of the changes he thought admissible, and the opposition he would offer to measures which he might think too hazardous or too precipitate, in their extent, or in their time and method of proposal. If the House proceeded with care and deliberation, affording full time to the nation, and especially to those deeply interested in the subject, for expressing their opinion to the Legislature, then he had no objection. But upon a question which involved no demand for immediate legislation, which did not contain in the slightest degree the element of emergency, and which involved an alteration that in the opinion of many would be attended with the worst effects, though others doubtless considered the effects would be most salutary—upon such a question to proceed with the haste which was now proposed by Her Majesty's Government, was utterly preposterous, and would never be agreed to, he hoped, by the House of Commons. At all events, no effort should be wanting on his part to prevent the passing of such a measure at the present time.

Mr. Herries moved the following Resolution, as an Amendment to Lord John Russell's Motion on the order of the day for going into Committee :—"That it is essential to the national interests of this country to maintain the fundamental principles of the existing Navigation Laws, subject to such modifications as may be best calculated to obviate any proved inconvenience to the commerce of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, without danger to our maritime strength."

Mr. Labouchere followed with a general support of the Ministerial scheme. He showed that English shipping and seamen were quite equal to meet foreign shipping and seamen in equal markets; that, in fact, wherever they had done so, the increase of tonnage in our favour had been strikingly great. On the other hand, he showed by figures that the most protected departments of the shipping were comparatively the least flourishing He replied to the remarks made respecting the Jamaica Memorial. He was unable to contradict or confirm Mr. Herries, but he apprehended that the right hon. Gentleman was hardly prepared to say, unless the same trick was played all over the island, that the Memorial of the planters, merchants, labourers, and others of Jamaica, did not represent the opinions of those who had sent it to this country. Mr. Labouchere read an extract from a Memorial from the latter body, setting forth that the freights which they were obliged to pay were nearly double the amount of what they would be if the Navigation Laws were repealed; and that a large number of American ships went away from the island in ballast, which would otherwise be available for carrying away the produce of the colony. He admitted that the real point for the House to decide was fairly raised by the Resolution proposed. Would they be contented with patchwork legislation? Was it right to maintain the principles of the Navigation Laws? The first principle was that of colonial monopoly; the second was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to secure the long voyage trade to this country; and the third was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to

secure the European carrying-trade. The question was, whether they were prepared to consider the propriety of departing from those principles, or leaving them untouched; whether they should meet the wants of commerce and the exigencies of the case before them; whether they were prepared thoroughly and completely to revise the whole system of our Navigation Laws, with the view of adapting them to the spirit of the times, and meeting the just demands of other countries, the wishes of our own colonies, and the interests of our expanding trade? He had never sought to disguise from the House the magnitude of the question. It was to be considered in all its details, and was fairly raised by the right hon. Gentleman. Of course, if the right honourable Gentleman carried his resolution, it would be fatal to the measure of the Government.

Mr. Labouchere deferred all discussion of details till the House should be in Committee, and would simply call for the taking of that step, in order that the measure might be fairly considered.

Mr. Herries' views were ably supported by Mr. Alderman Thompson. He warned the House against the effect on our colonial shipping trade which would follow on the opening of that trade to the Americans, whose ships already supplied our West Indian settlements with the whole of the lumber required by them, even under the disadvantage of always leaving the port in ballast.

Mr. H. J. Baillie admitted that all restrictions on trade are injurious to some extent; but he thought that the restrictions of the Navigation Laws were far outbalanced by the advantages which they secured.

Mr. Henry Drummond differed from the Government, and from their opponents also: he disapproved of the principle of the Ministerial scheme, but intended to give no vote against it, regarding it as an essential step in the new commercial policy to which the country was committed.

Mr. Scott supported the Resolution, which was opposed with much statistical research by Mr. James Wilson, and also by Dr. Bowring.

The debate being adjourned to the next evening, Mr. Robinson, the Marquis of Granby, and Mr. Henley, spoke on the protection side: Mr. Moffatt, Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. M. Gibson, on the side of relaxation.

Mr. Robinson not only enforced the general argument that there was no demand for the measure, nor any adequate cause for change, but also referred to special evidence to show that English shipmasters were not so inferior as they had been described, but were improving. He would like to know from the Lords of the Admiralty, whether they were prepared with any other plan of manning the navy in cases of emergency than the one now in existence, before they exposed our commercial marine to such fearful competition as was then proposed. He doubted exceedingly whether the proposal of Sir James Stirling to keep up a large naval establishment in time of peace, so as to render the navy at all times comparatively independent of our commercial marine, would meet with much favour in the present state of our finances. He assented to one change; shipowners were forced to train up apprentices, very much to their detriment, and would willingly agree to the proposition for altering the law in that respect.

The Marquis of Granby also alluded to the imperative necessity of manning the fleet. Mr. Labouchere had said he had kept the coasting trade intact as a reserve for seamen for the royal navy; but was there no chance of that trade failing? Was he certain that in a few years hence that trade could be relied upon as a reserve for supplying the navy with seamen? There was evidence on record which went to show that the railways might, in a few years, destroy the coasting trade of the country.

Mr. Mitchell controverted Mr. Robinson's assertions — insisting that English shipmasters were peculiarly chargeable with drunken habits; and that shippers preferred foreign vessels to English, the cargoes being in greater safety. He showed that in respect of outfit English ships are as cheap as any; and he partly imputed the superior character of the masters and crews in the ships of the Americans to higher salaries and wages: the masters were better paid than our own, except in the India or long voyage trade; and while the lowest wages in American ships were 3*l.* a month, in our ships they were 45*s.*

Mr. Gibson showed the confused and conflicting effects of the prohibitory parts of the law. People may export in any ships they think proper, but they must only import in ships of the country or their own. A merchant may even import foreign provisions, if they are not to be consumed by the people of England; if his goods are to be bonded, then they are untouched by the Navigation Laws; yet, last year, when there was a pressure from the want of food, the very opponents of the present measure clamoured for suspension of the Navigation Laws. What can that law be good for which must be suspended on the first pressure? Foreign countries may carry for themselves, but not for each other; so that in fact the Navigation Law protects each foreign country against all the rest; and the corresponding Navigation Law—of the United States, for instance—excludes the ships of this country from more than half the import trade of the Union.

Mr. Gibson believed that Sir James Stirling's proposition was not so very unreasonable as some represented, and that there might be a reconstitution of the navy so as to make it quite independent of the merchant service for a supply of men. It might be done by diminishing the expenses of the navy. For instance, might there not be fewer officers? Honourable Gentlemen opposite said that the mercantile marine was necessary for the support of our naval power, and yet they said they most strongly objected to impressment; but no one pointed out how the transfer of men from the merchant service to the navy was to be effected. That was a point that perplexed him much. He believed we had no mode of getting these men except making them come against their will. At this moment they did not volunteer very freely; and he was quite sure they would not in case we wanted their services for warfare. But the effect of our attempting to impress them would be to make them fly to America; and the mercantile marine and the naval power would both lose their services.

A further adjournment took place, and numerous speeches were delivered on either side. The Re-

solution of Mr. Herries was supported by Mr. Hudson, Captain Harris, Sir Alexander Hood, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Wawn, Lord Ingestrie, and Mr. R. Hildyard.

The repeal of the Navigation Laws was advocated by Captain Berkeley and Lord John Hay. Mr. Clay could not support the measure of Government without auxiliary measures, to create a nursery for our seamen, and to relieve our mercantile navy from restrictions and burdensome duties, such as marine insurance duties, foreign brokerage, church-money at Cronstadt, &c.

Mr. Gladstone made an able and comprehensive speech on the whole subject, taking a view not exactly in accordance with the sentiments of either party in the debate. The broad question of repeal, as a matter of expediency and seasonableness, he decided in the affirmative; but on the specific Government scheme he expressed a qualified opinion. He should have preferred a more gradual measure. He wished that the Government had adhered to the uniform course of precedents, and made large concessions conditional upon reciprocal concessions by other Powers. He objected to the discretionary power proposed to be lodged in the Queen in Council, with a view of extorting reciprocity, which was a discretion too large and too delicate; and he thought the Government would have acted more safely and wisely by undoing piecemeal, rather than by introducing a measure of so sweeping a character. He censured the policy of excluding the coasting trade from this measure: we should have offered to admit the Americans to our coasting trade if they would admit us to theirs.

An attempt was now made to bring the lengthened discussion to a close; but Sir John Walsh succeeded, after a division on the point, in a motion for resuming it on the 5th of June. The most prominent speeches on that night were those of Mr. Cardwell, Sir George Clerk, and Sir Charles Wood.

Mr. Cardwell objected to the measure for not relaxing the law in favour of reciprocity treaties, rather than abrogating those treaties; and he noticed some particular imperfections. Restrictions as to the manning of ships were to be retained against the English shipowner, although those with whom he would have to compete were exempt. The British shipowner would be free to purchase ships where he could obtain the cheapest; and yet the duty was retained on the timber used by the British shipbuilder, the only instance in the tariff of a duty on raw material. Mr. Labouchere had hoped to avoid creating alarm by exempting the coasting trade from the operation of the measure; but he had not avoided alarm; and he might have used relaxations in that law to obtain reciprocal relaxations from the United States. On the whole, however, Mr. Cardwell thought that the time was come for a judicious relaxation of the Navigation Laws; and he regarded it as a libel on the British name to say that we were not qualified to compete with every nation in the world.

Sir Charles Wood noticed the all but universal concurrence in favour of some change in the Navigation Laws: every speaker but two had admitted the necessity. Sir Charles showed the difficulty of proceeding by the exceptional mode of reciprocity treaties. By

general measures our Colonies would benefit. Sir Robert Peel's experience of relaxing the Sugar Duties to particular countries was instructive: it failed because we were hampered and bound by treaties with other Powers, especially under the "most-favoured nation" clause; so that it was difficult to carry out views with respect to any single country. Sir Charles stated several instances of similar anomalies, one of which had been got over by declaring a port in Turkey to be a port in Austria.

Sir John Walsh, Mr. Miles, and Sir Charles Burrell, addressed the House on the other side; but the subject was now becoming too much exhausted to admit of novelty. The debate was again adjourned for the fourth time, and the last night called forth some of the most powerful speeches that had been delivered on the question.

Lord George Bentinck enforced his arguments by a copious display of statistics, for the purpose of showing, first, that Mr. James Wilson had been guilty in his speech of serious errors; and, next, that British merchants and seamen, however energetic and enterprising, would not be able to cope with the rivalry of the United States and other foreign countries, if the latter were admitted to a participation of the carrying trade. For example, Lord George read a letter addressed to a broker in the City, in which it was stated that there were American vessels in the river with 16,927 boxes of Cuba sugar, and that it was 2*s.* per hundredweight cheaper in consequence of being brought in foreign vessels; but in consequence of the Navigation Laws it was not admissible into this country. Let those colonists who were foolish enough to petition for the repeal of the Navigation Laws be aware, then, that they would have 16,900 more boxes of Cuba sugar in the market, and 2*s.* lower in price than they could afford to sell it at. Lord George attacked the Free Trade of 1846, for producing the dire consequences which we had since felt, in a ruined trade and starving people; and he warned Ministers against a further attempt to lay the iron hand of competition on our shipping.

Mr. Cobden endeavoured to place the main arguments on which the advocates of relaxation rely in a close and succinct form. He showed by an appeal to the published evidence, that we can build ships better than foreign countries, and at as cheap a rate; sail them as well; take greater care of the cargoes, and secure greater punctuality and despatch—our sailors having the greatest natural aptitude for the sea of any in the world. The only drawbacks were of a moral kind—insubordination and drunkenness; but they would yield to better culture. Alluding to one part of Mr. Gladstone's speech, Mr. Cobden reminded him that reciprocity had already been promised on the part of America and Prussia.

Mr. Cobden repudiated the boastful language which he so often heard with regret respecting England's naval supremacy. He must say that those boasts were generally uttered after dinner, and therefore they might be the result of a little extra excitement. The abolition of the Navigation Laws would not affect the naval condition of Great Britain. But was this a time to be always singing "Rule Britannia"? ("Hear, hear!" *and laughter.*) If honourable Members opposite had served with him upon the Committee on

the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates, they would have a just sense of the cost of that song. The constant assertion of maritime supremacy was calculated to provoke kindred passions in other nations; whereas, if Great Britain enunciated the doctrines of peace, she would invoke similar sentiments from the rest of the world. Freedom of trade and intercourse blended the interests of nations together, and placed one of the most potential obstacles in the way of war.

Mr. Disraeli delivered a speech replete with statistical details, but illustrated with his usual brilliancy of rhetoric and sarcastic humour. He had described the Manchester Free-Trade school as arguing in a vicious circle, to make out their promise of perpetual advantages: that promise had been disproved by the events; and Mr. Cobden now became the advocate of a new vicious circle, endeavouring to prove that this country ought to take its share in universal disaster. Mr. Disraeli avowed that he was there to advocate the present system, which had worked with great advantage to the State; and he undertook to show that the arguments against it were unsubstantial and fallacious. For instance, it was said that the country successfully competed with the foreigner in the export trade: he denied it. Every one knew that if a large order was given from America for iron, they made it a condition that it should be exported in American ships. Within a day or two, a large order had been given from the French Government for coal; and it was a condition of the contract that it should be exported in French ships. Mr. Disraeli adduced a mass of statistics to establish this position, and to show that Mr. James Wilson had been deceived in his conclusions. He insisted that the Colonies could not be proved to have suffered from the Navigation Laws; he read evidence given before the Lords' Committee, to show that Prussia could not retaliate, and the United States could not reciprocate; and he advised the Ministers, whose Vice-President of the Board of Trade stood amazed between the bland smiles of Mr. Bancroft and the bowl and dagger of the Chevalier Bunsen, to make themselves better acquainted with the facts, and to mature their position a little more, as there was nothing more fatal to national interests than the recklessness of ignorance. He would not sing "Rule Britannia," for fear of distressing Mr. Cobden; but he did not think that the House would encore "Yankee Doodle." Mr. Labouchere had described this as "the age of commerce, peace, and internal improvement:" on the contrary, it was the age of no trade, of intended war, and of Communist bands tearing up railways. Looking at the state of the Continent, Mr. Cobden probably was not now so devoted a believer in the *quies gentium sine armis*. Mr. Disraeli, at all events, could not "share the responsibility of endangering that empire which extended beyond the Americas and the 'farthest Ind,' which was foreshadowed by the genius of a Blake, and consecrated by the blood of a Nelson—the empire of the seas." (*Cheers.*)

Sir Robert Peel, who was at first encountered with an unusual demonstration of hostility from the Protectionist benches, which, however, was composed into silence by the reflection he drew from it upon the want of confidence which it implied in their own arguments, then

addressed the House in one of his most impressive and closely-argued speeches. Reverting to the great question of commercial policy, which had been re-opened by the present debate, he addressed himself to prove that, in spite of casual disaster, the advantages of Free Trade were manifest in the extension of our commerce. It was not, of course, intended on the other side to say that the admission of raw material under the tariffs of 1842 and 1846 had injuriously affected the trade of the country. The ground of objection must be, that it was wrong to admit foreign manufactures in competition with our own. (*Cheers from the Protectionists.*) Every article of foreign manufacture, it was said, threw out of employment thousands of native workmen. ("Hear, hear!") But what a doctrine was that for a great manufacturing nation, which exported 58,000,000*l.* in declared value of its own manufactures! Admit that doctrine, and foreign countries must regard us not as the benefactors, but as the enemies of human happiness. Look at the progressive increase of exports under Free Trade—from 37,000,000*l.* a year, in the five years ending with 1832, to 55,000,000*l.* in the last five years, and 58,971,000*l.* in the last year, 1847, a year of severe depression. Yet it was said that Free Trade has failed — that we did nothing but import, and that we purchased our imports with gold!

The period had now arrived when it was desirable to revise the Navigation Laws. "If I look," said Sir R. Peel, "to the position of our Colonies, after the application of the principles of Free Trade to many articles of their produce—if I look to the fact of many European countries having found out that they have a fair claim to insist on those privileges in navigation which you insist on for yourselves—if I look to our reciprocity treaties, and to the various complicated claims arising under them—if I look to the mutilated and shattered state of the Navigation Laws, as they now exist—I find a number of concurrent reasons for deliberately thinking that we should consider whether those laws should stand on their present foundation, or whether we should consider them with a view to extensive change." The speech of Mr. Disraeli had in truth scarcely touched the question. If he could have shown that the relaxation of the Navigation Laws would diminish our means of national defence, and endanger the national security, Sir Robert Peel, differing in this respect from Mr. Cobden's views, thought that a powerful, perhaps a fatal objection, might be urged against sacrificing the national security to any interest. But *did* the Navigation Laws conduce to that end? The amendment called upon them to maintain the "fundamental principles" of the Navigation Laws: now what were those principles? The Navigation Laws were established to destroy the maritime power of the Dutch; but what was their effect?—To give the Dutch a direct advantage over us in the intercourse with the United States. As laid down by Adam Smith, the principles of the Navigation Laws applied to the coasting trade, the carrying trade, the fisheries, and the colonial intercourse. The fisheries and coasting trade were to be preserved by the Government measure. In the other respects the Navigation Laws had been completely mutilated by the reciprocity treaties.

Mr. Herries had avowed that he had laboured night and day with Mr. Huskisson, and was prepared to carry Mr. Huskisson's reciprocity principles still further: yet there was no greater breach of the fundamental principles of the Navigation Laws than the reciprocity system. And in the face of this fact Mr. Herries came down and exhibited his "fundamental principles!" When Adam Smith wrote, he did not foresee the separation of the United States; but from that period scarcely a year had passed without an infringement of the "fundamental principles" of these laws. And he must here observe, that on the occasion of every such infringement there was precisely the same sort of outcry of "ruin to the shipowner." In 1782, when they wished to admit Ireland to participation in the colonial trade, the shipowners loudly complained; and those of Liverpool, in a petition which they had addressed to that House, declared that "if any such thing were permitted, Liverpool must inevitably be reduced to its original insignificance." ("Hear!" *and laughter.*)

As to the national defence, it was on the commercial marine and the number of our seamen that we must place our reliance in time of war. Now the tonnage of this country had increased from 2,792,000 in 1836, to 3,952,000 in 1847; our seamen, from 117,000 in 1814 to 232,000 in 1847. Impressment applied equally whether the Navigation Laws were maintained or not; but the time had arrived when it was incumbent on Parliament to consider whether it would ever be possible again to put that system into operation; and its value had been much reduced by the introduction of steam navigation. On the other hand, let them compare our favourable position with that of other countries. The Baltic ports were closed by ice four months in every year. France had a strict Navigation Law; had it improved her commercial marine? Might it not, on the contrary, suggest a doubt whether naval superiority did not depend on the habits, pursuits, inclinations, and associations of a people, rather than on any code of laws whatever? (*Much cheering.*) In most items of expense, it was shown by Captain Briggs, the master of a liner between the United States and this country, and a most intelligent witness—that the balance was in favour of the British shipowner.

Touching upon the particular measure before the House, Sir Robert Peel expressed an apprehension that the power proposed to be given to the Crown, of re-establishing restrictions after a trade had once been opened, would be most difficult in operation: it looked very like inverting the usual order of the constitution. The House of Commons would relax, while the Crown would have to restrain; and he feared that that was a position which the Crown would find difficult and unpleasant. He thought it would be much better to give a temporary force to the Act, sending it back to the Commons, say at the end of five years.

Lord John Russell briefly wound up the debate, the necessity for a lengthened speech being obviated, as he said, by Sir Robert Peel's excellent speech.

The House now came to a division, when there appeared—

For Mr. Herries' Resolution	177
Against it	294
Majority for the Government	117

By this decision the ground was cleared for the Ministerial measure, but as the above result was not arrived at until the 9th June, it was manifestly hopeless to expect that the Bill could pass through Parliament during the present Session. The circumstance of its being introduced at so late a period was adverted to with some disapprobation by those Members who were anxious for a settlement of the question, and the conduct of the Government did not escape censure. No surprise was created under these circumstances, when Mr. Labouchere on the 10th August, announced the conclusion which every one had anticipated, that the measure was to be postponed to the following year. He moved at the same time for leave to bring in the Bill which had been prepared, in order that the views of the Ministry on the question might be definitely laid before the public, and might receive due consideration in the interval. At the same time, Mr. Labouchere intimated that the Government would by no means deem themselves precluded from taking advantage of any information or suggestion during the recess, by which the measure might be altered for the better.

Mr. Herries said, that upon this understanding he should not at present oppose the introduction of the Bill, though he should reserve to himself the full right of renewing his opposition to it next year. Mr. Gladstone urged upon the Government the expediency of bringing on the Bill at the earliest period possible in the ensuing Session. Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

Another measure involving principles of great importance, which the Government had engaged themselves to promote during the present Session, was a Bill for the removal of the test by which Members of the Jewish persuasion had hitherto been prevented from taking their seats in the House of Commons. The impediment was created by the words with which the declaration, exacted from every Member, concludes, "on the true faith of a Christian." The election of Baron Rothschild as one of the Members for the City of London, and the colleague in that representation of the Prime Minister, was the immediate occasion by which this question, after having remained for many years dormant, was revived in the public mind. Lord John Russell undertook, in compliance with the wishes of his constituents, to remove the legal impediment which debarred Members of the Jewish religion from one of the most important civil rights of British subjects. A modification of the terms of the declaration to be taken by Members of Parliament formed the simple enactment of the Bill. It encountered, however, a very warm opposition, both in Parliament and among the community at large. On the second reading being moved upon the 7th February, Mr. Augustus Stafford took the lead by proposing an amendment, "that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months." It may be remarked in passing, that, as it turned out, the House was actually sitting on that day six months, and for some time afterwards, so that this formal method of shelving the Bill might have failed of its design. Mr. Stafford began by reminding the House that but a small number of petitions had been presented in favour of the measure: the feeling

of the public could not, therefore, be relied upon as an argument for the change. Neither persecution nor toleration was here at stake; freedom was already conceded and guaranteed to every religion. There was involved only the question, whether the House would continue to hold certain beliefs or no-beliefs as disqualifications to legislate. In reply to the plea that the admissions of Jews could but be few if the disqualification were removed, he asked, was that the argument that was successful in the case of seven millions of people in a neighbouring island some years ago? If concession were made in this case, how could it be refused to the appointment of a Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland? A notice was now on the Order Book, that that concession would be sought in Committee on the Irish Charitable Trusts Bill. What then would stand between the English Romanists and the corresponding office here? Lastly, when a Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor dispensed law in England, what should bar a Roman Catholic Sovereign from the throne? A far greater grievance to the Jews than the one aimed at by this Bill was the compulsory observance of the Christian Sabbath; yet there was no agitation against that. If such an agitation should arise, was the House prepared to give up the recognition of that day by all?

Lord Burghley seconded the amendment, on the ground that the bill tended to unchristianize the Legislature. He could not admit infidels or Mussulmans to a seat in Parliament, nor could he admit Jews, towards whom, nevertheless, he entertained the most charitable feelings.

Mr. W. P. Wood supported the Bill. He endeavoured, in a speech of much legal research, to establish that there was nothing in the common law or in the statute law of the country of so exclusive a character that violence would be done by the removal of the Jewish disabilities. Reviewing the cases in the law books, the old forms of writs, and the provisions of statutes, he contended that all contradictions to his proposition were only apparent contradictions, or too extravagantly superstitious to be now gravely quoted. Of both characters was the *presumed* opinion of Lord Coke, that Jews were aliens. In the first place, the passage really had nothing to do with Jews. Secondly, the real point laid down was, that no *infidel* could be a *natural-born* subject, because he was the subject of the devil, who was the enemy of Christ our king. It was contended that an infidel could not even sue or move in the courts; which, however, was too much even for the judges of those times, and was suppressed. The Act of William the Third, excluding Unitarians from certain civil privileges, was aimed only against persons "who had been educated in or made profession of Christianity," and then "denied the doctrine of the blessed Trinity:" the section seemed purposely moulded to leave the Jews intact. Since that time, Acts had passed by which Jews had been admitted to legislative privileges in the Colonies. This was the case both in Jamaica and in Canada. The first Christian principle was to do unto others as you would be done by.

Mr. M. Milnes adverted to the distinction drawn by Mr. Stafford between what was persecution and what was not. But surely the victim and not the oppressor should

be consulted upon that question. The apathy in the public mind from which some Members had inferred an indifference to the rights of the Jews, was in his (Mr. Milnes's) eyes a proof that the Bill did not outrage the religious sentiments of the nation. This country, even with a few Jewish members in its Legislature, would not cease to be the most Christian country on the earth. The exclusion from the Chancellorship in England depended on the office having church patronage: such was not the case with the Irish office, and there was therefore not the same occasion for exclusion. The principle of our constitution was not exclusion, but the reverse; and every test was founded on some specific object: for example, the Roman Catholic oath arose from fear of a Popish succession and Popish plots. The decision of the House would be of important influence beyond English shores. The question had raised the greatest interest in the Prussian Parliament, where lately complete emancipation was refused by only a narrow minority of 27. The question was a turning-point of liberty for large bodies of men in foreign countries. If the House determined in favour of the Jews, it was to be hoped that no other authority would feel justified in closing the doors of Parliament against men such as had been selected by the people of England and approved by the English House of Commons.

Lord Mahon opposed the Bill, controverting some of the most prominent arguments of its supporters. "Suppose a Deist took his seat in the House, and there reviled Christianity—would the Speaker have the power or right to interfere if the religious sanction were withdrawn? Might the Member not say, 'I have not sworn to any faith, and declare, as Condorcet declared, my disbelief in Christianity?'" There must ensue a lowering of the tone of debate to enable persons to express opinions which would be most painful to the majority at first, but would by custom cease to be offensive, and at last enter into the recognised opinion of the House. The oath would exclude all *honourable* Deists; and others would be restrained from propagandism of their doctrines on the floor of the House.

Sir. W. Molesworth called attention to some striking contrarieties arising out of the conflict between the statutes regulating Election Committees and the statutes imposing oaths and tests. "The sum and substance of my argument," Sir William recapitulated, "is this. Baron Rothschild has been lawfully chosen a Member of the House of Commons; consequently, he is legally bound to serve, and may be summoned to attend in his place in Parliament: if, when summoned, he do not attend, he must be taken into custody, and otherwise punished: if he do attend, he would be entitled to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy according to the Jewish mode of taking an oath; but his religious faith would prevent him from taking the oath of abjuration. He would therefore refuse to take that oath. What would be the consequence? I cannot pretend to say whether such a refusal would or would not, under the circumstances of the case, constitute an offence for which he could be punished. It is certain, however, that the House has no power to relieve Baron Rothschild from the obligation to

take the oath of abjuration, no power to relieve him from the obligation to attend in his place in the House, no power to dispense with his services on an Election Committee, no power to declare his election null and void; and that no law or custom of Parliament can be cited, and no precedent can be produced, which would justify the House in expelling him. If, indeed, the House were nevertheless to expel the honourable Gentleman, he would not thereby become legally ineligible; and, as often as the House might expel him, so often would the electors of the city of London be legally entitled to re-elect him." Members who objected to the present Bill ought to propose some other effective means of escape out of these difficulties—but they had not attempted the task. The object of the Bill was merely to make such an alteration in the form, not the substance, of the oath, as would enable the Jew to take it. The Legislature never meant the form to be a religious test. Wherever it was likely to prove so, enactments had specifically provided the very means proposed in this case to avoid that difficulty.

It was not, however, a question of mere precedents, but a struggle between the principle of religious equality and its antagonist principle that the State is able and ought to determine what religion is the true religion. "That doctrine of religious infallibility of the state," said Sir W. Molesworth, "has been in all ages and among all people the plea for the crimes of intolerance and persecution. Under that plea Socrates was put to death and the Saviour of the world was crucified. Under that plea the Pagan Emperors immolated the early Christians, the Albigenses were slaughtered, and our own fires were lighted in Smithfield. Under that plea Catholics burnt Protestants; Protestants burnt Catholics. Calvin kindled the faggot of Servetus with the approbation of Melancthon; and even the Pilgrim Fathers of New England were persecutors, and hung Quakers on the gibbets of Massachusetts! Under the same plea, in modern times, we excluded Dissenters from our Corporations and Roman Catholics from Parliament; and for the same reasons Jews are now refused a seat in the British House of Commons. But religious liberty has triumphed over the rude bigotry of antiquity and the cruel persecutions of our forefathers; it will ultimately achieve a victory over the milder intolerance of honourable Gentlemen opposite; and the result will be peace and good-will among men of every faith who are subjects of the British empire."

Mr. Walpole opposed the Bill in an argumentative and earnest speech, which he summed up as follows:—"When the noble Lord was returned for the City in conjunction with a Jew, his (Mr. Walpole's) first impression was that he would support the introduction of that gentleman to Parliament; and it was not till he had considered the subject in all its bearings that he found himself bound in duty to oppose it. It was therefore not without a struggle with his own feelings that he opposed this measure, when he thought of all that the Jews were, of all that they had been, and of all that they might be, and when he bore in mind that the time would yet come when they would again be what they once were, the

favoured people of the Lord. This was, however, a question of principle, and when principle was at stake feeling must give way. He entreated the House to pause ere they gave in to the fallacious reasoning that because they had made a man a magistrate they should also make him a legislator; —to pause ere they adopted the fatal maxim of the noble Lord, that all who bore the burdens of the State were entitled to its privileges and honours;—to pause ere they allowed themselves to be carried away by the fanciful notion that their constitution was a fundamental matter of an expansive character;—to pause ere they undermined, or in any way diminished, that great principle on which the State had always been founded; a principle which in the minds of all reflective men had been always associated with the national greatness, because it was identified with the national goodness; a principle which animated the public conduct of their Government, and operated as effectively in their Legislature as in their households. And in conclusion they would perhaps permit him to remind them, in the solemn language which was heard yesterday in every church in the kingdom, 'that whatever ye do in word or in deed, ye shall do all in the name of the Lord Jesus.'"

Mr. Sheil supported the Bill in an eloquent speech. The following passage was one of the most effective:—"There had been repeated references in this House to the celebrated author of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;' but I think that a name still more illustrious might have been cited. Was not Bolingbroke, the fatally accomplished Bolingbroke, to whose genius were offered tributes amounting almost to idolatrous veneration —was not Bolingbroke, who united to external accomplishment high intellectual endowments, and whose intercourse in private life exercised a species of fascination on all who had the misfortune to approach him—was not Bolingbroke, the infidel Bolingbroke, a member of this House? Was he stopped by the test which arrested the Jew? Did he not, on the contrary, tread upon it and mount to the height of power, and become a confidential adviser of the Sovereign? Is it not preposterous that a man by whom Revelation was rejected, who doubted the immortality of the soul, who doubted a future state of reward and punishment, who doubted eternity and Providence, who believed nothing, who feared nothing, who hoped for nothing, who laid no restraint upon his depravity, who had no incentive to virtue beyond such natural promptings as God may have given him,—is it not monstrous that such a fiend should find his way into the House of Commons, and climb to the pinnacle of power, and that you should slap the door with indignation in the face of an honourable and conscientious man, who adheres to the religion in which he was born and bred—of a man who believes in the facts which constitute the foundation of Christianity—who believes in the existence of the noble part of our being—who believes in the mercies of God, and who practises humanity to man—who believes in the ten great injunctions on which all morality is based—whose ear is never deaf to the supplications of suffering, 'whose hand is open as day to melting charity,' and whose life perhaps presents a better exemplification of the precepts of the

Gospel than many of those men for the sake of whose Christian religion these dishonouring disabilities are injuriously maintained?" "In Belgium and in France all distinctions between Christian and Jew are abolished. I trust that Protestant England will follow that great example. A great deal of prejudice at one time existed in this country which is beginning to disperse. London has made a noble manifestation of its will. Are you prepared to throw back the Jew upon London, in order that London may throw back the Jew upon you? But not only are the disqualifications of the Jew inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian religion, but those disabilities impede the progress of Christian truth. They prevent the conversion of the Jew, and produce effects diametrically opposite to what is intended. The disabilities of the Jew are sufficiently vexatious to make conversion be regarded as a synonyme with apostacy. The fetters by which the Jew is bound, though apparently light, are strong enough to fasten him down and make it a matter of discredit that he should desert his creed. Nothing effectual will be done for the extinction of Judaism till you yourselves have begun by making restitution of his birthright to every Englishman by whom the Jewish religion is professed."

Mr. Newdegate complained that the intentions of the Government respecting the Jewish question had been purposely suppressed at the late general election. He could not forget the history of that people, nor disregard the lessons which the visible judgments upon their race were so strongly calculated to impress.—What was the proposition now before the House? It was that they, a Christian people, should set at nought the truths of prophecy; that they should be blind to the fulfilment of the decrees of Providence; and that they should in their weakness call in that people to legislate for them whom God had pronounced to be unfit to legislate for themselves.

The debate was now adjourned, and resumed on the 11th. On that evening, the speakers in opposition to the Bill were Lord Drumlanrig, Mr. R. Spooner, Mr. H. K. Seymer, and Mr. G. Bankes. It was supported by Mr. C. Pearson, Mr. W. Cowper, Mr. Horsman, Mr. Cockburn, and Sir Robert Peel. The speech of the right honourable Baronet was a very impressive one, and produced much effect upon the House. Sir Robert began with an avowal that in matters of legislation and government he entertained a deep sense of religious obligation; and he admitted that between the tenets of the Christians and the Jews there was a vital difference—in essentials the two religions were more directly antagonized than any others. But even supposing that he had any authority to determine what is religious error, he certainly had no commission to punish the Jews—to punish the descendants for the sin of their fathers, not unto the third and fourth generation, but unto the three-hundredth or four-hundredth. Civil disability, however, was a penalty. In the case of the Roman Catholic the disability was not imposed as a penalty because he maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation, but because he was deemed a dangerous subject in consequence of his acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign prince. Sir Robert entered into a

critical examination of Dr. Arnold's dictum, that Jews should have the private but not the public rights of citizens; to which he opposed the authority of Bacon, that the rights of "natural-born subjects" are "complete and entire." He showed how the Jew is practically excluded from no public office—not even from the Privy Council, unless it be indirectly; so that he had already acquired the position of a British citizen, with rights complete and generally recognised. The refusal to admit him to Parliament was the sole invidious exception to that position. The Jew sustained the same burdens as other citizens; the Christians scrupled not to borrow money from him; many of his race, like Sir Moses Montefiore, were brilliant examples of virtue and benevolence. An exclusion unsupported by reason could not be permanently maintained. The safety of our religion was in nowise dependent on the exclusion of Baron de Rothschild or any other gentleman of the Jewish persuasion: unless it were from internal dissension, the Church of England was stronger at that moment than at any other period within recent history, and was not dependent on the question of two or three votes more or fewer in that House. There was no class of our fellow beings to whom every Christian state in Europe owed such reparation for centuries of injustice, persecution, and wrong; and Sir Robert Peel rejoiced to think that the example of England would conduce to the welfare of the Jews in other countries—would expedite their emancipation, or at least soothe them under oppression.

After some further discussion the House came to a division, when there appeared—

For the Second Reading	277
Against it	204
Majority	73

Upon two subsequent occasions the principle of the Jewish Disabilities Bill was again contested in the House of Commons. On the motion for considering the Report, Mr. Goring moved as an amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House, that so long as the House of Commons exercises the authority which it at present does over the Established Church, no Jew ought to possess the franchise, much less to be allowed to sit in this House." Mr. Goring said that there was one class in the country, the usurers and gamblers in the public securities, whose interests were in direct opposition to those of the rest of the community. He cited the apostolical precept against holding communion with heretics, and declared that to invite the revilers of our Saviour into that House would be to draw down Almighty vengeance upon the country.

Mr. Cumming Bruce, in support of the amendment, said, that he did not conceive that a man's religion was, as alleged by some persons, a matter exclusively between himself and his Creator; it materially affected his fellow-beings, and had a strong tendency to qualify or disqualify him for political functions. Sir W. Verner thought the Established Church, both here and in Ireland, had never ceased to suffer wrong since the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed. Mr. Hornby expected ere many years after this Bill passed to see thirty or forty Jews in that House—that four of them would represent London; they might also

become Premiers and Chancellors of the Exchequer, and in such case would no doubt favour their own people on 'Change with any priority of information officially obtained. Mr. Adderly concurred in the position set forth by the amendment. Sir R. H. Inglis thought that it would have been sounder policy to refuse the franchise to the Roman Catholics, than to concede to them admission to the Legislature. He suggested that the amendment should not be pressed, but that opponents of the Bill should reserve themselves for a protest against the principle upon the third reading. Mr. Gardner spoke in favour of the Bill. Mr. Urquhart, on the other side, argued that the Church was unjustly exposed to the assaults of her enemies, by the indiscriminate admission of Members of all creeds into the House. Lord Dudley Stuart exhibited the statistical account of the petitions which had been presented affecting the Bill.

Ample time had been asked by the opponents of the Bill for the country to rise up against it: after ample time has elapsed, what were the results—petitions with 50,000 signatures against the Bill, and petitions signed by more than 300,000 in its favour. In the latter class were petitions from almost every corporation in the kingdom—Jedburgh and Sudbury being the only two on the other side. Lord Dudley stated that a learned Jewish doctor, a Rabbi, in a late lecture at Birmingham, taking the Gospels as authentic histories of their times, avowed that Jesus of Nazareth was the victim of fanaticism, of the lust of power and jealousy of the Jewish hierarchy. The feeling was a growing one among men of piety and reflection, that complete toleration must be established.

Ultimately Mr. Goring withdrew his amendment. Mr. Willoughby moved another, limiting the offices to be held by Jews, which was lost on a division by 196 to 99. Sir Robert Inglis next moved a proviso, that no Jew should be a Judge in any Court of Law, or a Member of the Privy Council. This was also negatived by 203 to 109.

The third reading of the Bill underwent considerable postponement, but the motion ultimately came on upon the 4th of May. Sir Frederick Thesiger renewed the opposition on this occasion, by moving "that the Bill be read a third time on that day six months."

Sir Frederick gave up the doctrine that to admit Jews to the Legislature would in any degree interfere with the Divine decree under which their condition presents a standing miracle; for it was absurd, and perhaps worse, to suppose that any course of proceedings adopted by the frail and feeble inhabitants of this nether world could interfere with the councils of the Almighty. But he opposed the alteration of the oath, because our laws must be based upon Christian morals; and with that view it was proper that there should be a test to judge of the inclination of every one entering the House to accept that basis. Admit the Jews, and the Deists—a class, he feared, not less numerous than the Jews—might say that they desired to serve their country, but that the declaration "on the true faith of a Christian" operated to their exclusion.

The third reading was also opposed by Mr. Campbell, Mr. F. Scott, Mr. Raphael, Lord Mahon, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Mr. Newde-

gate. It was supported by Mr. Trelawney, Mr. Westhead, Mr. Cornewall Lewis, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Fortescue.

Lord John Russell, in reply, distinguished the grounds on which he advocated the Bill. He did not support it on the ground that religion has nothing to do with politics, or that Members of Parliament ought not to be guided by religious views and motives in legislation.

"I believe," said the noble Lord, "that religion ought to influence us in the smallest domestic affairs, and in the highest legislative concerns. I believe that Christianity, far from having nothing to do with legislation, is the source of the most enlightened laws which modern times have produced. I believe that it is owing to Christianity that the slavery which prevailed in the ancient world was abolished in an early part of the modern ages. I believe that it was Christianity which inspired Mr. Wilberforce and those who acted with him to make that attempt which finally succeeded in destroying the slave trade, which was a disgrace to any Christian country. My belief is—to speak of no particular law, but of the general spirit of institutions—that, whereas ancient republics and states, the more they became civilized became the more loose in their morality, the more bewildered by vain theories of philosophy, and the more corrupt in their moral practice,—modern nations, on the contrary, having Christianity to guide them, will, in proportion as they become more civilized, so far from falling into those corruptions, and being less governed by the moral law, as in early and remote ages, become more subject to the rules of morality, and will more acknowledge the supremacy of the Divine law. But you cannot by special declarations, by mere words introduced into an oath—you cannot by the mere terms of a statute obtain that religious spirit and that acknowledgment of Christianity which you desire. It is not to be gained in that way. I proved this formerly by the instances of those who, being notoriously unbelievers in Christianity, nevertheless sat in this House in spite of these declarations: but I will put it to this simple test—If these declarations are sufficient, why do you not carry your legislation much further? Why not impose a declaration to be made by every Member that he is not governed by prejudice or partial affections, that he is not swayed by corrupt motives or personal animosities, but that in all his votes he is governed by love of the country? If men were ruled by the mere words of a declaration, surely such a declaration would be as good as any declaration with regard to the religious belief of the party."

Upon a division there appeared—

For the Third Reading .	234
Against it	173
Majority for the Bill .	61

The Bill was then passed. In the House of Lords, however, it experienced a much less favourable reception. The second reading was moved on the 25th May, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who opened the debate with a clear and temperate recapitulation of the arguments in favour of the measure, which were for the most part the same as had been urged by Lord John Russell in the House

of Commons. He especially dwelt on the fact, that the exclusion of the Jews was not by virtue of the ancient laws of the kingdom, but was an innovation of recent times; that the very declaration which now operates to their exclusion, "on the true faith of a Christian," was not originally directed against Jews, but against Popish recusants in the reign of James the First; that from the earliest introduction of their faith Christians had repudiated the connection of theology and politics, and that the general eligibility of the Jews for civil offices renders their exclusion from legislative power anomalous and inexpedient.

The Earl of Ellenborough then rose to move "that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months." He took his stand against the Bill on the ground of Christian obligation; and insisted that the Jew was not only a citizen of a distinct nation, but a member of a class having scarcely any social relation with the community. In an agricultural and manufacturing nation the Jew was neither an agriculturist nor a manufacturer. He did not labour, he only bought and sold, at a small profit, the labour of others. There were few rich men among his persuasion, but some very rich. They could not intermarry with the people of this country; and, except among the higher classes, they mixed but little socially with the members of other religious persuasions. They were citizens of the world rather than of any particular country. Though they were not aliens in the sense of owing allegiance to another country, there were no people who could transfer themselves to another country with the same facility as the Jews. Wherever the Jew went he found his own people; the same religion and the same language were common to them all; and when he removed to another country he found persons of his own nation engaged in transactions similar to his own. Lord Ellenborough quoted from the "Memoirs of Sir Fowell Buxton" the anecdote related by Mr. Rothschild, the founder of the house in London, who said that he first came to England from Frankfort because an English manufacturer had refused to show his patterns, and who boasted of having acted on the most selfish principles: such was the origin of the great house of Rothschild, and of the present Bill.

Lord Ellenborough warned the House against the public danger of acceding to the measure, after the warnings of Providence, in the shape of famine and distress—nations convulsed on every side—the most ancient and powerful dynasties of Europe crushed in one day—the great empire of Austria broken in pieces like a potter's vessel—the disruption of some of the most ancient and important alliances of states—the present age forgetting the history of the past. How could this country hope to escape the contamination of these principles, except by obtaining aid from above; and he trusted that they would not deprive themselves of heavenly aid by giving up the distinction which had hitherto belonged to this country of the exclusively Christian character of its Legislature.

The Duke of Cambridge, professing great personal respect for the Jews, could not consent to admit them into Parliament, so long as the government of the country was to remain a Christian one.

The Duke of Argyle, addressing

the House for the first time in favour of the measure, distinguished himself by a speech of calm and earnest argumentation.

The Earl of Winchilsea, in support of the amendment, treated the subject with much more warmth of language. He declared the Bill to be a greater insult to the honour and glory of God than any which had been brought before the House; he protested against admitting one rich Jew to Parliament in order to reward him for favours rendered to the Minister of the day; and he hoped that none of the Bishops would vote in favour of the Bill, for if it passed, within a year not one of them would have a seat in that House.

The Bishop of St. David's surveyed the subject in an historical and philosophical point of view, reviewing the relations of Christians and Jews doctrinally and socially; he traced the effects of mutual persecutions in still surviving asperities; showed how much they have in common; and maintained the real sin of this country in respect of the Jews was in the old persecutions, not in the recent indulgences.

The Bishop of Oxford entered into the more familiar and popular topics of the controversy. He maintained that the sitting in Parliament was no *right*, but a *trust* conferred at the will of the constituents, who had a perfect title to exclude Jews from that trust. He quoted documents, especially "A Manual of Judaism" by Mr. Joshua van Oven, to show that the Jews were really a distinct and alien race, and that the earnest men among them deprecated any social or political connection with other nations, as weaning the affections of the Hebrew people from the true Jerusalem and Canaan. That people had gone on for 1800 years, receiving a weakened tradition from their half unbelieving fathers; and how could it be expected that a race immersed in the pursuit of gain, with nothing to counteract that passion but a belief in the truth of their religion, would be benefited by an admission into the British Parliament? Abhorring as he did the cruelty with which the forefathers (so called incorrectly) of the Jews were treated, he contended that that cruelty was based upon truth, and was kinder than the false humanity which would teach this people that the revelation made to them was either a false or an immaterial one.

He must remark, that every Jew who was now in England had come to England (or his immediate ancestors had done so) within the last two hundred years; and they had come on the condition that they should have shelter and kindness, but not political privileges.

No doubt there might have been in certain cases certain advantages derivable from the election of Jewish representatives. Far be it from him, however, to say that he knew any such instance. He professed to have no knowledge of those "secrets of the prison-house." He repeated, that though he knew nothing about the secrets of the late election for the city of London, yet that he was not without some knowledge of the public history of that transaction. ("Hear, hear.") It was pretty well known that the Prime Minister's election for that City was not a feat of very easy accomplishment, and that there were no small difficulties to be overcome, where there was a good deal of character on the one side and much capital on the other. Declarations in fa-

vour of removing Jewish disabilities might under such circumstances have been found exceedingly convenient.

He called upon the House to beware of doing what this measure would do—unchristianize the country; a measure which would yield nothing in return—not the smallest accession of strength, or of consistency, or of character—a measure which would injure all and strengthen none.

The Earl of Ellesmere contended that the British Jew never sheltered himself from civil responsibility and patriotic duties under the plea of being an alien, and that it was neither equitable nor safe to exclude from the making of laws those who had so large an interest in the well-being of the community.

Lord Stanley contended against the admission as a *right*. If there was no law excluding the Jews from Parliament before the time of James I., it was because no Jew had a right to set his foot in this country: while the statute which now operates to his exclusion was suspended during the reign of William and Mary, he could not obtain letters of naturalization; and if born here, he could acquire no freehold qualification.

The Earl of Dysart deemed it inexpedient to admit Jews, because a Jew must wish to see our Christian institutions destroyed.

Lord Brougham argued in support of the Bill, replying especially to the speech of the Bishop of Oxford. He denied the alleged partnership at the London election, between Lord John Russell and Baron Rothschild: it was slanderously said, and if a Bishop had not said it he should have said that it was false. (*Laughter.*) Lord John had always refused to be a party to the putting forward of Baron Rothschild, because of the contest it would provoke; so that his only "obligation" to Baron Rothschild was the injury which he sustained by the contest which ensued.

As to the danger of admitting the Jews, Lord Brougham pointed to the analogous case of the Roman Catholics since Emancipation—the Protestant Establishment had been as efficiently vindicated as ever. As to the fear of "unchristianizing" the Commons, they were unchristianized already. (*Laughter.*) Would the Commons come to the bar of that House by message, or in any other way, and by their words, acts, or desires, pretend to call themselves a Christian assembly? He did not know what would become of them; but assuredly it was not to be denied that we had a motley sort of legislation, half infidel, half Christian. Of Her Majesty he would only say, may God long preserve her in her Christian character to reign over a tolerant and enlightened people. As for the Ministry, they were undoubtedly nearly as unchristian as the Commons. (*Laughter.*) So that he was afraid they must stand before the world as half Christian, half Pagan—a Pagan House of Commons, and a perfectly Christian House of Lords. (*Laughter.*) He saw little use, therefore, of so much argument about unchristianizing the Legislature.

The Bishop of Oxford explained. He regretted that any words should have fallen from him in the warmth of debate which might appear susceptible of the meaning which his noble and learned friend had affixed to them. He had not the smallest idea that the noble Lord at the head of the Government had been privy to any bribery what-

ever—Lord John had supported the admission of Jews into Parliament long before; and the Bishop heartily regretted having, in the midst of a grave argument, used words that might be construed to bear such a meaning. He had no intention whatever to slander the noble Lord, and he begged to recall his words. (*Cheers.*)

The Marquis of Lansdowne replied. He took the opportunity of vindicating Lord John Russell from the imputation of having benefited during the recent election for London by the assistance of Baron Rothschild. Lord John Russell had kept his interest and his affairs on that occasion perfectly distinct from those of any other candidate.

The House then divided, when the result was as follows :—

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The Jewish Disabilities Bill was consequently lost.

CHAPTER IV.

Affairs of Ireland—Disaffected and critical state of that Country during the Spring of 1848*—Progress of Insurrection—Movements of Mr. Smith O'Brien and his confederates—Ignominious Failure of the projected Outbreak—Policy of the Government and state of Public Opinion in this Country on the Subject—Adoption of Coercive Measures—Announcement of a Bill for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Debate in the House of Lords upon a Motion made by the Earl of Glengall—Decisive Declaration of the Marquis of Lansdowne on behalf of the Government—Remarks of Lord Brougham, Lord Stanley, and other Peers—Unanimous feeling of the House—Lord John Russell, on the 24th July, moves for Leave to bring in a Bill vesting extraordinary Powers in the Lord Lieutenant—His Speech on the state of Ireland and the features of the Crisis—He is warmly supported by Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Hume, Mr. B. Osborne, Sir D. Norreys, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and many other English and Irish Members, speak in favour of the Bill—Mr. Feargus O'Connor delivers a vehement Repeal Speech against it—Mr. S. Crawford moves an Amendment, which is lost on a Division, only Eight Members voting for it—The Bill is passed through all its Stages on the same Day, and is sent up to the House of Lords—The Marquis of Lansdowne, on the 26th, introduces the Bill, with a Speech similar in effect to that of Lord J. Russell—Lord Brougham, the Earl of Wicklow, the Earl of Glengall, and other Peers support the Bill, which is then carried through all its Stages without any Opposition—Debate in the House of Commons on the Condition of Ireland, originating in a Resolution proposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford for the Redress of Grievances—His Speech—Answer of Lord John Russell—Speeches of Mr. H. Herbert, Mr. Fagan, Mr. Monsell, and Mr. Osborne—The Debate is adjourned—Declarations of Sir George Grey, Sir William Somerville, and Lord John Russell respecting the Irish Church—After further Debate, the Resolution moved by Mr. S. Crawford is negatived by* 100 *to* 24*—Bill for facilitating the Transfer of Encumbered Estates—Speech of the Lord Chancellor explaining the Bill—Speeches of the Earl of Roden, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Stanley, Lord Campbell, and Lord Monteagle—The Bill is read a Second Time—It is much debated in the House of Commons—Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Napier, Mr. Henley, and other Members, oppose the Bill—The Solicitor-General, Mr. B. Osborne, Sir J. Graham, Mr. Monsell, Mr. Sadleir, and Mr. P. Wood, support it—An Amendment moved by Mr. Napier is defeated*

by 197 to 52—The Amendments made in the House of Commons are opposed in the House of Lords by Lord Stanley and Lord Monteagle, but adopted on a Division by 27 to 10, and the Bill is passed.

DURING the early part of this Session the discussion of Irish questions occupied a less proportion than usual of the time and attention of Parliament. A Bill to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland, to which we shall hereafter refer more particularly, was introduced by the Lord Chancellor early in the year, though it did not finally pass into law until many months afterwards; with this exception, during the spring of the present year, Irish measures engaged little of the public notice. But as the summer advanced affairs in that unhappy country began to asume a very threatening aspect. Menaces of a general insurrection had, indeed, for several months been openly thrown out, but the people of this country had been so accustomed to the vapouring threats and treasonable harangues of Irish agitators, that they turned for some time an incredulous ear to the rumours of an outbreak. The preachers of rebellion were, however, for once in earnest. They had gained, in the person of Mr. Smith O'Brien, a leader of rank and influence, who, however fanatical and wild in his views, was at least sincere in the cause which he had espoused, and willing to stake his own life and fortune in the desperate game in which his party were engaged. He was supported by a number of active coadjutors, less eminent indeed than himself in social rank and position, but possessed of no mean powers of talent and education, which made them formidable instruments in stimulating disaffection and inflaming the minds of the distressed peasantry to unlawful designs. The narrative of the events that marked the Irish insurrection of 1848 belongs to another part of this work. Happily it proved too insignificant to be worthy of any serious regard, and to a certain extent it answered a good purpose, by exposing to the eyes of the English people the real weakness of that much vaunted agitation, which was crushed, almost without an effort, the moment it broke out into overt acts. The ignominious defeat of Mr. O'Brien's ludicrous attack on the civil power, and the unresisted capture of his person, annihilated at once both the dignity and the danger of a conspiracy which had been magnified by the vanity of a few conceited demagogues into a civil war. Nevertheless, frivolous as the outbreak was, and chimerical as the alarms which had been entertained were proved to be, it was impossible to doubt, from the evidence as to the state of public feeling which it brought to light, that a wide-spread and deep-rooted disaffection pervaded a large part of the population. However little apprehension therefore might be felt that the distempers of the country would break out into war, there was the greatest reason to dread that they might explode in the shape of outrage and crime, and that although the right of the Crown might be in no jeopardy, the life and property of individuals would be seriously endangered. Under these circumstances the necessity for making the bands of the law more stringent, and arming the heads of the

Queen's Government with more extensive powers, was admitted by almost every class of politicians in England. The absurd and frantic efforts of the Irish demagogues had disgusted even the most tolerant friends of their nation in this country, and produced an unanimity in the councils of the British Parliament which no other event could in so short a time have brought about. The repugnance to entrust summary and arbitrary powers to Ministerial discretion, which is generally found to exist in the minds of liberal politicians, had given way to more urgent considerations. On the other hand, the voice of Conservative opinion in both countries demanded in the strongest manner a reinforcement of the law, and the enactment of additional securities for the life and property of the Queen's loyal subjects on the other side the Channel. To this demand the Government promptly yielded. It was a happy circumstance that at this time the highest executive authority was vested in a Lord Lieutenant in whose energy, judgment, and sagacity all parties entertained confidence. In the Earl of Clarendon the public knew that the Crown would find a firm but temperate asserter of its rights, and rebellion an uncompromising opponent. It was well understood, also, that between that nobleman and the Members of the Government in England the most cordial understanding existed, and that every measure of their Irish policy would be dictated by his information and advice.

It was under these circumstances, that, on the 21st July, Lord John Russell made the following announcement in the House of Commons:—"I rise, sir, to give notice that I propose, at the sitting of the House to-morrow, to ask leave to bring in a Bill to empower the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain, until the 1st day of March, 1849, such persons as he shall suspect of conspiring against Her Majesty's person or Government." (*Loud cheering.*)

It happened that the Earl of Glengall had given notice, for the same evening, of a motion in the House of Lords for papers, with the view of bringing the proceedings in Ireland, and the necessity for further legislation, under the consideration of Parliament. Before this motion was called on, the Marquis of Lansdowne communicated to the House the notice which his colleague had given in the House of Commons: he, however, invited Lord Glengall, nevertheless, to proceed with his motion, as affording an opportunity to the Government for a further statement. In accordance with this suggestion, Lord Glengall moved for copies of such reports as had been received by Her Majesty's Government from the stipendiary magistrates, constabulary officers, and police, respecting the formation of clubs in Ireland.

Lord Glengall glanced at the recent history of Ireland,—the schism in the Repeal party; the growth of the clubs; the atrocious counsel given to the people not only to prepare pikes and blunderbusses, but to destroy the soldiery with vitriol and burning turpentine; the military array; the treasonable communications with France and America; and the evident intention to effect, not only a political but a social revolution, by

exterminating "the English garrison"—that is, the 8000 Protestant landlords of Ireland. He complained that neither the Crime and Outrage Act, nor the Seditious Speaking Act, had proved sufficiently powerful: nothing short of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act would do; for anarchy was in the ascendant, and insurrection must follow.

The Marquis of Lansdowne admitted that the facts stated by Lord Glengall were notorious, but he thought the motion unnecessary; extracts from the papers in question—for no more than extracts could be given with propriety—would only weaken the case, as it stood upon facts which were notorious. Lord Lansdowne then proceeded further to explain the views of Government:—"It is unnecessary to gauge the actual extent of the clubs; but they must be stopped at once by the strong arm of the law. These clubs have reached to a pitch in Ireland which I affirm to be, on the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, and not on his authority alone, but on the concurrent authority of all observers, subversive of the public peace, and nothing but a prelude to civil war. There is not a doubt about it, because their proceedings are open to the world. What is secret among them I do not pretend to discover; but what is open and palpable is enough for me. When I look at the numbers, the language, and the objects proposed by those clubs, and the amount of military array by which it is sought to attain those objects, I say you have all the elements of proof before you, and that there is nothing wanting in the framework of rebellion but the actual declaration of war. I see that in carrying out the military array they have been directed by a person who not long ago went to Paris, for the avowed purpose of connecting himself with the clubs in that metropolis, and who, after meeting with something like rejection from the then Government of France, went forth knocking from door to door, seeking where he could find the greatest hostility to the Government of his own country. When that person, returning from this expedition, was placed at the head of these institutions in Ireland, I knew what the issue of these proceedings must be."

Lord Clarendon, however, had employed the powers already at his command more effectively than Lord Glengall seemed to allow. By the help of the Crime and Outrage Bill the peace of the city of Limerick has been comparatively restored. An existing Act against illegal training had been useful: it would expire at the end of that Session, but would be renewed. Other powers, including those conferred by the common law, had been carried into effect; and the law had been supported by the juries.

"I nevertheless agree," added Lord Lansdowne, "that the clubs are capable of being used, as I firmly believe they are intended chiefly to be used, for the purpose of intimidation. ("Hear!") They have acquired that character, and are enabled to exercise it with effect upon every class of the community, rich and poor, Roman Catholic and Protestant; openly avowing, as they have done within the last week, that those who did not yield to their arbitrary authority, and appear armed at their call, are to be considered as ene-

mies; and in the name of liberty they are endeavouring to establish a most cruel authority, subversive of all liberty, destructive of all conscience, and leading, as these associations have always led, to murder and bloodshed, and finally to anarchy and perfect despotism. Is this, or is it not, a state of things which ought to be met by all the vigour of the Government, supported, as I trust it will be, by all the authority of Parliament?"

"We are arrived at that state of things in which loss of time is loss of power. (*Cheers.*) Use that power while you have it—(*Renewed cheers*)—and the effect of your using it will be, not to destroy or impair liberty, but to save and preserve life. It was upon these considerations that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the responsible situation which he fills, has told Her Majesty's Government here that the time has arrived when it has become necessary to arm him with power to detain all persons justly suspected of treasonable intentions. I will not say that no other efforts will be made; but I believe that this is the measure which is called for, because it goes at once to strike at the leaders having those objects: for, considering the state of the Irish people—their poverty, their sufferings, their national tendency to excess, and their ignorance—I feel that much may be said in extenuation of *their* conduct. Against the leaders, who mislead the people by wilful falsehood, the punishment cannot be too severe. And I know that Lord Clarendon would exercise the powers intrusted to him with safety and forbearance."

"Before I sit down I will state, not only upon the authority of my noble friend, but upon the authority of others also, though more especially upon my noble friend's, that in this formidable movement, although there is reason, doubtless, to apprehend that many individuals of the Roman Catholic clergy have been engaged, yet nevertheless the conduct of the great portion of that body has been most meritorious. And I again state, upon the authority of my noble friend, who has from day to day examined the progress of this disorder, that although, whilst such disorder is preying upon society, they have been without the means of exerting the same vital energy in opposition to its progress, yet some of the Roman Catholic clergy have been most active in preventing the propagation of these clubs; and instances could be quoted, amidst this progress of sedition and planting of disorder, of the greatest benefit having attended their exhortations to peace, and their endeavours to defend their unfortunate flocks from the contagion they had received. It is but justice to them to make this statement. In that great conflict which I fear is coming, though I trust it will be short, I believe that the Government of Ireland will have the aid of one portion at least of that highly respectable and religious body. As to the measure to which the noble Earl alluded, notice of its introduction has already been given to the other House of Parliament; and when it comes here I trust that your Lordships will give to it the most attentive consideration."

Lord Brougham cordially approved of the course now taken by the Government; adducing in support of it the authority of the late Mr. O'Connell. A declaration

made by him, then leader of the Irish people, had been furnished to him (Lord Brougham) by a highly respectable individual, whose communication he read to the House. "The writer said—'Three weeks before Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill was introduced, in 1846, the late Mr. O'Connell deliberately stated to me and Dr. ——, and Mr. ——, now M.P. for an important place, and lately and at that time in a situation under Government,'—'that in his opinion the true remedy, which would be a safe and constitutional cure in the then state of certain districts in Ireland, as Limerick, Tipperary, and so forth, was the power commonly called,' though not very accurately, 'the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,—as it would cure and not irritate'—the very words, observed Lord Brougham, that I used, in ignorance of having this authority; 'and he said, that if Sir Robert Peel made out a case to entitle his Government to possess such a power, he would support his application to Parliament for it, provided'—now, I thought that what followed would take away the whole value of the opinion as to the Habeas Corpus suspension—'provided Sir Robert Peel would give'—I expected to find what he termed 'justice to Ireland,' and there was no saying what that might be, and the pledge in favour of coercion might soon be forgotten: but it was, 'provided Sir Robert Peel would at the same time introduce to the House those measures of relief and justice'—not in general terms, according to Mr. O'Connell's own notion of justice, but 'which he (Sir R. Peel) had so often promised to bring forward.' The writer then added, 'With Mr. O'Connell's permission, I stated on the following day the substance of that conversation to Mr. ——, M.P.; and I got leave also to show it to Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell.'"

Lord Stanley rejoiced too much at the present resolution of the Ministry to criticise their past conduct: he only hoped that the measure adopted would be strong enough, and not hampered by needless details, and he undertook that, without regard to party consideration, the Government should receive the unanimous support of that House.

Lord Lansdowne stated that the Ministers would make everything give way to the progress of the measure, which should be pressed forward as speedily as the forms of legislation would allow. In the event of any unfortunate delay taking place with respect to the passing of the Bill—if, in the present feverish state of the people of Ireland, they should be tempted to break out into actual rebellion—there existed an Act of the Irish Parliament passed long before the Union, under which the Lord Lieutenant could immediately seize and detain every person whom he might suspect of being an accessory to that rebellious proceeding. He would go further, and state that the Lord Lieutenant was prepared to take that course the moment an outbreak arose. (*Loud cheers.*)

Lord Brougham said he was aware of the Irish Act referred to. In order to bring it into operation, it was not necessary that there should be a general outbreak; any insurrectionary movement was sufficient for the purpose. He had no doubt that the Lord Lieutenant would do his duty vigorously and fearlessly.

Lord Glengall then withdrew his motion.

The next day, although, being Saturday, it was out of course for the House of Commons to sit, Lord John Russell, pursuant to his notice above stated, brought forward his motion for a Bill to suspend the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He commenced his address by assuring the House of the deep concern which he felt in having to propose to it the suspension, for a limited time, of the constitutional liberties of Ireland. In proposing it, he undertook to prove three things—first, that the present state of Ireland was fraught with evil, and that we were upon the eve of a formidable outbreak, if it were not suppressed in time; secondly, that there were means provided by the leaders of the contemplated insurrection to produce great injury and danger unless some measure were adopted to counteract them; and, thirdly, that the measure which he was about to propose was that particular remedy which appeared to be the best to be adopted in the present calamitous condition of Ireland. He then traced the history of the agitation for the Repeal of the Union from its commencement under Mr. O'Connell, who declared that no political change was worth the shedding of one single drop of blood, down to the present period, when a new faction had started into existence, which at first covertly and ambiguously, but at last openly and explicitly, had in view the total separation of Ireland from the dominions of the United Kingdom. The means which they proposed for effecting that object were distinguished by the appellation of physical force, which evidently meant rebellion against the Crown of this kingdom. Whilst England and Scotland had been contributing their private and public funds to the mitigation of the famine which had recently ravaged Ireland, all that the confederates and their leaders had contributed was seditious harangues, inflammatory appeals to the passions, and misrepresentations of the contributions and motives of the British people. Ireland was slowly recovering from that great calamity, when the events of February last occurred in Paris, giving encouragement to all who believed that the force and the authority of this empire might be overthrown by open insurrection. A deputation, comprising among its members Mr. S. O'Brien, was sent from Ireland to Paris for the purpose of asking assistance from France to the contemplated Irish insurrection. Although that attempt failed, the project went on, and there was little or no disguise any further attempted as to the intentions of the Irish Confederation. His Lordship then adverted to the seditious articles published in the *United Irishman*, for which Mr. Mitchell was then suffering transportation, and to the more recent articles in the *Irish Felon*, to show that this Confederation intended, first, to abolish the Imperial Government of these islands; next, to take away from the Queen all authority over Ireland; and, lastly, to abolish at once all the existing rights of property. To accomplish these objects it was proposed that the people should arm themselves, and should thus be ready to encounter any force which the Government might have at its disposal. It was felt, however, in Ireland, and by none more than the Roman Catholic

clergy, that if the Confederation should succeed in its objects, there would be an end of all respect for religion, and that the rule of brute force would be established. In order to neutralize the alarm thus felt by the clergy, the leaders of the intended Irish republic, after disclaiming all intentions of pillage and massacre, and of overthrowing religion, issued a resolution in which they frankly avowed that their object was not merely to repeal the Legislative Union, but to overthrow the power and authority of this country altogether, and the sway of that Government which they were bound and had sworn to obey. He then came to his second proposition, which was, that there were formidable means preparing for a rebellion against the constitutional authorities of the country. All the accounts which he had recently received from Ireland concurred in the conclusion, that the organization proposed by this Confederation was of a formidable character, was rapidly extending, and that in parts of the country the clubs and associations established by it were already ripe for insurrection. It was, however, chiefly within the last month that their proceedings had become more formidable and dangerous. He then read extracts from the despatches of Lord Clarendon, stating that though the clubs might not contemplate an outbreak immediately, Government must determine before Parliament was up, whether it would seek for fresh powers, or would permit the organization for an immediate civil war to proceed unmolested. The accounts received through the Constabulary Reports corresponded with the views of Lord Clarendon. He then referred to the establishment of numerous clubs, during the last two months, at Carrick-on-Suir, Meath, Cork, Waterford, and other places; and showed that the titles of several of them had been taken from parties who had rendered themselves conspicuous in the rebellion of 1798, with the express intention of encouraging the members to imitate their traitorous example. He particularly referred to the military organization of the clubs of Cork, which had been reviewed by Mr. S. O'Brien, to the salutation which had there been addressed to that aspiring traitor as King of Munster, and to his mock modesty in refusing the appellation by saying, "Not yet, not yet." He also adverted to the language used by Meagher on his arrest at Waterford, and on his return some time afterwards from Slievannon, where he was met by some 10,000 or 15,000 people, who avowed that, as all property had originally belonged to the people, a division of it now would only be a resumption of their own by the people. He alluded to the recent events at Carrick-on-Suir, where the peasantry had assembled, armed with muskets and scythes, and other formidable weapons, for the rescue of some persons arrested for bailable offences. On that occasion neither the will nor the intention to rebel was wanting; all that was wanting was the occasion. He then read a letter which he had received that morning from Lord Clarendon, declaring that the change which had come over the people within the last ten days was most alarming, and was greater than any which had ever been seen before in Ireland. No doubt any attempt at insurrection would be put down,

but it could not be done without much bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many lives. He therefore felt it to be his duty to come down to Parliament and propose a measure to meet this state of things. The Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland had both pointed out the dangerous character of the confederate clubs. It might yet be necessary to introduce a measure to prevent the organization of these clubs. Constituted as these clubs were, no doubt could exist as to their illegality, but the means of procuring evidence against them were not such as enabled the Government to put them down with facility. Such being the case, he knew of no remedy so direct in its object, and so immediate in its purpose, as that of securing the persons of those who were at the head of this projected insurrection, by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. There was at this moment a necessity for a Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to secure the persons of those whom he suspected of meditating high treason. He therefore asked the House of Commons to consent to the introduction of such a Bill. He might have been justified in asking for such a Bill at an earlier period; but he had waited until, in his mind, and in that of his colleagues, the necessity for it was so clear, so notorious, and so convincing, as not to be denied by either House of Parliament. He trusted that no time would be lost in passing this Bill into law. Protracted debates on such a subject could do no good, and might do incalculable harm. No man could say what might be the consequence of withholding even for a short time the powers which the Government now sought to obtain; and he asked those who were of opinion that the Bill should pass, not to render themselves responsible for the delay of a measure which might prove the saving of life in Ireland. He stood before the House responsible for proposing this measure; he assumed that responsibility, and confidently asked the House to assume its responsibility also; he called upon them to be mindful of the blessings which they yet enjoyed, and might secure, and also of the results which must flow from any other course than that which the Government invited them to follow.

Mr. F. O'Connor observed that the object of this measure was to seize upon Messrs. Smith O'Brien and Meagher because they shared in his own feelings, and hoped that Ireland would one day rid herself of the domination of England. Mr. O'Connor was proceeding to declare himself in favour of the separation of the two countries, when Lord John Russell took up from the table the board to which the oath of allegiance is attached, and pointed it out in a significant manner to the honourable Member. Mr. O'Connor paused for a moment, but afterwards proceeded to contend that the best mode of keeping his oath of allegiance was by pointing out the way in which Her Majesty was most likely to retain her British dominions. He was determined to give every opposition to this Bill, the effect of which he believed would be an immediate revolution. He then proceeded to denounce with much vigour the English newspaper press.

Sir R. Peel gave his cordial support to the proposed measure. He believed that a wicked conspiracy

existed in Ireland to deprive the Queen of her rightful dominions in that country. Such being his belief, he took his part at once with the Crown of the United Kingdom against the conspirators, who were endeavouring to wrest that power from the Sovereign by unlawful means. It was possible that a case might have been made out at an earlier period for a Bill like the present, but he agreed with Lord J. Russell, that when a proposal of this nature was made, there ought to be a strong opinion in the mind of the House and the country that a necessity had arisen to justify extreme measures. The question now at issue was really not whether there should be a repeal of the union, but whether there should be a total separation of the two countries. He believed that if the House refused to act now there would be a desolating warfare during the recess in Ireland. He believed that the Crown would ultimately be successful in it; but if it were not, of this he was sure, that there would be substituted for the present Government the most cruel, the most base, and the most sanguinary despotism that ever disgraced any country. He considered the measure of Government to be fully justified by the avowed declarations of open and undisguised traitors, who had not scrupled to recommend the assassination of the Lord Lieutenant. If further measures were required for the suppression of crime in Ireland, he hoped that additional powers would be demanded from the House, and that there would be no delay in stating their extent. He likewise hoped that the House would consent to the suspension of any of its forms which would prevent the passing of this Bill at once. In conclusion he animadverted with much severity on the laxity of construction which Mr. O'Connor had applied to the oath of allegiance. "The noble lord showed Mr. O'Connor the oath by which he swore to bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria; upon which the honourable gentleman said, 'And am I not fulfilling the oath of allegiance when I am trying to insure for Her Majesty the loyalty of her faithful subjects in Ireland?' Mr. O'Connell might have said that, for he was the enemy of separation, and he wished to maintain the golden link of the Crown. But the honourable gentleman, the Member for Nottingham, declared for a *separation* between England and Ireland. Now, if the honourable gentleman meant that by a separation Ireland was still to remain connected with the United Kingdom, and was to form an integral part of it, why was he scared by the oath of allegiance? ("Hear, hear!") On seeing the oath, he declared that he was faithfully discharging his obligations by preserving for Her Majesty the allegiance of her Irish subjects and her rightful dominions in Ireland."

Mr. O'Connor—"Her English dominions."

Sir Robert Peel—"Oh! her English dominions. Let me remind the honourable gentleman, that the oath was taken without equivocation or mental reservation. The allegiance promised was an allegiance on the part of Ireland as fully and completely as on the part of England; and if the honourable gentleman took the oath with a secret reservation to be a faithful and loyal subject of this part of the United Kingdom, but reserved to himself a latitude with regard to

Ireland, and a perfect right to sever Ireland from Her Majesty's dominions, then I say that he reserves to himself a latitude of construction so large that there can be no value in his oath of allegiance."

In conclusion, Sir Robert replied to Mr. O'Connor's question, was it possible to maintain a restricted monarchy in this country? "Looking at what has taken place on the chief arena of these revolutionary movements—taking Paris and France as my example—looking at the Government which existed before February, the securities for the public liberty, the state of the revenue, the condition of the manufacturing classes, the principles which were acted upon with respect to the rewards of labour—looking at what passed in February—looking at what passed in the interval of three or four months until June, when the new Government, which was founded upon the barricades of February, was exposed to the most violent attack by those whose hopes were disappointed—looking at all those circumstances—avoiding any reflection upon them, and only drawing an example for the guidance of the people of this country, —I say, so far from what has passed inducing me to distrust the advantages of a limited monarchy —to believe its foundations are less secure—to believe that there is less affection for the person of the Sovereign, or less rational conviction in favour of the advantages of a limited monarchy;—looking to the experience of the last six months, I retain an increased conviction that the monarchy of this country is secure, and is endeared by numerous considerations and associations to the affectionate support and devotion of the people of this country."

Mr. B. Osborne said he felt much embarrassment as to the course which he should pursue. He at first had resolved to absent himself from the debate; but, on reflection, he thought it would be unworthy to shrink from taking his full responsibility in passing this measure; for he believed in his heart that the persons whom it was directed against made Repeal but a pretext for murder and pillage. But he did not conceal his strong conviction that remedial measures had been wrongfully withheld; and he should not consent that the Bill should continue in operation till March 1849. The House should rather sit from month to month henceforward, that this Bill might go forth hand in hand with healing and conciliating measures. He would himself bring before the House his long-considered conviction that there should be some modification of the Act of Union.

Mr. Sharman Crawford could not express the pain he felt in discharging his duty of voting against the measure. He desired to see peace, and this Bill would bring no peace. He admitted that liberty must be restrained in times of crisis; but never, in such a case as this, without accompanying measures of amelioration and social improvement. The Government had neglected the use of the powers within its hands: if it had used these, its troops and its Felony Bill would have prevented the present head being gained by sedition. But now, a new coercion Act would be a vain measure: physical force could not now prevent resistance to rents and taxes, and disorganization of society. He therefore felt bound to move as an amendment, "That the present distracted state of Ireland arises

from misgovernment, and from the want of remedial measures, without which no coercive measures can restore either order or content to the country."

Mr. Fagan seconded the amendment. He thought the evils of Ireland were of a social character, and required a social remedy.

Mr. Callaghan opposed the Bill, believing that its effect would be to increase the exasperation which prevailed in Ireland. He should oppose all coercive measures as long as he could see other means of pacifying Ireland.

Mr. Disraeli declared his intention of giving the measure of Government his unvarying and unequivocal support. If he could bring himself to think that this pending insurrection arose from the social and political grievances of Ireland, and that this Bill would be an obstacle to the remedy of those grievances, he should be inclined to view it with distrust. Its character was flagrant; it was avowedly an invasion of the constitution. The only excuse for it was its necessity, and its necessity had been proved by the circumstances to which Lord J. Russell had alluded in his speech. His Lordship had not come down to the house with a green bag full of anonymous communications, but had referred to circumstances with which all were familiar, as a justification of the measure which he recommended. He considered this insurrection to be neither an agrarian nor a religious movement. It did not arise from any perverted sentiment of nationality, for it was nothing more or less than a Jacobin movement. Now, looking, as he did, upon Jacobinism as a system of unmitigated fraud and violence, he thought that we must encounter its violence with greater force, and must meet with courage that audacity which had been encouraged by events which had not occurred in England, nor as yet in Ireland. He protested against the attempt to mix up the social and political grievances of Ireland with the question then before the House. He also protested against its going forth to Europe that this was a question between the English Government and the Irish people. The majority of that people were not traitors. He could not believe that the Roman Catholic priesthood would look with favour on a Jacobin movement, nor would he believe, though some of the peasantry might have been deceived by the delusions of bad men, that the great body of them in the south of Ireland were heart and soul in this menacing movement. It was the movement of a party stimulated by foreign events and encouraged by foreign success. He had no doubt that their plots would meet with discomfiture; but he wished that that discomfiture might not be accomplished at the same expense of life and treasure at which it had been accomplished on former occasions, and for that reason he supported this Bill.

Sir Denham Norreys should give his cordial support to the Bill, although by so doing he should probably commit political suicide. This was not the time for inquiring into the political antecedents of this or that Government. The country was on the brink of a precipice, and his only care now was to prevent it falling to the bottom. Complaints had been made of the faulty character of the information on which Lord John Russell was proceeding. He cared not for that information—he

wanted it not—for he had read the present history of Ireland on the market-cross. This Bill was a serious experiment, and would lead either to the immediate extinction or immediate explosion of the insurrection. He therefore appealed to those who now opposed it, and begged them to recollect whether they were not running the risk of imposing upon Ireland by their opposition a greater evil even than this Bill—he meant martial law and military proscription. It was to save his countrymen from the misery which would inevitably be brought upon them if they were misled any longer by wicked and guilty men, that he gave his unhesitating support to this measure.

Mr. H. Drummond supported the Bill because he conceived that it would be efficacious in suppressing the insurrection which was on the point of bursting upon them, and because he conceived that civil war was no child's play. Though ready, he was disinclined at present, to enter into a discussion of the social grievances of Ireland; but he was prepared to deny the assertion of Mr. F. O'Connor, that a profligate press had poisoned the public mind of England. The only profligate press with which he was acquainted was that which advocated the doctrines of Communism, and which published, for a price paid every day, a whole column containing the names of the most infamous and blasphemous publications. A man must publish the names of such publications, either because he agreed with their principles, or because he wished to derive some paltry gain from the advertisements of them.

Mr. Hume admitted that the publication to which Mr. Drummond had adverted (viz., the *Northern Star*) was no credit to any man connected with it, for it pandered to the base passions of the populace, and held out to the ignorant hopes which could never be realized. After deprecating in the strongest terms the doctrines of Communism, he proceeded to observe that the long attention which he had paid to the condition of Ireland had placed him on this occasion in a position of some difficulty. It was necessary to put down the excitement now prevailing in that country, in order to preserve peace and prevent a civil war. He was therefore obliged, though reluctantly, to give his consent to the measure of Government. He must nevertheless warn the House that it never could remove the discontent of the population of Ireland unless it removed the cause of it. In his opinion that would not be a task of much difficulty, for the discontent of Ireland arose from the English Government withholding from it its civil rights. Irishmen were not on equal terms with Englishmen and Scotchmen. Whenever they were placed on that level discontent would vanish and peace and confidence would return. He recommended the House to modify the Irish Church, to extend the franchise, to improve the grand jury laws, to amend the municipal institutions, and not to separate without proposing and carrying the other remedial measures which had been introduced that Session for the amelioration of society in Ireland. He advised his friends not to oppose this Bill, but to show that they were anxious for the maintenance of peace and order in Ireland by supporting it.

Mr. Sadleir thought it was high time that the proceedings of the revolutionary party in Ireland

should be stopped, and he therefore tendered his support to the Government. At the same time he told the Prime Minister that the extensive disaffection which existed in Ireland could not have arisen without great misconduct on the part of her rulers.

Mr. Newdegate briefly, but in decided terms, expressed his intention of voting with the Government.

Mr. Grogan, as representative of the loyal citizens of Dublin, thanked the Government for this Bill, which would put an end to that agitation which had reduced so many of the opulent and industrious tradesmen of Dublin to bankruptcy and ruin. He regretted that this measure had not been introduced earlier, and hoped that the Government would not show any indecision in carrying it into effect.

Mr. Reynolds differed *toto cælo* from his honourable colleague. He prophesied that this Bill would pass and would be a failure. Still, in expressing that belief, he must declare himself favourable, not to its introduction, but to its extinction. He should vote against it in all its stages, and hoped that those stages would be long and tedious. The Bill would create Repealers, and would extend all the evils which it professed to cure.

Mr. Muntz appealed to Mr. S. Crawford to withdraw his amendment. He (Mr. Muntz) regretted the necessity in which he found himself placed of voting for the Bill, but the circumstances of the case left him no alternative. Unless, however, the Government really proceeded to redress the grievances of Ireland, he warned them that this was the last coercive measure he would ever support.

Sir H. Barron added his testimony to the absolute necessity of adopting this measure with unanimity. He had that morning received letters from Ireland of the most alarming nature. People of all descriptions were lamenting that the Government had not adopted these measures sooner. Some of the leaders of the intended rebellion, who had some property, were most anxious for the passing of this Bill, and would rejoice when they heard the sound of the prison doors closing behind them; for they knew that they and their property would be sacrificed in a rising which must lead to their ruin. No one was more convinced of the hopelessness of the rebellion than some of the leaders of it; and, to his knowledge, some of them had expressed themselves to that effect.

Col. Dunne concurred in the amendment, but nevertheless felt bound to vote in favour of the Bill.

Mr. Scalby denied the disloyalty and disaffection which had been attributed to Tipperary. He thought that the effect of this Bill might be fatal, and urged the adoption of remedial measures.

The House then divided: the numbers were—

For Mr. S. Crawford's Amendment . . .	8
Against it	271
Majority against it . .	263

Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

Sir Lucius O'Brien, brother of Mr. Smith O'Brien, addressed a few words to the House in reference to his personal position. His original feeling was, considering that a near relative of his own would most probably be one of the

first persons to come under the operation of the Bill, that it would be more delicate to absent himself from the House; but, reflecting that his opinions on the present posture of Irish affairs might be misinterpreted, he overruled his feelings, and concluded it would be more patriotic and decorous to attend in the House and take part in the debate. (*Loud and general cheering.*)

Lord John Russell said, that as the House had expressed so unequivocally its feeling in favour of the Bill, it would doubtless permit the further stages to be proceeded with instanter. He moved the second reading.

After some objections from Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Reynolds, the Bill was read a second time. The House then went into Committee upon it. Mr. B. Osborne moved to limit its operation to the 1st of September, 1848; but the Irish Members appearing to be against him, he withdrew his motion. The Bill being passed through Committee, Lord John Russell moved the third reading, which was agreed to, and the Bill was forthwith taken up to the House of Lords.

On the next day but one, Monday, the 26th of July, the Bill was introduced into the Upper House by the Marquis of Lansdowne, with a statement nearly similar to that which Lord John Russell had made. The club organization, he said, rapidly increased with each hour's delay; and he quoted from the last manifestoes issued by the confederate leaders since they had learnt the measures of the Government. Mr. Brennan, in the *Irish Felon* published on the 24th, counselled the young Irishmen to shoulder their pikes and march, and declared—"I think we had better front our fate at once, and be free in death if we cannot live in freedom. Brothers, let your watchword be 'Now or never—now and for ever.'" Mr. J. F. Lalor, in the same paper, said—"In the case of Ireland now, there is but one fact to deal with, and one question to be considered. The fact is this, that there are at present in occupation of our country some forty thousand armed men in the livery and service of England;" and he proceeded—"The question is, how best and soonest to kill and capture these forty thousand men." He declared in favour of an instant rising—"If required to state my own individual opinion, and allowed to choose my own time, I certainly would take the time when the full harvest of Ireland shall be stacked in the haggards. But not unfrequently God selects and sends his own seasons and occasions; and oftentimes, too, an enemy is able to foresee the necessity of either fighting or failing. In the one case we ought not, in the other we surely cannot, attempt waiting for our harvest-home. If opportunity offers, we must dash at that opportunity; if driven to the wall, we must wheel for resistance. Wherefore, let us fight in September, if we may—but sooner, if we must." Lord Lansdowne had some satisfaction in closing his quotations from the same letter with the following one, which indicated in the leaders a hesitation to begin:—"Meanwhile, however, remember this; that somewhere, and somehow, and by somebody, a beginning must be made. Who strikes the first blow for Ireland? Who draws first blood for Ireland? Who wins a wreath that will be green for ever?" He believed

that the hesitation here betrayed would be confirmed, and that no one would be found to "strike the first blow," if this Bill were passed without delay. Lord Lansdowne concluded by moving that the public safety required that the Bill should be passed with all possible despatch; and that, notwithstanding the Standing Orders, the Lord Chancellor should be authorized to put the question of each stage of the measure at such times as the House should deem necessary.

Lord Brougham cordially seconded the motion of Lord Lansdowne, being convinced of the necessity of conferring extraordinary powers upon the Lord Lieutenant. But it would be a fallacy to suppose that the measure was wanted to secure the British empire in Ireland, or to prevent a disseverance: it was required only to prevent efforts at disseverance, which, though they must end in the discomfiture of the rebels, would be made in all the horrors of bloodshed and confusion, and would fall heaviest on the innocent and peaceable. He observed that one of the worst of the papers which had been read to the House was the production of a person now in prison for sedition. He hoped there was law to prevent this, and that it would be made impossible to convert prisons into places whence new declarations of treason might be made, and sedition be sowed broadcast among the people.

The Earl of Wicklow insisted much upon the same point.

Lord Lansdowne explained that inquiry had already been made, and there was good reason to believe that the writings professing to issue from Newgate Prison had not really been composed there, but by persons still at large, in behalf of, and in the name of, the prisoners.

The Earl of Ellenborough believed that if the Bill had been introduced eight months earlier, it would have prevented a rebellion which it would now only precipitate. "Nothing," said he, "will now prevent a rebellion in the South but an arming of the North. If the Government go into the struggle without organization of the well-affected, and without the arming of friends, it will place the country in the condition of having to undergo a long and bloody contest, whereas it had the means of rendering it short, if not of preventing its possibility."

The Marquis of Lansdowne vindicated the Government, with some warmth, from the imputations of Lord Ellenborough.

The Earl of Glengall paid a tribute to the peaceable and temperate conduct of the Roman Catholic priesthood during the pending crisis, and to their exertions in the cause of order.

The Bill was then passed *nem. dis.* through all its stages.

Not many days afterwards a general debate on the state and prospects of Ireland took place in the House of Commons, upon the occasion of a resolution proposed by Mr. Sharman Crawford, previous to going into Committee of Supply, to the following effect:—

"That the present distracted state of Ireland demands the instant attention of Parliament, with a view to the speedy enactment of such measures as may be necessary to improve the condition, redress the grievances, and establish the just rights of the Irish people, and thereby promote the good order and prosperity of that portion of the United Kingdom, and give in-

creased security to Her Majesty's Crown and Government."

After reading the terms of it, he observed that, if it should be carried, he should follow it up by moving the same resolution which Lord J. Russell had moved in 1844—namely, that the whole subject of Irish grievances should be referred to the consideration of a Select Committee of the whole House. In support of his proposition Mr. Crawford entered into a history of the social and political grievances of Ireland, both prior and subsequent to the Legislative Union with England, dwelling particularly on the abortive measures which had been proposed of late years by the Governments of Sir R. Peel and Lord J. Russell, to reform the Irish Church, to mitigate the pressure of the tithe system, to introduce a good Poor Law, to improve and extend the franchise, to regulate the municipal institutions, to place the law of landlord and tenant on a proper footing, and to reclaim the waste lands, which would render any system of emigration unnecessary in Ireland. The last measure which the Government had introduced for the pacification of his unhappy country was a Coercion Bill, which had been passed with breathless haste and unprecedented rapidity. No other measure for the amelioration of Ireland was likely to pass this Session. Even if the Encumbered Estates Bill should pass, it would be of no use unless it were accompanied with a proper law of landlord and tenant, and he was sorry to say that the Bill introduced on that subject by the Government deserved any other title save that of a proper measure. He looked upon the law for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which had been passed that week, as a declaration of war. If it were so, then Ireland must be reconquered, and, when reconquered, must be governed by the sword. The consequences of such a system must be fatal to both countries, unless remedial measures were introduced for the grievances of Ireland. If Lord J. Russell should say that there was not time for passing, or that there was an obstructive majority in the House which would prevent him from passing such measures, then he would ask his Lordship how could the demand for Repeal hereafter be resisted? He intended to proceed forthwith to Ireland, and to use there any influence he might possess in the preservation of peace. He wanted, however, to carry with him a message of peace, and at present he saw no chance of doing so. He should therefore return home with pain and sorrow, although he most strongly repudiated the principles and practices of those who were now disturbing the peace of Ireland.

Lord J. Russell, after paying a deserved compliment to Mr. S. Crawford for the temperate language in which he had expressed his opinions, and adducing examples of the delay which always attended the passing of great measures, to prove that Ireland was no exception, read extracts from a pamphlet published in Dublin in 1796, to show that the state of Ireland was at least as bad then as at present. He attributed the evils of Ireland principally to the practice of early marriages, and to the improvident habits of the people; but attached some weight, also, to the bigotry of the 17th, and the illiberal commercial policy of the 18th, centuries; and then proceeded to comment upon the

subject of each of Mr. Crawford's complaints—the delay of the Emancipation Bill, the tithe system, the imperfection of the Irish Reform Act, the law of juries, the state of the franchise, the relations between landlord and tenant, and Mr. Crawford's proposed extension of tenant right. Upon this last subject, and upon the working of the Irish Poor Law, he spoke at considerable length, and then passed to the consideration of the Encumbered Estates' Bill, from the operation of which he expected much of that division of property which Mr. Crawford desired, and the Evicted Tenants' Bill, which had been, as he thought, most unfortunately rejected by the House of Lords. After noticing the grand jury laws, the projects for reclaiming waste lands, and the applications for Government assistance for the Irish railroads, he came at last to the position of the Established Church in Ireland, which, he said, was far from satisfactory; but after discussing the various schemes for remedying the manifest evil of an appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenue to the church of the minority—from his own proposition for a small appropriation of its funds, to Mr. Bright's for a total abolition of the church—he declared that he thought the Protestants had a fair claim to an establishment for their church, and that there was no great excess in the revenues now allotted to it. Lord John Russell then described the difficulties in the way of a Roman Catholic establishment; and having deprecated any attempt to cope with them at present, concluded a speech in which almost every subject in the wide field of Irish politics was discussed, by asking the House not to assent to the impossible task that Mr. Crawford wished to impose upon it, but to proceed calmly and gradually to amend the grievances of Ireland, and to recollect that it was by peaceable measures and Parliamentary discussion that redress must be obtained, and that a resort to arms, and to rebellion, could but lead to an aggravation of all the misfortunes of Ireland, and to the speedy dissipation and destruction of all its resources, great and unparalleled as they were.

Mr. H. Herbert thought that no practical good could be effected by now acceding to Mr. Crawford's motion. He should, however, vote for it, because he thought that no sufficient progress had been made in the present Session in producing healing measures for Ireland.

Mr. Fagan contended that the speech of Lord John Russell, conciliatory as its tone was, could not be received in Ireland as a message of peace. The Minister had admitted the grievances of Ireland, but had proposed no adequate remedy for them.

Mr. Monsell could not express any opinion whether the time chosen for this motion were judicious or not; but as it had been brought forward, feeling as he did for the present wretched condition of Ireland, he must give his vote in its favour. He called on Lord John Russell to reconsider his decision respecting the Irish Church, assuring him that by so doing he would take the wisest step that could be adopted for pacifying Ireland.

Mr. Osborne said, that on that very day, 45 years ago, the House was engaged in suspending the Habeas Corpus Act on account of a rebellion which was apprehended

in Ireland. He wished to know what had been done in the interval for the pacification of that country? Nothing, absolutely nothing. The Government had again suspended the Habeas Corpus Act for Ireland, and yet did not come forward with any other plan for its amelioration. He then proceeded to condemn in the strongest terms the conduct of the English Parliament to Ireland, contending that it had never made a concession to that country which was not extorted by fear, and withheld until it was received with scorn and contempt. He then made a severe onslaught on the Whigs for having ejected Sir R. Peel from office on a Coercion Bill, and for having failed to perform any of the mighty promises in which they had indulged on their accession to power. He next entered upon the question of the Irish Church, insisting that it was the cause of all the dissension and heartburning which prevailed in Ireland. It was at the root of all the discord of that country, and there would be no peace there until it was reduced to its proper dimensions. He referred at some length to one of the old plans of Lord J. Russell for putting the Irish Church on a proper footing, and defended it by extracts from the report of the Committee of 1834 on the revenues of the church of Ireland, and from the speech delivered by Lord Morpeth in 1835 in defence of it. He admitted that there were insuperable objections to allowing the bishops of the Irish Roman Catholic Church to sit in the House of Lords, but he saw no objection to removing the Irish Protestant bishops from that House, as such a measure would conduce to the respectability of the Protestant Church, and would place the Irish Roman Catholic and the Irish Protestant on a footing of complete equality. He also proposed to turn over to the consolidated fund the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, as proposed by Lord Melbourne in 1835; and further contended that until that was done nothing like a permanent settlement could be expected in Ireland. After quoting the speeches of Mr. Ward, Mr. V. Smith, Mr. Macaulay, and Lord J. Russell, in 1835, and subsequent years, in support of the reduction of the Irish Church, Mr. Osborne stated his opinion that language more strong and argument more conclusive could not be urged in defence of the proposition which he had just announced. He then advocated the throwing open of Trinity College, Dublin, to the Roman Catholics, insisting that there would be no equality in Ireland until they were permitted to aspire to Scholarships and Fellowships as well as Protestants. He denounced the Irish Poor Law, and recommended systematic colonization as the best means of relieving Irish distress and destitution. He complained that Ireland was governed like a colony. It had a mock Sovereign, a Brummagem Court, and a pinchbeck Executive. The Home Secretary was its real governor; and the result was, that from the repeated change of that high officer of state there was no consistent policy pursued in that country. He recommended the abolition of the office of Lord Lieutenant, and the establishment of a fourth Secretary of State for the government of that country. He likewise suggested that from time to time the Parliament should sit in Dublin, and that Her Majesty should pay a visit to that country once a year. Such

a visit would soon make the star of the King of Munster "pale its ineffectual fire."

The debate was then adjourned, and was renewed at considerable length on the following day. Little matter of novelty, however, was contained in the speeches on either side. The most remarkable features of the debate were the declarations made by the Home Secretary, and by the Secretary for Ireland, on the Irish Church question.

Sir George Grey said, "I am not prepared to deny, but affirm, that the existence of an exclusive Protestant church in Ireland (the Protestant Episcopalians being a small minority only of the population) is an anomaly which I think unjustifiable in its origin, and indefensible now. I know no other country in Europe in which the same experiment has been made—in which the same attempt has been carried out; and I am quite prepared to say that the wisdom and policy of the attempt in Ireland might be judged of by its results. I think it an unfortunate circumstance, materially affecting the peace of Ireland and the facility with which the Government can be carried on there, that the Roman Catholic clergy of the people of Ireland are dependent for subsistence on the precarious contributions of their flocks. I supported the Maynooth Bill not only because the principle was just on which it was founded, for improving the means of education for the Roman Catholic clergy, but because it involved the first recognition of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, and because I had hoped that it would lead to further measures." . . . "I very much agree with some Members who have spoken in believing that the time of the Ministry would come (and I care not what Ministry it may be) when public opinion in this country, having altered through longer experience, will enable a matured and well-considered plan to be brought forward by such Ministry, and to receive the sanction of Parliament. I hope we are not too sanguine in the expectation that that time is not far distant: I for one shall hail its arrival, and, whether in office or out of office, no one will be more ready than myself to concur in any practical plan for the accomplishment of what I believe would be a great benefit to Ireland."

Sir William Somerville agreed with Sir George Grey, both as to what it was desirable to do, and as to the difficulty of doing it.

Whenever a plan should be brought forward for putting the Establishment in Ireland on a proper footing, he would give his support to the motion by whomsoever it was proposed. The task of those who devised such a plan should be, not to demolish, but to construct. What was wanted was, that all classes should be put on a footing of equality, and that no heartburnings or jealousies should be allowed to exist. Whenever that task was undertaken, it ought to be undertaken in a confiding spirit. There should be no compromising, no bargaining, but right should be done; and he agreed with those who thought that, when right was done in this matter, more would be effected towards laying the foundations of peace, happiness, and tranquillity in Ireland, than could be done by any other measure.

Lord John Russell also, in answer to some remarks made by Mr.

Newdegate, expressed his views to the same effect. In reference to some misinterpretation which had been put upon his language, he said that he had never stated that he considered the Established Church in Ireland as a national grievance. What he had stated was, that he thought the endowment of the clergy of a minority of the people, where there was no endowment of the clergy of the majority, was a just subject of complaint to the people of Ireland.

The motion was opposed by Major Blackall and by Mr. Clements, though the latter felt for many reasons inclined to support it.

Mr. M. J. O'Connell made a conciliatory speech, but said he would vote for the motion, as a proper rebuke to the Government and the House for not having passed remedial measures. Mr. Poulett Scrope quoted passages from some of the organs of the Repeal party to show that the Landlord and Tenant question was the root of all Irish discontent. He advocated a scheme for the reclamation of waste lands.

Colonel Dunne approved of the spirit of the motion, but could not consent at this juncture to press on Government the consideration of all the remedies suggested.

Sir Denham Norreys expressed disappointment at the speech of Lord John Russell. That of Sir George Grey held out more hope of a settlement of the Church question. Mr. Feargus O'Connor censured the Irish landlords for pusillanimity, and contended that, if they did their duty, they might put an end to all the miseries of Ireland. Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Stafford criticized the Ministerial declarations respecting the Irish Church. Mr. Reynolds avowed himself in favour of the principle of every man paying his own clergyman, just as he paid his own doctor. Mr. Grace was sorry that the Government should have raised so many hopes, and done so little to satisfy them. After a short speech from Mr. Grattan, the House divided, when there appeared—

For Mr. S. Crawford's Resolution	24
Against it	100
Majority against the Motion	76

We referred, at the commencement of this chapter, to the bill for facilitating the transfer of Encumbered Estates, a measure of which the object was universally admitted to be most desirable, though the adaptation of its machinery to the desired result has been deemed questionable. It was originally introduced in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, at an early period of the Session, and the second reading was moved on the 24th February. In recommending the measure to the House, the noble and learned Lord observed that, unfortunately for Ireland, the landed property there, to a large extent, was in a situation not only detrimental to those who had an interest in land, but also most injurious to the community at large; and, therefore, the importance of any measure intended to remedy acknowledged evils in respect to this matter would be admitted. The great evil with respect to landed property in Ireland was, that a very large portion of it was heavily encumbered by mortgages, charges, and other interests, so that the ostensible owner in some cases

could hardly be said to have any estate in the land at all. He consequently was not in a condition to improve the estate by finding employment at the same time for the population. It was impossible for a landlord whose income arising from his landed estate was intercepted by mortgages and other charges to perform those duties which a landlord should discharge. This was a most injurious state of things for all classes, and the existing state of the law afforded no sufficient means for removing the difficulty. Scarcely any one who had at any time turned his attention to subjects of this nature would fail to know that the interest paid for money invested in land could not be compared with the interest derived from capital engaged in other pursuits; and it was equally well known that from many estates in Ireland no income whatever was derived—that was to say, the whole proceeds of the estate were absorbed by the incumbrances; yet, if the owners of those estates were enabled to convert them into money, the balance, or residue, coming to such owners would often be of considerable amount, and would, if prudently invested, yield handsome incomes. Of course, no one would wish to see the mortgagors lose their estates; on the contrary, the purpose of the Bill was to enable the owners of incumbered estates to dispose of them to advantage, and to invest the proceeds of those estates in a beneficial manner. By changes of that kind persons of no capital would cease to be the nominal proprietors of land, and the real masters of the soil would then become the ostensible owners. Such persons would not think of purchasing land without possessing capital sufficient for its improvement, and, under the altered condition of the relations of landed proprietors towards their tenants, towards each other, and towards the community at large, they would be presented with every temptation to improve the condition of their estates. Although these objects were of great and paramount importance, yet he was as fully aware as any noble lord in that House could be, that it would be impossible to effect the proposed alteration of the law without doing much that might be considered inconsistent with the rights of property. But he would ask, why should the interests of the community at large, as well as the interests of individuals, be disregarded for the sake of maintaining mere abstract rights, which in the existing state of society in Ireland led to great practical injustice? In the case of land purchased for the use of railways no such hesitation was felt—no such injustice was made the subject of complaint. He admitted there was extreme difficulty in carrying into effect all the objects which the framers of the Bill proposed to accomplish. It was true that in the simple case of mortgagor and mortgagee nothing remained to be done but to sell the land, pay the mortgagee, and let the owner of the estate receive the surplus of the purchase-money. But such a condition of affairs formed the exception, not the rule; generally, the condition of an estate presented more complexity; hence extreme difficulty and embarrassment arose in dealing with the conflicting claims of the various parties interested. In framing the Bill every possible

care was taken to guard against what might be called the absence of parties; and in every possible case provision was made that every person interested in an estate should be entitled to notice respecting any steps that might be taken with a view to its sale, the conduct of the affair being placed in the hands of a Master in Chancery, assisted by a person who should be appointed for that purpose by the Attorney-General; and, as he had already said, nothing would be done without full notice to every one concerned, the Master in Chancery and the person appointed by the Attorney-General being bound to watch over the interests of all parties. He would repeat that every possible guard had been introduced into the Bill to render it next to impossible that the money paid into Court should ever go into wrong hands. The noble and learned lord then concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time.

The Earl of Roden expressed his approval of the Bill. The land of Ireland never could support its poor unless the owners of the soil were placed in the position of being masters of their own property. He trusted such a measure would be passed as would enable persons to sell their estates, creating a class of real owners instead of men nominally possessing thousands a year, while they were in reality almost paupers.

Earl Fitzwilliam did not mean to express disapprobation of the Bill. Indeed he could not see any reason why it should be limited to Ireland. At the same time he thought it right to guard the House and the country against entertaining exaggerated expectations of the effects of the measure. The number of cases in which its operation would be felt he thought would be small; first, because its provisions were to be carried out by the Court of Chancery; next, because persons were apt to be slow in coming to a conviction of the necessity of parting with their estates.

Lord Stanley concurred with those who thought the evil to be remedied one of great and overwhelming magnitude in Ireland. The position of those landlords in Ireland who nominally had 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* a year, while they did not really possess more than so many hundreds, was very inconvenient. In consequence of the inability of those proprietors to perform their duties, very erroneous ideas had been formed of their disposition to do it. He was not personally interested in the measure—(*A laugh*)—but he anticipated considerable difficulties in carrying part of it into effect. The noble and learned lord had doubtless paid great attention to the provisions by which the powers of the Bill were guarded; and he hoped some time would be allowed to elapse before they were called on to agree to the details. There would be great difficulty in dealing with estates that were divided. Incumbrances on Irish estates were often created without the consent of the owner; all these incumbrances were to be referred to the Master; the expense was not thrown on the parties demanding the proceedings, but on the estate itself.

Lord Campbell said the great object of the Bill was to cheapen and shorten the proceedings in the Court of Chancery. One of the sections gave a sort of Parliament-

ary title to purchasers of estates. Titles in Ireland were in a most deplorable condition. There was not there, as in England, a set of lawyers who devoted themselves to the law of real property. Most able lawyers there were in Ireland, but no conveyancers, who looked specially into titles. Although he was a great friend to registration, in Ireland the registers were exceedingly bad, and, instead of clearing up titles and making them more certain, often involved them in inextricable confusion. This Bill would give titles that would be good against all the world, and the purchasers of estates under it would have a title which nothing could affect. He hoped the Bill would meet with their lordships' approbation, for he was satisfied that it would prove of great benefit to the part of the United Kingdom for which it was intended.

Lord Monteagle said, that, so far from the principle of this Bill being objected to by the landed proprietors in Ireland, it met with their entire approval. But there was an inconvenience which would arise from the Bill in its present state which, he thought, required consideration, and might be remedied without violating the principle of the measure. It did not prevent a middleman who held land with a condition against sub-letting or dividing the land, putting a charge upon it for children, and upon his death the children became incumbrancers, and the result might be that the middleman's interest would be split into parts, and the object of the Bill defeated. He was glad to learn that the object of the Bill was to cheapen and curtail proceedings in Chancery; but, unless something was done to reform the proceedings in the Master's office, sufficient relief would not be afforded.

The Bill was then read a second time, and passed the Lords with little further discussion. In the House of Commons, however, it underwent considerable debate and some material alteration in its provisions. After long delay it came on for discussion in Committee on the 4th July. Sir Lucius O'Brien moved that it be an instruction to the Committee to extend the operation of the Bill to England and Scotland. He complained of the conduct of the Government in reference to the Bill, and of some of the provisions of the measure itself. The Bill proposed to invest creditors who held security over Irish estates with powers over those estates which creditors did not possess in England or Scotland. Properly modified, the Irish landlords would accept it; but they would not do so in its present shape; and, in order to test its goodness for Ireland, he proposed its application also to England and Scotland, as it must be equally good for them if good at all. At present it was founded on the most unconstitutional principles. Clause 30 would enable a tenant for life, without reference to the extent of his encumbrance, and behind the back of any person entitled in remainder, to sell the whole ancient family mansion and appurtenances; to do this for an inadequate price; and to obtain the purchase-money from the Bank of Ireland at his pleasure. It in fact repealed the law of entail; which, whether a right law or wrong law, was one incorporated with all the present system, and was the basis of the titles and honours that one generation transmitted to another. By clause 3, every creditor—no

matter the amount of his claim—could force the land of his debtor into the market.

In passing, Sir Lucius stood forward as the apologist of Irish landlords — a much-calumniated race. None were better educated, more capable of transacting business, or more intent on doing their duty. But the state of the law was such as to drive them to measures of apparent hardship. Sir Lucius spoke from experience, and after losing hundreds of pounds. If he built a house in a village and put a man into it to live there comfortably, it might be two or three years before he got that house again into his possession, though the tenant would pay no rent. Three or four years would elapse before one could get quit of a pauper: instead of a comfortable cottage such as it was at first, the cottage came back in a very different condition; and, were such a case to occur on his property, in that House he should have his fair name tarnished. Until adequate power were given to the landlords in such cases, the country would continue to present such barbarous scenes as it now exhibited.

The Solicitor-General vindicated the measure. He said the object of the Bill was to make land a marketable commodity in Ireland. From various returns which had been made, it appeared that there was an abundance of capital in Ireland, and that even during the late famine capital was constantly coming thence for profitable investment in this country. Government had the admission of all parties to the fact as unquestionable, that if land could be sold in reasonably small pieces in Ireland, there was abundance of capital which would be applied in making such purchases. The present Bill aimed at facilitating such investments and purchases. The Solicitor-General explained in some detail the complex and costly but still inefficient system of registration of encumbrances now in force in Ireland. It was proposed to enable owners of encumbered estates to sell their land and substitute money in place of it, subject to all the interests and encumbrances that previouly affected the land. This was provided for in two ways: by a compulsory sale made under the order of the Irish Court of Chancery—a power being given to the Court to deal with such cases by referring them to a Master and afterwards summarily directing the sale; and by empowering owners of encumbered land to sell that land, and give with it a Parliamentary title. In addition, a third mode had been added—that of a sale by "consent;" which, as the Bill provided, might take place in all cases where all the persons interested in the estate consented to its sale and had given proper notices. The parties receiving notice of sale would be enabled, by application to the Court, to show sufficient cause for forbidding the sale; and, in further precaution, no Parliamentary title made by the Bill would be indefeasible till the lapse of five years after the sale: during those five years the proof of fraud or collusion would make the sale void as against all persons connected with the fraud.

The present measure was not intended to interfere with various other measures for the relief of Ireland, and would not be incorporated with any measure on the question of landlord and tenant.

Mr. Napier urged objections to the Bill, as altered from the shape in which it left the House of Lords.

The encumbrancer he said, was duly cared for by its provisions, but the remainder-man under family settlements would be unprotected; for his only remedy against fraud or a depreciation of the value of his interest would be a suit in equity. As to the new mode of sale, without the order of the Court of Chancery after notices in the Gazette and elsewhere, nobody read the notices in the Gazette, and the party really entitled might be an absentee, an infant, or even an unborn child, and yet the title was to be indefeasible after five years.

Mr. Monsell supported the measure as the only hope for the miserable tenants of encumbered estates in Ireland. He entreated the House to carry it into a law with all convenient speed. Mr. Osborne characterized the amendment as a party subterfuge to defeat a useful and practical measure. He warmly supported the bill, as calculated to raise the value of land in Ireland, and, what was of much greater consequence, to increase the cereal produce in that country. He criticised, however, some parts of the machinery of the measure, particularly the repeated references which it required to the Master's office in the Irish Court of Chancery—the delay, expense, and chicanery of which were such that no man would desire to see its business increased. Mr. Osborne stated his opinion that nothing would attain the desired end but the appointment of Commissioners, with all necessary powers to carry out the Bill. He had employed two legal gentlemen, one of them an eminent conveyancer, to look into the Bill; and they held out no hopes to him that the transfer of the land could be made more cheaply under its provisions. On the general policy of the Bill Mr. Osborne spoke in much more favourable terms. Every day's experience convinced him, that if they wished to save Ireland they must do some injustice to effect a great deal of public good; and, unless they altered the laws affecting property in Ireland and that too in a very summary way, they would have no property left in that country. By the present operation of the Stamp Duties, small purchases of land could not be effected in Ireland; and, if they wished to encourage small purchases of land, they must first alter their Stamp Duties. It was notorious that the state of society in Ireland was diseased, and that the laws respecting land were at the bottom of the mischief. The resident aristocracy, whose estates were heavily mortgaged, were obliged by their position to do harsh and selfish acts; and the greatest boon to them would be a Bill enabling them to sell the whole or a portion of their estates, for they could not possibly discharge the duties of their present situation.

Mr. Sadleir approved of the just and valuable principle of the Bill; that it conferred on the tenant for life a power to dispose of the inheritance in satisfaction of debts and incumbrances; but he gave a qualified opposition to its details and machinery, and offered some suggestions of his own for effecting its objects more perfectly.

Sir James Graham expressed his gratitude to the Solicitor General for his valuable exertions in perfecting the details of this measure. His dread had been that legal scruples and prejudices would be too much considered in the amending of the Bill, and that too little regard would be paid to the

"peculiar circumstances existing in Ireland." But he heard with great pleasure a speech from a gentleman bearing the name of Romilly—worthy of a lawyer, but not exclusively of a lawyer—a speech combining with extensive legal knowledge large political views well worthy of the subject handled.

On the broad principle and policy of the measure Sir James made this declaration amidst general cheering—"I think it is absolutely necessary that every encouragement and facility should be given to the subdivision of land in Ireland; and that the opportunity most favourable for effecting this is when land is brought to sale. I am most anxious to reunite to the soil of Ireland the Roman Catholic population of that country. That I believe to be one of the most efficacious means of insuring the safety of Ireland, and of forming and strengthening the bond of union between the two countries. During a long period of exclusion and inequality of rights, the Roman Catholics of Ireland have by industry accumulated capital, which I believe they are not unwilling to invest in the purchase of the land of Ireland. Unfortunately, the large estates held by right of confiscation, in the hands of Protestants, have become deeply encumbered. By reason of these encumbrances, the nominal owners of the estates cannot in all instances do that which it is their wish and their duty to do. I would relieve them from the painful position in which they stand, and would give them every facility to release themselves from their debts. Their creditors should in the first place be secured, and then their families provided for out of the balance of the sale of the estates. For unquestionably their estates ought at once to be brought to market * * * I consider the bill, as amended by the Solicitor General, well adapted to secure the interests of the owner in possession, the heirs, the remainder men, and the creditors. If there should be any imperfection in the measure, especially as to securing the sale of the property at its full value, I shall be ready to remove that imperfection. I am most anxious that the full value of the property should be secured; that no sudden or precipitate sale should be forced on, so that the value of the land should be depreciated by a larger quantity being brought simultaneously into the market than the demand requires. I am also, for the sake of the tenants in possession, desirous that care be taken that there shall not be a mortgagee panic, which would be fatal to the measure. But, under the present circumstances of Ireland, you must not be guided by caution only; you must not take your steps timidly, but boldly, at the same time prudently; for the period has arrived when with respect to this subject something decisive must be done."

The Bill did not pass through its ulterior stages without encountering some further criticism and hostility. Mr. Napier moved that it be recommitted for the purpose of striking out all the clauses added by the Solicitor General since it came down from the Lords. The Solicitor General vindicated the provisions which Mr. Napier had objected to, and the general policy of the Bill.

He maintained, in the first place, that the peculiar position of property in Ireland justified the resort

to provisions which at first sight might seem surprising; but, on the other hand, there was not a provision in the present Bill that was not justified by precedent in this country as well as the soundest policy. In this country the practical result under every well-drawn settlement was, that the tenant for life could sell an encumbered estate: this Bill gave that power in Ireland, but under the guard that the tenant could not make encumbrances to bring about a sale—for he could not sell on account of his own encumbrances—and that the title was not to be indefeasible till after five years. This term of limitation had a precedent in the Land Clauses Consolidation Act. He proposed to add a provision that every person interested in remainder under settlement should have personal notice of sale. He also proposed to provide that the Lord-Lieutenant should have power to appoint serveyors to estimate estates sold under the Bill, and to see that proper prices were paid.

Sir John Romilly ended by observing that the creation of a middle class in Ireland could not be effected till land in portions of 100 acres each was made easily purchaseable. He would not be indisposed to extend a similar Bill to England.

Mr. Sadleir supported the amendment. Colonel Dunne added some objections to those urged by the other opponents. Mr. Henley thought that the Bill struck at the root of all property; the machinery must be either unjust or nugatory. The best way to improve Ireland was to give increased security to life and property.

Mr. Stuart entered into a detailed legal criticism of the clauses, agreeing in substance with Mr. Henley as to the principle of the Bill.

Mr. Monsell strongly supported the Bill. He said it would be absurd to stick at technicalities in the present wretched condition of the tenants of encumbered estates. The Bill was also supported by Mr. P. Wood, Mr. Fagan, and Mr. C. Villiers. Opposed by Mr. Newdegate and Major Blackall. On a division the amendment was negatived by 197 to 52. It was then read a third time.

The amendments made in the House of Commons having been remitted for consideration to the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor, on the 31st July, proposed the adoption of them, as materially conducing to the efficiency of the measure. He expressed his opinion of the proceedings in Courts of Equity in significant terms.

He entertained great respect for the Court of Chancery, but would not willingly enter that Court as a suitor, nor advise his friend to do so; in his opinion, therefore, the power of sale without the intervention of the Court of Chancery was a valuable addition to the Bill.

Lord Stanley entered into a detailed examination of the additions that had been made to the Bill, and condemned them as constituting, in fact, a new measure since the Bill was last in that House. He would move, if any one would support him, that the Bill be referred back to a Select Committee. Lord Monteagle expressed his reluctance to oppose the Bill; but it was so completely altered by the Commons, that he concurred in the desire for a reference to a Select Committee, in order to procure the

opinions of Irish lawyers on the new clauses. The Earls of Ellenborough and Glengall concurred. The Earls of Wicklow and Devon, the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Langdale supported the amendments. On a division the House resolved, by 27 to 10, to consider the amendments: and they were agreed to without further contest.

CHAPTER V.

Domestic Affairs—*Extraordinary Tranquillity of this Country during the Continental Revolutions—Attempts made by the Chartists to disturb the Peace—Demonstration of the* 10*th of April, and its harmless Result—Excellent moral Effect produced thereby—Disorderly Assemblies and seditious Speeches in the Metropolis and other Places—Measures adopted by the Government—The great Chartist Petition to Parliament, and Proceedings respecting it—Report of the Committee on Public Petitions exposing the Misrepresentations as to the Signatures—Personal Dispute in the House between Mr. Cripps and Mr. Feargus O'Connor.—Interference of the Speaker and Explanations of the Parties.*—Crown and Government Security Bill *introduced by the Home Secretary—Objects of the Measure—Speech of Sir George Grey—Observations of Mr. J. O'Connell, Mr. F. O'Connor, and other Members—The Bill is brought in—Lord John Russell moves the Second Reading on the* 10*th of April—Mr. Smith O'Brien appears in Parliament for the last Time, and speaks against the Bill—Sir George Grey answers him in an animated Speech—Speeches of Mr. Thompson, Sir R. Inglis, and other Members—The Second Reading is carried by* 452 *to* 35*—The Clause making "Open and Advised Speaking" of treasonable Matter Felonious is much objected to in Committee—Mr. S. Martin, Mr. Horsman, Mr. Hume, Mr. Osborne and other Members strongly opposed to it—Speech of Sir R. Peel with reference to Events in France.—The Bill passes the Third Reading by a great Majority—Debate upon the Second Reading in the House of Lords—Speeches of Lord Stanley, Lord Brougham, Lord Campbell, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Denman, and other Peers.* Aliens Removal Bill *introduced by the Marquis of Lansdowne—Explanations and Debate on the Second Reading—In the House of Commons the Bill is opposed by Sir W. Molesworth—Remarks of Lord Dudley Stuart, the Attorney-General, Mr. Urquhart, Dr. Bowring, and other Members—The Second Reading is carried by a Majority of* 119. Extension of the Elective Franchise—*Popular Movement on this Subject and Exertions of Mr. Hume—A Resolution in favour of further Reform in Parliament is proposed by that Gentleman on the* 21*st of June—His Speech on that occasion—He is answered by Lord John Russell, who opposes the Motion—Speeches of Mr. H. Drummond, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Disraeli—The Debate is adjourned and resumed on the* 6*th of July—Speeches of Mr. B. Osborne,*

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, Mr. Cobden, Mr. F. O'Connor, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Muntz, and Mr. C. Villiers—On a Division Mr. Hume's Motion is rejected by 351 *to* 84.

THE security which under the protection of Providence this country derives from its free and popular constitution was never more signally exemplified than during the year of political agitation and disorder of which the memorable events are commemorated in this volume. While almost every throne on the Continent was emptied or shaken by revolution, the English monarchy, strong in the loyal attachment of the people, not only stood firm in the tempest, but appeared even to derive increased stability from the events that convulsed foreign kingdoms. In the most perfect constitution of society indeed, as it is impossible to extirpate the passions and vices of our common nature, disaffection, in a more or less degree, is always latent; and, as often as circumstances present the occasions of disorder, there will be found no lack of turbulent and unruly spirits to take advantage of them. It is at such periods that the soundness of a nation's political sentiments and the reality of its attachment to the constituted authorities is brought to a searching trial. A system which has been supported only by the strong hand of power, or by that allegiance which is the creature of habit rather than of reflection, is unable to withstand that contagious fever of innovation which spreads from country to country, under the impulse of any extraordinary movement in the human mind. On the other hand, a loyalty, based on reason and conviction, and an enlightened appreciation of the benefits derived from well-tried institutions, proves a sure bulwark in the hour of trial against the machinations of conspirators and anarchists. Such was the lesson exhibited by England in the revolutionary era of 1848. The agitation which derived its impulse from the convulsions of the Continent prevailed only so far as to disturb for a moment the serenity of her political atmosphere. Awed by the overwhelming strength and imposing attitude of the friends of order, the mischief subsided almost as soon as it appeared, and the cause of rational freedom was materially strengthened by the futile efforts made to undermine it. When a knot of obscure and ill-disposed malcontents would fain have played off in our metropolis the scenes which had been enacted with such sanguinary effects in Paris and Vienna, their insignificance was demonstrated, and their menaces rendered impotent by the firm and imposing attitude of the loyal and well-affected inhabitants arrayed in the defence of peace, property, and order.

The 10th of April was the day which the disciples of physical force, organized under the banner of Chartism, had announced for a grand display of their strength and numbers; a demonstration by which it was intended to overawe the Government into a concession of their demands, as the only means of averting a violent revolution. But the day which was to have been signalized by the jubilee of democratic licence terminated in the most decisive triumph of the Throne and Constitution. Without the slightest collision between the

authorities and the people, without a blow struck, or a drop of blood shed, nay without the appearance of a single soldier in the streets of London, uninterrupted peace and order were maintained, and the vaunted demonstration passed off quietly and safely. The result was not only to reassure all those persons who had trembled for the stability of the social fabric at home, but to strengthen the cause of constitutional liberty all over the world, and to accelerate that reaction in favour of moderate and sober counsels, which naturally succeeds to a revolutionary ebullition. But, although all danger to the institutions of this country was shown to be at an end, it was in the power of the mischievous and ill-disposed, availing themselves of the general excitement of the times, to give some trouble and annoyance to the Government. Meetings were held for the promotion of the so-called People's Charter, at which a great deal of seditious and revolutionary language was spoken; and, if these efforts to excite the ignorant and misguided failed of their effect, it was certainly not from any want of will in the turbulent demagogues who took the part of leaders. Nor was the mischief confined to mere speech-making and seditious publications. Tumultuous assemblies, consisting for the most part of the refuse of a crowded city, thieves, pickpockets, and other disorderly characters, took place in some parts of the metropolis; windows were broken, some shops plundered, the police were assailed with abuse, stones and missiles, and the peaceable inhabitants put in terror for their safety. Although the civil force always proved a more than sufficient match for these riotous mobs, it was not always in its power to prevent the destruction of property, and the suspension of business, occasioned by such disturbances, while the necessity of constant vigilance in several quarters of the metropolis at once proved very harassing to the police. The contagion spread to some of the large manufacturing towns both in England and Scotland, and in some parts of the country the Chartist gatherings and demonstrations created a good deal of apprehension. Happily, however, all these commotions passed off without any serious explosion. The Government meanwhile kept a careful watch upon the progress of the movement. A few of the more violent leaders and speech-makers were arrested and committed for trial, and every preparation was made for vigorous action in the event of an outbreak taking place. The transactions that were occuring out of doors became the subject of occasional discussion in Parliament, and led to the introduction of some new legal securities for strengthening the hands of Government and enabling them to deal more effectually with persons engaging in designs against the public peace. We shall notice in this chapter some of the more prominent debates relating to these events.

On the 10th of April, the day on which the Chartist procession to Kennington Common took place, Mr. Feargus O'Connor presented to the House of Commons a petition signed, as he alleged, by 5,706,000 persons, and another supplementary petition signed by 30,000, praying for the enactment of what were called the Five Points of the Charter; namely, Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage,

Equal Electoral Districts, no Property Qualification, and Payment of Members. He moved that the prayer be read by the clerk.

The petition lay on the floor of the House in five large divisions. The first sheet was detached and the prayer read. The messengers of the House then rolled the immense masses of parchment to the table.

A day had been specially appointed by the Government to take the subject of this extraordinary petition into consideration. But in the meantime an investigation into its contents brought some curious facts to light. On the 13th Mr. Thornely brought up a special report from the Select Committee on Public Petitions, which was read by the clerk at the table, as follows:—

"The Committee on Public Petitions, in conformity with the instructions of the House of the 26th day of November last, 'in all cases to set forth the number of signatures to each petition,' and also having regard to the power at the same time delegated to them 'to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House,' have agreed to the following special report—

"That, on the 10th day of April instant, a petition for 'Universal Suffrage, &c. from inhabitants of the British Isles and subjects of the British Crown' was presented to the House.

"Your Committee strongly feel the value of the right of petition; consider the exercise of it as one of the most important privileges of the subjects of the realm; and feel the necessity of preserving the exercise of such privilege from abuse.

"And, having also a due regard to the importance of the very numerously signed petition forming the subject of the present report, they feel bound to represent to the House, that in the matter of signatures there has been, in their opinion, a gross abuse of that privilege.

"The honourable Member for Nottingham stated, on presenting the petition in question to the House, that 5,706,000 signatures were attached to it. Upon a most careful examination of the number of signatures in the Committee-room, in which examination thirteen law-stationer's clerks were engaged for upwards of seventeen hours, together with the person ordinarily employed in counting the signatures appended to petitions, under the superintendence of the clerk of your Committee, the number of signatures has been ascertained to be 1,975,496. It is further evident to your Committee, that on numerous consecutive sheets the signatures are in one and the same handwriting.

"Your Committee have also observed the names of distinguished individuals attached to the petition, who cannot be supposed to have concurred in its prayer, and as little to have subscribed it: amongst such occur the names of Her Majesty in one place, as Victoria Rex, April 1; the Duke of Wellington, K. G.; Sir Robert Peel, &c., &c., &c.

"In addition to this species of abuse, your Committee have observed another equally in derogation of the just value of petitions, —namely, the insertion of names which are obviously altogether fictitious, such as 'No Cheese,' 'Pugnose,' 'Flatnose,' &c.

"There are other words and phrases which, though written in

the form of signatures, and included in the number reported, your Committee will not hazard offending the House, and the dignity and decency of their own proceedings, by reporting; though it may be added, that they are obviously signatures belonging to no human being."

This report having been read, Mr. F. O'Connor said he would not undertake to say that the numbers stated by him were correct; certain practices might have been resorted to. It was an old saying, that those who hide may find; and perhaps something of the spy system had been resorted to with regard to this great national undertaking. He had letters which showed that the number of real signatures affixed to the petition, in England, Scotland, and Wales, was 4,800,000. As to the computation, he maintained that thirteen clerks could not count 1,900,000 signatures in seventeen hours; nor could twenty do it.

Mr. Thornely insisted that the utmost care had been used in the examination of the petition. The Committee had even had it weighed in consequence of a statement made by Mr. O'Connor on that head. It was found to weigh, not five tons, as stated, but five hundredweight and three quarters.

Lord John Russell repudiated the insinuation that the "spy system" had had anything to do with the petition. The Earl of Arundel and Surrey remarked that the Chartists had issued an advertisement, stating that 500,000 persons had assembled on Kennington Common on the 10th. The highest estimate was 23,000.

Mr. Cripps (a member of the Committee on Petitions) stated that he had examined the population returns and found that the petition could not have been signed by 5,700,000 adult males. It had been subsequently discovered, however, that the signatures by women were in the proportion of 8 to 100. Mr. Cripps declared, in rather strong terms, the distrust that he should henceforth feel for statements emanating from Mr. F. O'Connor. A warm personal altercation between the two honourable Members ensued, after which Mr. O'Connor left the House. The interference of the Speaker was then called for, who expressed his hope that Mr. Cripps would disclaim any intention of personal offence. Mr. Cripps, thus appealed to, readily made the disclaimer required. Lord John Russell then moved that Mr. O'Connor be taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Mr. O'Connor, at a later hour in the evening, was brought to the bar, and after reciprocal explanations had been given, and each of the Members concerned had expressed himself satisfied, the matter dropped. In the course of the discussion which preceded this affair, Mr. John Abel Smith stated the estimate which had been formed from careful observation of the numbers present on Kennington Common, having been himself a spectator of the meeting.

He said: I have reason to know, that previously to the meeting means were taken to ascertain the whole number of persons which could be present if the Common were entirely covered. The whole space, closely packed, would not hold more than 90,000; and at no time was there more than a quarter of the space occupied. I have further to state, that I am convinced I exaggerate them when I say that the numbers of the pro-

cession were under 8000. I will only add, that the honourable Member for Nottingham, in my presence on Monday evening, stated the numbers present on Kennington Common as exceeding half a million." (*Cheers and laughter*).

Colonel Sibthorp related an anecdote which afforded some entertainment.

"On Monday night, when the honourable and learned Member for Nottingham, addressing me at the door of the House, said, 'I am glad all went off peaceably,' I said, 'I have only one regret that it did.' 'Why?' he asked. 'Because,' I replied, 'if you had attempted to come over the bridge, you would have got the soundest thrashing mortal man ever received.'" (*Loud cheers and laughter*).

At this period of the Session a Bill was introduced by Sir George Grey for the more effectual repression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. Although the measure was intended to be applied to the whole of the United Kingdom, the peculiar predicament of affairs in Ireland, in which agitation was at that time carried to its utmost length, led the Minister to advert more particularly to the circumstances of that country, and gave the same turn to almost all the discussions which arose upon the Bill. In moving for leave to bring in his Bill for the better security of the Crown and Government of the kingdom, the Secretary for the Home Department regretted deeply that the seditious and treasonable designs entertained by certain parties in different parts of the United Kingdom, and the encouragement given by them to open insurrection and to the subversion of our national institutions rendered it incumbent upon the Government to ask for an alteration of the law applicable to such practices. Government had no intention of imposing any new restriction on the right of the people, either to meet or to discuss public affairs or to petition for the redress of grievances. There were, however, limits to the exercise of these constitutional rights. Those limits had been recently transgressed, and language had been used in various parts of the United Kingdom, which, if it were not treason itself, was certainly highly treasonable. In one part of the empire the law was utterly insufficient to meet this great and crying evil. The language used in Ireland was incompatible with established Government, with the maintenance of order, and with those existing institutions under which the British people enjoyed more constitutional liberty than any other people in the world. Lord Clarendon had instituted one, and only one prosecution, with the hope of putting down such language; but he had been met, not with any desire on the part of those who had used it to conform to the law, but with a declaration that, if they had hitherto knowingly spoken sedition, they would in future avow their intention to commit high treason. He was not prepared to say that they had hitherto committed any action which brought them within the penalties of high treason; but he warned them that their future actions, by a retrospective reference to their former speeches, might even yet bring them into that predicament. He then referred to various articles published in the *United Irishman* by Mr. Mitchell, to the speeches of Mr. Meagher, and to a recent harangue of Mr. Duffy, on an-

nouncing to his countrymen that 50,000 Frenchmen were ready to support them in subverting the monarchy and in establishing a separate and independent Republic in Ireland—as specimens of the evil of which he complained. In defence of the loyal majority of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, Government now came to Parliament and asked for such an alteration of the law as would enable it to deal satisfactorily with fevers of this kind, which occurred from time to time in the history of nations, and which were now striking terror into large masses of the inhabitants of this empire. He then stated what the law was at present as to offences of this kind. The law of treason was not identical in England and Ireland, as he showed in some detail. There was no reason for that difference, and every reason for getting rid of it, as it paralyzed the action of the law in Ireland at the present moment. It had been proposed to enforce the same law in every portion of the United Kingdom; but it was undeniable that the law of treason in England, under the act of the 36th of George III., which did not extend to Ireland, was a law of very great severity, and therefore, in conformity with the spirit of our recent legislation, he proposed to modify it, and to apply it so modified to every portion of the empire. He did not propose to repeal any of the penalties for the offence of compassing the death of the Sovereign, or of restraining or imprisoning the person of the Sovereign. That offence would be still high treason: but with regard to the other offences contained in 36th George III., he proposed to repeal so much of it as did not affect offences against the person of the Sovereign, and then to re-enact it so as to make the offences contained in it not punishable by death, but by transportation for life or for any period not less than seven years. The clause for the punishment of the offence of compassing, imagining, or levying war against Her Majesty, and of inciting and stirring foreigners to invade this realm, was one rendered necessary by the conduct of many persons now actively engaged in agitating the two countries. As the law stood at present, any person having gone to a foreign country, or having incited by speech, and not by writing, others to go there for such a purpose, was exempt from any penalty save that attached to sedition. In extending that clause to Ireland, the Government was bound to see that those gentlemen who were now instigating others by speeches and writings to the offences which it was intended to check, should have no loophole for escape. He therefore proposed to apply the penalties of this clause to all persons who, by "publishing or printing any writing, or by open and avowed speaking," should seek to compass, imagine, and levy war against the Sovereign. Such was the substance of the Bill which he proposed to lay on the table. Without it Lord Clarendon stated that he should be unable to stem the tide of sedition and treason swelling around him on every side; with it he believed he should be enabled to deal with those persons who defied him, and defied him safely, to do his worst. He did not say that this was the only measure necessary for the pacification of Ireland, but this was a law which would be extended to all portions

of the United Kingdom. The other measures which he should have to introduce would partake more of the character of police regulations, and he would, therefore, not mix them up with a Bill which he proposed as a permanent alteration and amelioration of the law of treason.

Mr. J. O'Connell concurred in execrating many of the speeches recently made in Ireland, and in condemning the insane criminality of those who were exciting that country to rebellion. He did not oppose this Bill from any sympathy with that party, but from a conviction that it was not necessary, and that the ordinary law was quite adequate to its objects.

Mr. Hume thought that the statutes relating to treason should be revised and formed into one clear and intelligible code. He protested against the clause in the proposed Bill for punishing "open and advised speaking," which he denominated an oppressive and "gagging clause." Mr. W. J. Fox objected to the same section, and enlarged on the monstrous consequences which might result from a forced construction of the provision in question.

Mr. F. O'Connor declared his determination to resist the Bill to the utmost, even if he stood alone. Mr. H. Grattan, Lord Dudley Stuart, and Mr. Reynolds expressed their dissatisfaction. Mr. M. J. O'Connell declared his intention of supporting the measure as necessary for the preservation of peace in Ireland.

Lord John Russell regretted that Mr. Fox had not waited to see this Bill before he had expressed such unsparing condemnation of that clause of it which affected spoken words. The clause was intended to punish those who spoke openly and advisedly for the purpose of exciting to the levy of war against the Sovereign; and did Mr. Fox object to such an enactment? He then justified the various clauses of the Bill, and contended that there was not a single syllable in it which could be justly said to impair the right of free discussion.

The House then divided, when the numbers were—

For the first reading of the Bill	283
Against it	24
Majority in its favour .	259

Lord John Russell having moved the second reading on the 10th of April, an animated debate took place. Mr. Smith O'Brien appeared in his place for the last time before assuming the character of an avowed rebel, to protest against the measure. He said that he was not to be put down by the proceedings which Lord John Russell had directed against him, nor would the Government extinguish national feeling in Ireland by wholesale prosecutions. He had in his absence been called a traitor. [The cheers of the House intimated an opinion that the designation was not altogether an unfit one.] He was there to avow what he had spoken and done. He professed his loyalty to the Queen, but not to the Government or to the Imperial Parliament; on the contrary, he would do all in his power to overthrow the one and to dissever the other. He then referred to his mission to Paris, and by so doing again roused indignant shouts of disapprobation from all sides of the House. He also attempted to vindicate the conduct

of his political associates, and read a resolution from the records of the last meeting of the Irish Confederation to show that their designs had never been kept secret —that they were not seeking social disorder and a violent separation from Great Britain—but that their only desire was to obtain a repeal of the Union, if possible, without civil war. They had also recommended their countrymen to send 300 delegates to Dublin to form a national council; and they had done this because there was at present no exponent of the feelings of the Irish nation. The Irish members did not represent the Irish nation; and he recommended Lord John Russell to enter into negotiation with that council as soon as it should be formed. (*Much laughter.*) He was quite prepared for the insulting sneers which that advice had called forth; but he felt quite convinced that he should be ultimately successful in the efforts which he and his friends were then making for the repeal of the Union. The only thing which could defeat the object which he and his associates had in view was precipitation; and he now warned the people of Ireland that if any of them lent themselves to the plans of Government, they would have their emancipation indefinitely postponed. He then proceeded to contend that without packed juries the Government would never be able to get a verdict against him—that the Irish aristocracy had no influence in Ireland—that the Orangemen were exceedingly discontented—and that no reliance was to be placed on either the police force or the army in Ireland. The object of his argument was to show that any collision between the Government of Great Britain and the people of Ireland must be uncertain—that it might be disastrous—that if England failed, she would stand alone—and that her position would be very precarious, with the independent republic of France on one side of her and another independent republic on the other. He therefore called upon the Government, before it was too late, to grant to his countrymen those national privileges which, by every right, human and divine, they were entitled to claim. When the noble Lord told him that he was a traitor to the Crown, he repelled the charge, and retorted it on the head of him who made it. If his Lordship should attempt to crush all the rights of the democracy in England, and if he should persist in refusing to Ireland its just demand for self-government, and if he were determined to play the part of Guizot in crushing public liberty, his Lordship and his colleagues would be traitors to both countries. The honourable Member then sat down amid such expressions of disapprobation as have seldom greeted any Member of Parliament for many years.

Sir G. Grey rose amid the most vociferous cheering, and observed, that, after the long absence of Mr. S. O'Brien, he had entertained some hope, albeit it was a faint one, that he would disavow, with that indignation which a loyal subject ought to feel, the imputation cast upon his loyalty, and that he would, with that fervid eloquence which characterized his harangues elsewhere, though not in that House, have disclaimed those sentiments which had been imputed to him, if from no better feeling, at least from a regard to that oath of allegiance which he had repeatedly

taken to the Sovereign of England. What, then, was his pain and regret when he found Mr. S. O'Brien professing with lip-service allegiance to his Sovereign, and yet glorying in the imputations which had been cast upon him, and charging the Premier himself with high treason? He (Sir G. Grey) had never called Mr. S. O'Brien a traitor in his absence. For that absence he was not responsible, and the cause of that absence Mr. S. O'Brien could best explain. He had not, he repeated, called Mr. S. O'Brien a traitor; but he had read to the House the message which that gentleman had sent from Paris to Mr. Duffy, as to France being able and willing to send 50,000 of her bravest citizens to fight for the emancipation of Ireland. He asked Mr. S. O'Brien distinctly whether he was prepared or not to disavow that message? The House had drawn its inference from it, and what that inference was Mr. S. O'Brien might read in the cheers with which the House was ringing. He denied the right of Mr. S. O'Brien to represent himself as the exponent of loyalty in Ireland, and, in reply to his extravagant assertions, insisted that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Ireland, of all creeds and of all classes, were unalienably attached to the Crown of England, and he was sure that they would all indignantly deny the right of Mr. S. O'Brien to expound their feelings. Mr. S. O'Brien had declared that the Chartists were with him to a man. He (Sir G. Grey) utterly disbelieved it. Mr. S. O'Brien had also declared himself the friend of his country, whose sympathies were with him. He believed that in that point Mr. S. O'Brien would find himself miserably disappointed, and that there was a spirit both in England and in Ireland which would rise up indignantly against that declaration. He denied that the Government was influenced by any feeling of defiance towards Ireland. The Government wished to see Ireland rich, happy, prosperous, and in full enjoyment of constitutional independence. He rejoiced to think that, in opposing the mischievous designs of Mr. S. O'Brien and his associates, the Government was doing its best to unite all honest men in the search of the true and lasting interests of the people of Ireland. Sir G. Grey then sat down amidst loud cheers.

Mr. F. O'Connor observed that he, too, had taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and his construction of that oath led him to defend Her Majesty's throne against the machinations of Her Majesty's Government. He then repeated the arguments which he had used on a former occasion against this Bill, abused the Government in vehement terms, and concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill that day six months.

Mr. G. Thompson, in a discursive speech, in which he expressed the greatest distrust of the Government, and protested in the strongest terms against the proposal to make "speaking openly and advisedly" on political questions a felony, seconded Mr. O'Connor's amendment. Sir B. Hall gave his support to the Bill. Mr. Hume repeated his objections to the "gagging clause."

The Solicitor-General explained the true meaning of the clause to which Mr. G. Thompson and Mr. Hume had objected, and showed very clearly that neither gentleman

understood it. It was not intended to repress private speaking, but only "open and advised speaking," recommending the levy of war upon Her Majesty. As personal notoriety was one of the strongest motives for these treasonable exhibitions, he thought that this Bill would put a stop to them; for the man who might reckon upon sympathy as a traitor, was not sure of meeting it as a felon.

Sir R. Inglis supported the Bill even with the five words in it to which Mr. Hume had objected. It was necessary for the punishment of those overtures of a treasonable character to a foreign power for assistance which the House had recently heard of, and which would not be suffered by any republic in the world. He then expressed his gratitude to the editors of the leading public journals, for the encouragement which they had recently given to the cause of good order against the systematic disturbers of it. He thought that the Government was rather wanting than exceeding in vigour in producing this Bill. He then gave Mr. S. O'Brien, whom he described as speaking with a halter round his neck, a severe lecture for the unblushing manner in which he had defied the opinion of the House and the country in his speech of that evening. Though he should have liked this Bill better with other provisions, he would still support it if Government would maintain its present position.

Speeches were made in favour of the Bill by Mr. C. Anstey, Mr. Aglionby, Lord Nugent, Capt. Archdall, Mr. P. Wood, and Mr. H. Drummond; and on the opposite side by Mr. Bright, Dr. Bowring, Mr. John O'Connell, Mr. S. Crawford, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Wakley.

Lord John Russell recapitulated the present state of the law and the proposed enactments of the Bill. "By the 36th George III.," said the noble Lord, "you have the penalties of high treason attached to more than three kinds of offences, but to three offences certainly, in regard to which alterations are proposed by the present Bill. You have the penalties of high treason applied to those who intend or compass the deposition of the Sovereign; you have the penalties of high treason applied to those who intend or are compassing to levy war against the Sovereign; and you have the penalties of high treason applied to those who seek for foreign aid, or seek to bring a foreign foe into this country. Such is the state of the law at present. With respect to those offences which some honourable gentlemen think it cruel to punish by transportation, you have now applied the penalties of high treason. What we now propose is, that those offences be declared felony, and that persons who are guilty of them be liable to transportation. As the law at present stands, those who commit such offences by publishing any writings may be found guilty, and be amenable to the punishment attached to them. We propose to carry that provision further, by declaring that those who commit the offences specified—namely, of declaring their purpose or intent of deposing the Government; levying war upon the Sovereign; or inviting a foreign force to invade this country, by open and advised speaking—shall be liable to the punishment applicable to felony. I am not now going to defend that particular clause which has been

animadverted upon. I have before stated the reasons for that clause, and my honourable and learned friend the Solicitor-General has most clearly explained its purport; and I will not now argue it, knowing that the words will be again objected to in Committee on the Bill. The other alteration in the law which we propose to make is, that it be extended to Ireland. I do not think—omitting for the moment reference to any course of argument as to the extending the punishment to spoken words—that this proposal is one to which any reasonable objection can be made, either as regards diminishing the penalties or extending the Act to Ireland."

It was to maintain peace and security here and in Ireland—to show that offenders could no longer hope to escape a just punishment under the grand name of martyr to the law of high treason—that this Bill had been brought in. Under it the people's present power of discussion through the press, or through public meetings, would remain as full as ever before, while some reckless persons would be checked in their career of excitement; and those who should incite to rising, as well as those who should rise in arms, would no longer perpetrate their offences with impunity.

After some further discussion the House divided, when there appeared for the second reading—

Ayes	452
Noes	35
Majority . . .	417

Upon the Bill going into Committee, it encountered a somewhat pertinacious opposition, especially that part of it which attached the penalties of felony to treasonable speaking. Upon the order of the day being read—

Mr. G. Thompson contended that sufficient time had not been given for the consideration of so important a measure. He denied that any case had been made out for this Bill, which cast a suspicion upon the loyalty of the people of this country. He passed a warm eulogium upon the Chartists, and complained that the Government had branded them unjustly with disloyalty. Ministers were sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind.

Mr. Osborne followed on the same side, merely repeating in varied terms one of his former speeches on this subject. He applied to this Bill the language used by Mr. Fox respecting a similar but milder measure introduced in 1795—namely, that "resistance to it, if passed, would be merely a question of prudence."

Mr. O'Connor said, that if the House passed this Bill there would be no safety for the established institutions of this country. The Bill was nothing less than a piece of Ministerial treason against the Crown.

Mr. Reynolds could not understand how the Government could persevere in passing the present "Algerine Act," after the appeal made by Mr. Osborne to the principles of Mr. Fox. He implored the Government to modify the measure.

Lord John Russell observed that we were living in extraordinary times, when persons deemed it consistent with their duty to call together councils and confederations for the purpose of declaring war against the Sovereign, for seducing or bribing the armed forces of the

Sovereign, and for opposing them in arms in case seduction and bribery should not succeed. He believed that the general opinion of the country was not that Ministers had interfered intemperately and hastily, but that they had waited too long. Considering the designs which traitors had avowed, he should be ashamed of himself if, seeing danger at hand, he had been so awed by the authority of Mr. Fox as to forbear from taking those measures of precaution which he believed to be necessary. After pointing out the difference between this Bill and that under which Muir and Palmer had been formerly convicted, he added that, while he retained all the other parts of the Bill, he was ready to limit the operation of that part of it which related to "open and advised speaking," to a period of two years. The measures which the Government had introduced were proposed by them under the deep conviction that the peace of this country was worth preserving. The trust of preserving the institutions of this country, its monarchy, and its constitution, was in the hands of the Administration, and it would be its constant endeavour to preserve them. The noble Lord's speech was much cheered throughout.

Upon the Committee coming to the clause which contained the words "open and advised speaking," Mr. Samuel Martin said he would take the decision of the House on the question, that these words be struck out. He went at much length into the legal bearings of the question turning on these words; and gave his professional opinion that no confidence whatever should be put in accounts of conversations heard. Even in the case of short-hand writers, his experience presented cases over and over again wherein persons had been misrepresented by short-hand writers. Judge after judge had made the same complaint; and one of the ablest of those now on the bench had avowedly objected to short-hand writers' notes of legal proceedings, because of the frequency with which his charges to juries had been misreported. If this were the case in the stillness of a law court, what might be expected in the confusion and excitement of a public meeting? With regard, also, to the discrimination of juries, he entertained a high opinion of that tribunal for the determination of matters of fact under ordinary circumstances, but had no reliance on a panic-stricken jury. He should have been sorry to trust a jury empanelled on the 10th of April. He thought that the Government were justified in all the precautions they took on that day; but he would as soon have asked for the opinion of a parcel of insane men as have taken the verdict of a jury at such a moment upon words spoken.

He proposed a clause—that if any person, at any assembly of twenty persons or more, should by public and advised speaking suggest, advocate, or advise the three matters in the third section of the Bill, it should be made a misdemeanour: this was already so at common law, but it would be useful to define the offence particularly, for the guidance of parties liable to commit it. He would also agree to a clause prohibiting bail in those particular cases, if there were also a provision that a trial should take place—by Special Commissions, if necessary—within a month after arrest. Thus, the

old Common Law distinction between words spoken and written would not be broken down. He felt strongly on this point; and would, in relation to it, ask Lord John Russell to do for his sincere friends what Mr. Pitt had, in 1795, done for his opponents.

The Attorney-General and Sir F. Thesiger replied to Mr. Martin's legal arguments; and Mr. W. P. Wood added a few words, expressive of his views as to the mode of dealing with popular discontents. He hoped the day was at hand when Parliament would no longer treat the symptoms only of prevailing disease, but the disease itself; that large remedial measures would be introduced for Ireland; and that the meetings of Chartists, and the wretched and ferocious stuff there spoken, would be put down by extending the franchise, and giving the working classes the occupation of choosing Members of Parliament, instead of members of a National Convention.

After a good deal of rather warm discussion, extending over a second evening, the proposition to omit the words objected to, making treasonable speaking felonious, was rejected by 188 to 79. Several other divisions took place, the opposing Members offering a determined resistance, and moving several amendments; but the Government were backed by very strong majorities, and the Bill passed through Committee. In the course of the discussion, several Members expressed their cordial thanks to the Government for their energetic measures for preserving the public peace on the day of the Chartist demonstration. Sir George Grey took the opportunity to eulogise in eloquent terms the praiseworthy conduct of the inhabitants of the metropolis. He said their spirit had produced the most salutary effect throughout the country. What had occurred had produced the best possible result in the great towns of the country, and would unquestionably have its effect throughout Europe.

The motion for the third reading came on upon the 18th, when Mr. Hume moved that the Bill be read a third time on that day six months. This amendment was supported by Mr. F. O'Connor, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Muntz.

Mr. W. P. Wood made a final protest against what he conceived to be a direct invasion of those principles of constitutional law which had existed for five hundred years—since the reign of Edward the Third, and to which the country was indebted for its happiness and prosperity. He acknowledged that the Bill was less objectionable as a temporary measure; but in any shape the precedent was bad, and might hereafter be revived with most pernicious effect.

Mr. Horsman said that the Bill was unconstitutional; but Government was called on to violate constitutional principles in great emergencies. He thought the Roman Catholic population of Ireland was, in a certain sense of the phrase, one great conspiracy. The cure would not be found in this Bill only. In the two years of its operative force, the Government must enter upon great measures of improvement. If this were not done, the Irish Members would not stand alone in voting for a repeal of the Union. If it were intended to rely on this Bill to suppress the public opinion of Ire-

land, he solemnly believed that things would soon arrive at a state compared with which the present would be but the beginning of the end.

The Solicitor-General, in an able speech, combated the arguments of Mr. W. P. Wood, upon legal and historical grounds.

Sir R. Peel said he could not allow the Bill to pass without distinctly avowing his approval of its provisions. He thought it right that men who had not the dignity of traitors should be reduced to the position of felons. He would put a stop to those frogs that were croaking sedition in the marshes, and would not allow them to puff themselves into the dimensions of the nobler animals that bellowed treason. He warned Mr. O'Connor that those who drew 100,000 persons together could not foresee what might be the consequences. After showing that that gentleman's declarations of loyalty were not very satisfactory, he said, that in what he (Sir Robert) had read and witnessed in the last ten days, he saw proof that there was good reason for strengthening for a time the hands of Her Majesty's Government. He referred to the magnificent demonstration of loyalty recently made in the metropolis, and exhorted the Government and the Legislature to encourage those whose exertions had been so admirable, in the good course on which they had entered, by showing their united determination to uphold the institutions of the country in all their leading principles, and on their ancient foundations. He then referred to the condition of France, and to the wild and visionary doctrines current in that nation. He said, "My firm belief is, that the security of every existing Government depends upon rigid abstinence from any interference with what is passing in France. We may maintain our own opinions on that subject. I have mine. But I believe it to be essential to the peace of the world and to the stability of Government, that the experiment now making in France shall have a fair trial, without being embarrassed or disturbed by extrinsic intervention. (*Loud cheers.*) But, at the same time, with respect to social principles, I must say this, that I hope the working classes of this country will not be deluded by the doctrines that are held upon that subject which intimately concerns their labour and the wages of labour. If the doctrines that are there maintained be true—if there be indeed an antagonism between capital and labour—if it be true that all men, without reference to their different capabilities, different strength, and different qualifications, are to have some iron formula applied to them, and are all to receive the same daily wages,—if these things be true, then all the experience and all the lights of the last hundred and fifty years have existed in vain. Let us burn the works of Turgot, Say, and Adam Smith. Let us establish in triumph the doctrines of the Mississippi scheme, and the principles of that Law who was supposed to have involved France in misery and confusion. Let us wait for the results of this experiment. Let us calmly contemplate whether it is possible that executive governments can be great manufacturers, whether it be possible for them to force capital to employ industry—whether they can contravene the decrees of Providence, and reduce all men, with-

out reference to habits or strength, to receive the same wages. For God's sake, give that social principle the same fair trial as you are about to see given to the political principle. (*Cheers.*) But I do earnestly trust—I have that confidence in the good sense of the working classes of this country—that they will believe that no false delusion of the compulsory sharing of profits, no enmity directed against capital, no extinction of competition among individuals, no overpowering of private enterprise by Government undertakings at the public expense, can possibly be for the benefit of the working classes, or have any other ultimate result than involving them in misery and ruin." (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

Mr. Muntz and Mr. Bright having reiterated their objections to the measure, and Mr. Adderley having given it his cordial support,

Lord J. Russell briefly adverted to the different objections urged by different Members against the Bill, which, he believed, would tend much to the security and peace of the empire. He then referred to the exciting and inflammatory language used in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, observing that it might lead in some parts of the country to outrage and insurrection; but that outrage and that insurrection would be put down, because the Government had the means of so doing at its disposal in the loyalty and affection of the people, and in the force of the army, whose fidelity had been most foully belied in various ways, both in and out of that House. He then proceeded to state that, immediately after Easter, the House would proceed to the discussion of measures which related to the political state of the Irish population. Referring to Mr. J. O'Connell's announced motion for the Repeal of the Union, he showed that all the grievances of which the late Mr. Grattan had complained in the Irish Parliament, and which remained unredressed by that Parliament, had been redressed by a Parliament of the United Kingdom. He declared his readiness to listen to any proposition supported by the great majority of Irish members, having for its object the improvement of the laws and condition of that country; but by discussion (if the choice should be for argument), and by force (if recourse were had to arms), he was determined, as long as there was breath and life in him, to oppose the repeal of the legislative Union. The noble Lord then resumed his seat amid the loudest cheers.

The House then divided, when there appeared—

For the third reading	295
Against it	40
Majority	255

The Bill was then read a third time and passed, amidst much cheering.

In the House of Lords it met with much less discussion. The Lord Chancellor having moved the second reading on the 19th in a brief explanatory speech,

Lord Stanley said he did not intend to throw any impediment in the way of passing the Bill, but he called attention to some points that had occurred to him on perusing it. He confessed, looking to the importance of the alteration of the

law proposed by the Bill, he should have been better pleased if more than twenty-four or forty-eight hours' notice had been given to that House to form its decision—especially as the law was founded only on temporary causes. Might not the Government have been contented with the powers given them in the seventh clause, of prosecuting for felony in certain cases, although the facts proved might amount to treason? He could not see the benefit of a distinction between compassing the imprisonment and restraint of the Sovereign and compassing his deposition—the first crime being evidenced by printing or writing, and the second not. He was also under an apprehension that, as felonies were now first merged in treasons, so misdemeanours would be merged in felonies: if that were so, cases would very likely occur in Ireland where it would be most inconvenient to prosecute offenders for felonies, but where prosecution for misdemeanour might have answered all purposes.

Lord Brougham threw out some not unfriendly criticisms. If this Bill were extended in its operation to Scotland, a prisoner there would, for the first time, be deprived of his right to a list of the jury and a list of the witnesses against him. He had always understood levying war to be a substantive offence; but under the Bill it seemed to be no offence until levied "in order by force or constraint to compel" the Crown "to change its measures or counsels." He gave a warning to the public press, that though Parliament protected its own Members in the use of language that might be seditious or treasonable, yet the publication of such language by the press made the printer and publisher liable, as though it were their own original language.

Lord Campbell admitted that the law would not reach Mr. Smith O'Brien for his language in the other House, but neither would it reach the editors or reporters of newspapers for reporting Mr. O'Brien's language. With regard to reporting speeches, he would be the last man to punish faithful reports. He had, indeed, some years ago, introduced a Bill one clause of which provided that no person who gave a *bonâ fide* and honest report of what passed in either House of Parliament should be liable to punishment. That Bill was seconded by Lord Brougham himself, and had met with the entire approval of the Lord Chief Justice.

Lord Campbell went at length into the general doctrine of the law on the question of "open and advised speaking," and showed that the Bill introduced no new invasion of liberty.

The Duke of Wellington highly approved of the objects of the Bill. He considered it absolutely necessary to apply some efficient check to the evils consequent on the gigantic meetings by which this and the sister country had been disturbed. Matters had come to that pass that the law was an object of contempt to every one of the persons who broke it. When proceedings had been commenced against three persons, and after they had been brought before the Magistrates, and bail had been taken for their coming to trial, one of them repeated the offence with which he was charged; and the other two carried out their attempts in an

offensive mission to another country. What were those but aggravations of the offences already committed, and a throwing of contempt on the law? Through this contempt of the law, there would soon be no authority but that of physical force. In 1831, there were extraordinary riots at Bristol, and also at Lyons: at Bristol, Colonel Brereton saved the town from entire conflagration, and restored order, with one squadron of dragoons; at Lyons, a Marshal of France needed 60,000 men to save the town from destruction. Such in 1831 was the respect for the law in Bristol. But where was the respect for the law in London now, when hundreds of thousands of citizens and thousands of armed troops were found necessary to preserve the peace? The transactions in Ireland during the last few years had been the cause of this altered state of public feeling. A measure was necessary which should apply to such transactions. He did not want to put down discussion, and hoped it would always be allowed on every subject whereon it could be wished: but let it be at meetings of such numbers only as could hear what was said; and let not the meetings, under the pretence of discussion, be made assemblages to create terror and overawe the Government.

Lord Denman agreed that in certain quarters there was an increased contempt for the law; but he thought that the feeling was overrated. Indeed, the spectacle which had lately been exhibited was proof of the estimation in which hundreds of thousands of citizens held that law which they met to uphold. With regard to monster meetings, he thought they were themselves misdemeanours, and might always be put down by the existing laws. With respect to one point of the Bill—the privilege of challenge possessed by prisoners—he should be sorry to see prisoners in Ireland deprived of that privilege.

Earl St. Germains gave the Bill a qualified support; and it was read a second time, and on the following evening passed through its remaining stages without opposition.

Another measure which derived its origin from the occurrences of this eventful crisis, was a Bill for enabling the Government to compel the departure of aliens from this country in certain cases. The subject was first mooted on the 11th April, when the Duke of Beaufort called the attention of the House of Lords to the number of foreigners seen in the streets of the metropolis, and inquired if Government intended to apply to the Legislature for powers to remove aliens?

The Marquis of Lansdowne said he held in his hand a Bill for conferring on Ministers ample powers, to be exercised upon their responsibility, for a limited time, and in certain cases, to compel the departure of persons coming here not from the accustomed motives of business and pleasure. Crowds of foreigners were resorting to this country whose object could not be ascertained, and Government thought it their duty to stand prepared against every contingency.

A day or two afterwards the noble Lord moved the second reading of this Bill, with some further explanations. He said it had been found necessary that such a power as that to be conferred by the Bill should be lodged somewhere. The Execu-

tive would be enabled to exercise discretion in the removal of foreigners from this country; acting not with reference to the conduct of the individuals elsewhere, but with reference to their conduct here. The power would be exercised by the Home Secretary.

The Earl of Ellenborough only objected to the Bill that it did not go so far as the last Alien Act. Aliens were required to present a passport, and make a declaration under the Act of 1836; the only penalty if they failed to do so being a fine of 40*s*. But there would be no means of executing this measure, unless the most stringent provisions were introduced in reference to passports and registration. Under the last Alien Act, the arms of aliens might be seized; aliens might be directed to land at particular places; passports might be refused; aliens might be committed; magistrates might require production of passports. What the noble Lord proposed was but a fractional part of that Act. The Bill would be utterly inoperative unless the number of aliens could be ascertained.

Earl Grey admitted that the present measure would not secure a complete register of all foreigners; but he feared that a system of registration could not be devised which should be complete and yet not interfere with the ordinary affairs of life and the ordinary pursuits of persons who had no criminal intentions. He believed, however, that the Bill would give quite sufficient power to protect the country from the abuse of hospitality by foreigners who might endeavour to stir up civil strife.

The Bill was supported by Lord Stanley and the Duke of Richmond, who regretted at the same time that it was not more stringent. Lord Denman also approved of it, but expressed his concern that it should be necessary. He must, however, say that in his humble opinion none of these Bills ought to be dealt with in periods of excitement, disturbance, and alarm; but that, in times of peace, the Government and Parliament ought to consider what was the best mode of governing the country when any outbreak should occur. The Bill was then read a second time.

The principle of this Bill encountered some degree of opposition in the House of Commons.

Sir George Grey having moved the second reading on the 1st May, with a brief explanation of its objects,

Sir William Molesworth strenuously opposed the measure, moving that the second reading be on that day six months. So far as it regarded aliens, it was analogous in principle to the famous law of suspected persons of the 17th September, 1793, one of the most accursed laws of the Reign of Terror. It was a repetition almost word for word of the 15th, 16th, and 17th sections of the Alien Act of 1793—an Act which, like this, was proposed as a temporary law, but which had been continued from year to year for thirty-three years, before the opposition to it from every man of note in the Liberal party was successful. Lord John Russell himself made his maiden speech against that Bill in 1814. In 1824, Lord John and Mr. Denman were the tellers against the Bill. On the last occasion, (alas for human sagacity and forethought!) Lord John expressed his hope that that would be the last time he should raise his voice on the subject; as he was convinced that, after the expiration of

the Act, the House would look back on it as a measure which ought never to have been sanctioned. The present measure was directed especially against Frenchmen, and was offensive and impolitic. It moreover paid but an ill compliment to the feelings of our own people. The score of desperate characters now in London, against whose machinations the Bill was to guard, would be harmless in this country though dangerous in their own; for here they would find neither a Monarch self-seeking and hated, a Ministry corrupt, an upper class profligate and despised, nor a middle class indifferent to the institutions of their country. Sir William Molesworth would not, because he had confidence in the Ministry, give them powers which every person on their side of the House would have refused to Sir Robert Peel if he had asked for them.

Lord Dudley Stuart remarked, that under this Bill a Secretary of State need not, in some cases, have actual "information" against, but only "apprehensions" concerning an alien, to justify seizing him and expelling him from the country.

The Attorney-General corrected some misapprehensions which had been expressed as to the law. In 1793, foreigners had almost insuperable obstacles placed in the way of their becoming naturalized subjects. The law was no longer in that state. The difficulty and the expense of being naturalized were now nominal; and any person wishing to reside here permanently might become naturalized, on proof that he had no designs against the peace or institutions of the country; and on becoming naturalized, would be immediately exempted from the operation of the Bill. Under the Bill, too, the Government could only act on information which the Secretary of State would be bound to produce.

The other speakers were—for the Bill, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Mr. Henry Drummond, and Captain Harris. Against it, Mr. W. J. Fox, Mr. Hume, Mr. Ewart, and Mr. Urquhart, who quoted Leviticus xxiv. 22, and Numbers ix. 14, that there should be but "one ordinance both for the stranger and for him that was born in the land." Dr. Bowring observed that all men are Propagandists, so far as they are able; but he had faith that all our institutions which were of real value would be maintained by the good opinion of those interested in them.

On a division, the second reading was carried by 141 to 22.

It was the opinion of a certain class of politicians, at this crisis, that the true remedy for the dangers and discontents which prevailed was to be found in a larger concession of popular claims, and that the constitution would be most effectually strengthened by widening the basis of representation in Parliament. The veteran Reformer, once Member for Middlesex and now for Montrose, Mr. Joseph Hume, took the lead in this new movement, and at some large public meetings, which took place about this time, he expressed in strong terms his sense of the expediency of a wide extension of the elective franchise. Associations were formed and meetings held in various parts of the kingdom for the promotion of this object, and Mr. Hume undertook to bring the question to a test by a formal motion in the House of Commons. The day fixed for the debate was the 21st June, when, after several numerously signed petitions had

been presented in favour of Mr. Hume's object, that gentleman rose to move a resolution in the following terms:—

"That this House, as at present constituted, does not fairly represent the population, the property, or the industry of the country; whence has arisen great and increasing discontent in the minds of a large portion of the people: and it is therefore expedient, with a view to amend the national representation, that the elective franchise shall be so extended as to include all householders; that votes shall be taken by ballot; that the duration of Parliaments shall not exceed three years; and that the apportionment of Members to population shall be made more equal."

Mr. Hume began by referring to the numerous petitions which had been presented upon that and previous days, denying that they had been concocted by any undue influence or organized confederacy.

He glanced at the state of public feeling in this country—the general disposition, amid the disturbance of Europe, to maintain order, and especially the maintenance of peace on the 10th of April last. It was for the House, however, to consider whether those who had manifested at that crisis such a determination to obtain an extension of the suffrage, had just cause of complaint. He believed that if the Reform Bill had not been granted, much more serious disturbances would have happened. Our position, however, had materially altered within the last three or four years; events had changed the condition and relative situation of the working classes with other classes in this country. We formerly boasted, that, while in other countries despots maintained themselves by large armies, we could maintain the peace and welfare of the country by the agency of Parliament, without the aid of military measures. But whereas we were formerly a civil nation, we had now become a military nation, with a great expenditure; and the discontent in the country had become general. It was upon that ground that he felt it to be his duty to submit to the House what he thought would be a remedy for existing evils.

Reverting to the Reform Act of 1832, he contended that it had failed to answer all the purposes for which it was intended. "Parliament purports to be an engine for governing a constitutional country, all classes being represented: is that so now? Taxation and representation should go together. Every man should have his share in sanctioning the laws by which he is governed—the sole difference between a freeman and a slave. The Crown, Lords, and Commons, form the best method of giving effect to that constitutional government: the House of Commons, therefore, ought to be invested with the highest authority and influence in the country: no act of the Crown ought to be valid without its sanction; and the large classes of the community ought to be represented. But what is the fact? Five out of every six male adults in this country are without any voice in the election of the representatives to that House. The population of Great Britain was 18,500,000 in 1841; out of the male adults above twenty-one, taking the average—some individuals being registered for three,

four, or five different places—the number of registered electors does not amount to more than from 800,000 to 850,000. The rest of the 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 adults who have not this privilege are placed in an inferior situation, and deprived of that *right* which by the constitution they are entitled to enjoy. At eighteen, or even sixteen years of age, a man can be drawn for the militia and called out to quell riots. Yet classes of workmen distinguished for their industry, intelligence, and ability, are excluded from the franchise." Mr. Hume cited the oath taken by Cabinet Ministers to maintain the peace of the country, and, quoting the words of Earl Grey when introducing the Reform Bill in 1831, maintained that the way to do so is by giving to the people "a full, vigorous, and efficient" representation.

He quoted various definitions of household suffrage; Sir Thomas Smith's dictum, in the time of Elizabeth, that in one way or other "every Englishman is intended to be present in Parliament, either in person or by procuration," &c.; the declaration of the Hampden Club, in 1814, that every adult male who paid taxes had a right to vote for Members of Parliament; with other declarations of a similar kind. He then quoted a number of statistical details from various sources, showing how partially and unequally the franchise is distributed. Huntingdon, Westmoreland, and Rutland, with 26,000 adult males and 9,000 electors, returned 6 Members, and thus neutralized the 6 Members of Middlesex, West Yorkshire, and South Lancashire, with a population of 316,000 adult males and 73,000 electors. The Tower Hamlets, with a population of 400,000, were neutralized by Harwich, with a population of 3,700. Some large towns had no representatives. Mr. Hume cited statistics adduced by the late Mr. O'Connell, showing the scanty representation of Ireland; and others from a pamphlet recently published, illustrating the general inequality. To prove how unequally different interests and populations are balanced in the House of Commons, he took twenty-two boroughs, the aggregate population of which was but a fraction above 100,000, and found that they had 42 representatives in the House of Commons,—that is to say, one Member for every 2,390 persons; while twenty other cities and boroughs, with an aggregate population of 3,780,000, also returned 42 Members, being one Member for about every 90,000 persons. The Metropolis, including all its Parliamentary districts, with a population of 2,000,000, was represented by 16 Members in Parliament. The eight boroughs of Bridgenorth, Honiton, Harwich, Thetford, Richmond (Yorkshire), Totness, Stafford, and Lymington, with an aggregate population falling short of 40,000, returned the same number of Members.

Another evil was the great diversity of the franchise. Although the ten-pound rental was the standard for boroughs, and the forty-shilling freehold the standard for counties, there were, in truth, no fewer than eighty-five different kinds of franchise. It was scarcely possible to appreciate the confusion, the delay, and the expense that such a system produces. What the House ought to do, was to render the suffrage as simple, as general, as easily obtained, and as easily defended as

possible. Mr. Hume enumerated many varieties of the franchise,—by estate in fee, occupation, marriage settlement, joint tenancy, promotion to a benefice, leaseholding, corporate right, &c.

He argued that want of confidence in the representation made the people indifferent to the acts of the Legislature; and with that indifference the public expenditure was increasing.

He then explained, that in his notice the word "all" was unintentionally omitted; and he now supplied this definition of household suffrage—"That every such person of full age, and not subject to any mental or legal incapacity, who shall have occupied a house, or part of a house, for twelve months, and shall have been rated to the poor for that period, shall be registered as an elector; and every lodger shall have the right to claim to be rated to the poor, and after such rating and residence for twelve months he shall be registered as an elector." There would be no difficulty in carrying out this object. The apparatus all existed. By the present law, every house was rated to the poor; and the Act conferring this suffrage would provide that every man who so desired might, upon entering upon the occupation of part of a house, have a right to be rated for a portion, whatever it might be, of the poor rate assessed upon that house. Thus registration and residence, both of which were important, would be secured, and a line would be drawn between the mere vagrant and the worthy and educated man who was now excluded from the suffrage merely on account of the nature of his occupation. It might be argued that this proposal would not keep up the distinction between personal rights and property. He did not wish to draw that distinction too tight; but he must say, that by the law as it stood too much attention had been paid to bricks and mortar and too little to brains, and the time has now come when common sense should prevail.

Mr. Hume then went over all the several parts of his proposition, maintaining that each was proper and expedient. Not desiring change for the sake of change, he would not cut up the country into electoral districts, and he would not disturb the distribution of Members for England, Ireland, and Scotland. He thought that the duration of Parliaments for three years would afford sufficient control over Members. There was no property qualification in Scotland, and he did not see any reason why England and Ireland should not be put on the same footing. He quoted copiously from Lord John Russell's speech on the 1st of March, 1831, introducing the Reform Bill. Lord John then held that it was necessary to re-establish confidence and sympathy between the House and its constituents; not wishing to encumber that particular measure with other matters, he left such questions as ballot and the duration of Parliaments to future consideration; and he closed his speech with this declaration—"It is the only way calculated to insure permanency to that constitution which has so long been the admiration of foreign nations, on account of its popular spirit; but that admiration cannot continue to exist much longer, unless, by an infusion of new popular spirit, you show that you are determined not to be the representatives of small classes or particular interests, but

that you will form a body which, representing the people—which, springing from the people—which, sympathizing with the people—can fairly call upon the people to support any future burdens, and to struggle with any future difficulties you may have to encounter, confident that those who ask them so to do are united heart and hand with them, and look only, like themselves, to the glory and welfare of England."

Mr. Hume concluded by urging upon the House that the time was come for one of two alternatives—either to coerce the people, or to grant them new civil rights. This country had incurred a debt of 600,000,000*l.* by the late war to stem the demand for popular institutions—a weight of taxation that would have been avoided if Parliamentary Reform had been granted, before 1793, by Mr. Pitt. In conclusion, he promised that, if he were permitted to bring in a Bill, he would willingly submit it to revision in details.

Dr. Bowring seconded the motion.

Mr. Henry Drummond assented to much that had fallen from Mr. Hume; the subject now before the House had occupied much of his own attention many years since, and he had published a pamphlet upon it in 1829. He observed, however, upon the inconsistencies involved in Mr. Hume's argument. Sometimes he had seemed to regard the Parliament as the Legislature; at other times as the Executive body; he seemed, at one time, to regard the franchise as a trust, at another as a right. He wished to know who the parties were who were now making the demands which Mr. Hume advocated. They were men who from various causes were suffering great distress, and were, therefore, not the parties to argue any question coolly; they were intellectual speculators—lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, dreamers of every kind—in a word, they were men ready to throw the world again back into chaos, in the hope that they should be able to derive some benefit to themselves out of the general confusion. He read some of the documents issued by these parties, for the purpose of showing the strange ideas which they entertained of the purposes of Government. According to their ideas, the Throne and the Peerage were evils to be endured only till they could be quietly got rid of. He had been no party to the Reform Bill; he hated it when it was first passed; he hated it still; but he was living under it. He thought, however, that those who spoke of it as a final measure must have had little foresight if they did not see that it was only the first step to many larger and more extensive measures. He regarded the extension of the franchise as a necessary consequence of the Reform Act; but, if men were to be discontented because they were not in a state of equality, discontented they must remain to all eternity. As to the duration of Parliaments, he had no objection to triennial or to annual ones. Septennial Parliaments were a Whig invention, and he disliked them. A quinquennial election was a novelty, and as such objectionable. Mr. Drummond ridiculed the idea of the representation of particular classes; the absurdity of it would appear as soon as it was attempted to carry it out into practice. He suggested the extension of the suffrage to every possessor of any definable sort of property.

There was no principle in fixing an arbitrary amount—none in a 10*l.* franchise that was not found in a franchise of 9*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

Lord John Russell rose early in the debate, because he thought the House was entitled to an early explanation of his views, not only with regard to this motion, but to other questions akin to it. After referring briefly to the petitions which had been presented, and vindicating some expressions recently used by himself, which had been perverted by speakers at public meetings into a declaration of his belief that the people desired no further reforms, the noble Lord proceeded to combat the views advocated by the mover of the resolution. He accepted Mr. Hume's admission that the Reform Act had been mainly instrumental in maintaining the peace of the country during the recent excitement as a proof that it had averted disorder and conferred benefit on the country. If Mr. Hume's assertion were correct, that every man who contributed to the taxes had a right to a vote, there was an end to the question, and there was no occasion for the restrictions and qualifications with which Mr. Hume was now going to encumber that pretended right. If every man had that right, what did Mr. Hume mean by now restricting it to all householders? Even under his definition of household suffrage some two or three millions of adult males would be excluded from the representation, and thus the universal content which he wished to introduce would not be obtained. He differed from Mr. Hume as to the basis of his proposed representation. That which every man of full age had a right to was the best possible government and the best representative system which the Legislature could form. If universal suffrage would give the best representative system, the best laws, and the best government, the people would have a right to it; but, if universal suffrage would not give this, then it was mere idle pedantry to say that every man had a right to a vote and was entitled to share in legislation. In considering this question, he could not but recollect that ours was a mixed constitution, that we had a Sovereign and a House of Lords, and that they were not evils to be endured, but institutions to be proud of. Tacitus had said that every government was formed of monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy—that a government formed out of the three might be easily conceived, but could not easily be brought to pass, and that, if it could be brought to pass, it could not be durable. That sentiment had been justified by the experience of all the modern nations of the world, save one, and that one was England. We, therefore, ought to apply ourselves with the greatest caution and anxiety to any plan which would alter in any way the adjustment of the different powers of the constitution, as this plan would do in regard to our whole representative system. The noble Lord then entered into a long argument to prove that a Parliament elected by householders and lodgers would not be a better Parliament than the present. If such a representative system were adopted, it would render it necessary to adopt such a division of the country into electoral districts as was contemplated in the so-called People's Charter. Having shown that such a division would not be conducive to the interests of the people, he next

proceeded to argue that the apportionment of the representation to the population would lead to such collisions of opinion between the representatives of the town and country districts as would be injurious to its future tranquillity. He declined to enter into any long argument as to the vote by ballot, though he was of opinion that it would be no remedy against intimidation. He also declared himself satisfied with the present duration of Parliament, and should not give his vote for any change in it. He then proceeded to defend the Reform Act, by showing that since it was passed the House had not been the mere servant of the aristocracy, or the bigoted opponent of all plans of amelioration. No one who considered the changes which had been made since 1832 could say that the House of Commons had not responded quickly and readily to public opinion. He then recapitulated the great measures which it had passed in that interval, as, for instance, the abolition of slavery, the opening of the China trade, the commutation of tithes, the remedy of the grievances of Dissenters as to births and marriages, the reform of the municipal corporations in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the alterations in the tariff, the alterations in the postage system, and, lastly, the total repeal of the Corn Laws, which proved that the House was not under the rule and dominion of the landed aristocracy. Thinking as he did that the Reform Act was an improvement on our old representative system, still he had always been of opinion that it would admit of improvement from time to time. When he had been most attacked for finality, he had proposed, in his letter to the electors of Stroud, in 1839, either to disfranchise the freemen or to make them the representatives of the industrious mechanics in our large manufacturing towns who were not entitled to vote at present. He had also said that the 10*l.* franchise was too much fettered by restriction, and that the system of registration was complicated and vexatious. From 1839 to the present day neither Mr. Hume nor his colleagues had brought forward any proposition for the reconstruction of the House of Commons. Nor had he (Lord J. Russell). Yet it appeared to him that the public mind was now turned to the subject, and that the time was at hand, if it had not already come, when some reforms of the nature to which he had just alluded must be made in the representative system. The inquiries which the House was then making into the proceedings of some corrupt boroughs would give it further information, and then it would know whether it should disfranchise those boroughs or only the freemen of them. The great defect in the Reform Act appeared to him to be that it had reduced too much the varieties of the right of voting under the old constitution. He thought that by some variety of suffrage, such as by making the freemen the representatives of our industrial classes in the large towns, or by making the right depend upon accumulations in the savings' banks, or by some other mode of the same kind, we might extend the franchise without injuring the basis of our representation. He was, therefore, not disposed to say that you could not beneficially alter or improve the Reform Act; but he was not prepared at present to introduce Bills to carry the amendments

which he had mentioned into effect. This was not the moment, when such dangerous opinions respecting capital, and wages, and labour were afloat, to make great and extensive changes in the construction of the House of Commons, which, he believed, represented the nation fairly. The advantages of our constitution were to ourselves invaluable. The stability of our institutions amid the existing convulsions of the world had excited the admiration of every lover of peace and order in every nation, and therefore he hoped that the House would do nothing to diminish that admiration or forfeit that respect. He trusted that the House would not select the present as the time for making a reform, which stopped, indeed, short of the Charter, but which must ultimately terminate in it; but that it would think it due to the other branches of the Legislature and to that great people of which it was the representative, to give a decided negative to this resolution.

Mr. W. J. Fox would have been better pleased if Lord John Russell had declared more explicitly the extent of the reforms which he had in contemplation, and the results which he anticipated from them. He also regretted that Lord John Russell had scarcely touched on the question whether particular classes of the community were properly represented in that House. Now the question at present before Parliament was this: "Are the working classes of this country represented as they ought to be; and if not, can they be so represented without danger to our institutions?" He (Mr. Fox) declared that they were not represented; that they were like helots in the land, serfs on the soil which bred them, and having no concern with the laws except to obey them. He then proceeded, in a highly rhetorical speech, to contend that this state of things was unjust to the unenfranchised and injurious to the whole community; and he proved at some length, that all the reasons which Lord John Russell had urged first in 1822, and afterwards in 1832, existed in still greater force at the present time. He therefore implored the House to emancipate its serfs, and so to make of Englishmen a united nation. If it did so, it might arm the whole population in the full confidence that, if war should betide us, it would be rolled back to the terror and confusion of our enemies.

Mr. Disraeli opposed the motion in a speech of very felicitous effect. He desired to know how it was that the topic of Government expenditure and extravagance, which had been so prominently urged at the public meetings, had been so little referred to in the speeches of Mr. Hume and Mr. Fox.

"The country has for four months been told that an enormous increase of taxation and in the expenditure of the Government are the growing abuses of late years. What are the facts? The ordinary revenue of 1828 was forty-nine millions; that of 1848, but forty-seven millions: moreover, the revenue of 1828 was raised from a population of less than twenty-three millions, and that of 1848 from one of thirty millions. Taking the taxation at a sum per head, the pressure of 1828 was 2*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* on each person, and that of 1848 1*l.* 10*s.* and a fraction per head: but, again, the wealth of each person is greater individually now than it was in 1828. What becomes of the fiscal plea for politi-

cal change in presence of these facts?"

Mr. Hume's advocacy of his new franchise went to the extent of universal suffrage. Every Englishman had a right to vote, as Mr. Hume contended; if so, why was he to be required to live in a house to exercise that right? If in any one point more than another the act of 1832 was objectionable, it was in its too rigid adoption of the qualification from property; but the proposed franchise recognised property alone as its basis. The second point—the voting by ballot—could not be effected except by making or following a complete change of the character and habits of the people; sufficient reasons against it on this occasion. The third point—the legal duration of Parliament—was taken from the old Tory creed and system, which Mr. Disraeli had ever supported: he would support it himself if any manifest benefit could be adduced; but no sensible man could believe that the policy or legislation of Parliament would be affected by such a change if it were now made. The fourth point was one that based the representation of England solely on population. (*Dissent from Mr. Hume.*) Mr. Disraeli went into a detailed development of the working of this plan, taking Buckinghamshire, London, Glasgow, Dublin, and other leading instances as his illustrations, and making dexterous use of the results. On a population basis, London would have as many members as all Scotland. He humorously sketched the origin of Mr. Hume's Reform movement, from the day of the meeting of a few veteran League agitators at their rooms—never permanently deserted—in Newall's Buildings, Manchester. We had lived to see the origin of a new profession in England. "An honourable gentleman the other night said that diplomacy was going out of fashion. Possibly it may be: many people think lawyers useless—they make their own wills and die; there are those who think doctors good for nothing—they take quack medicines, and die also; and there may be Ministers of State who think that they can dispense with the services of ambassadors and envoys. But those who are interested in finding employment for the rising generation will be glad to learn that a new profession has been discovered, and that is the profession of agitation. (*Cheers and laughter.*) Well, Sir, when honourable gentlemen cheer, do they deny my assertion? Do they recollect the observation—

'Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos.
Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
Augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit.
Græculus esuriens in cœlum, jusseris, ibit.'"

Completing his sketch of the movement to the present time, Mr. Disraeli observed—"The remarkable circumstance is this, that the present movement has not in the slightest degree originated in any class of the people, even if the people had been misled. It is possible that there might be a popular movement and yet erroneous; but this is erroneous and yet not popular. (*Cheers and laughter.*) But the moral I draw from all this—from observing this system of organized agitation, this playing and paltering with popular passions for the aggrandizement of one too ambitious class—the moral I draw

and the question I ask is this—why are the people of England forced to find leaders among these persons? Their proper leaders are the gentry of England; and if they are not the leaders of the people, it is because the gentlemen of England have been so negligent of their duties and so unmindful of their station, that this system of professional agitation, so ruinous to the best interests of the country, has arisen in England."

The debate was then adjourned. It was resumed on the 6th July, the first speaker being Mr. B. Osborne, who advocated a residential test as a means of enfranchising the best educated mechanics. The claims of this class had, he showed, been supported by statesmen of every age, from Serjeant Glanville, in the time of Charles I., to Sir J. Hobhouse, a member of the present Government. The existing franchise was, he contended, neither a right nor a privilege, but a perquisite, which would not be perverted if extended to the householders of the country. He remarked upon the anomalies which the small boroughs presented, with the view of showing the advantages of electoral districts; advocated the practice of voting by ballot, and shortening the duration of Parliaments; and quoted Dod's Parliamentary Companion in reply to Lord John Russell's assertion that the House of Commons was not an aristocratic institution, and that Government was not carried on for the benefit of the aristocracy. The Russells, the Greys, and other scions of great families, monopolized every place, to the exclusion of men of practical experience, who would do the business of the country much better. He upheld the middle classes against the gentry, and concluded by declaring that he should vote with Mr. Hume.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd objected to further railroad progress in the path of reform, and, after an able analysis of Mr. Hume's proposition, declared that, either as a settlement or an instalment, it would be equally unsatisfactory. It was founded on no principle, attained no end, and was but an instance of delusive and mischievous quackery.

Mr. Cobden said, the division in favour of this motion might not be large, but the list would show that all those Members who represented large 10*l.* constituencies, where the people had the free power of giving their votes, would be in the number of those who supported the motion. He appealed to that fact as a proof that the middle classes were anxious to open the portals of the constitution to those who were anxious to come within them. There had as yet been no organization in favour of this movement, but it had already made great way; 130 meetings had been held in its favour within the last five weeks, and it had already excited as much feeling in its support as had been acquired by the Corn Law League after five years' agitation. The present representative system was a sham, but, if it were amended as Mr. Hume proposed, it would once more be a reality. He defended, at some length, Mr. Hume's scheme of household suffrage, contending that it would not create a change in the Government, but would only bring the Legislature into harmony with the wants of the people. He also advocated it, as likely to produce economy and retrenchment, and a fair and equitable appropriation and imposition

of the public taxation. He then defended the proposed plan for a new division of electoral districts. The constituencies of London were as much too large as the constituencies of the country were too small. He thought it would be better to divide such constituencies into wards, and to give each of them the power of electing a Member, instead of giving all of them the power of electing a great number. He was convinced that this country could not be governed peaceably, whilst the bulk of the people was excluded from the representation. He did not want to increase the number of representatives in that House; but, if this Motion were assented to, they must increase the number of representatives in some districts, and must diminish it in others. He would not say much on the ballot, for it was one of those questions which had the greatest strength in that House, and among the middling classes. The farmers, to a man, were in favour of it. Having declared himself favourable to triennial Parliaments, he recommended the House, if it wanted to put an end to agitation, to allow the power of the people to be felt within it. He wished to bring the virtues, and talents, and frugality of the industrial classes into the public service; for he told those who talked of the aristocracy and traditionary influences, that it was not to the gentry, but to the middle classes, that all the great triumphs of the British name, all its improvements in arts, literature, manufactures, and commerce, were mainly attributable.

Mr. Urquhart, after dilating on the failure of the Reform Act, and after denouncing the present agitation in favour of a new Reform Act as a bastard agitation when compared with that which preceded it, moved as an amendment, that "experience had shown that change in the constitution of Parliament had failed to obtain the ends for which it was desirable, and with which it was originally conjoined, viz., non-interference and retrenchment."

Mr. C. Anstey seconded the amendment.

Mr. Locke King said that whatever grounds for complaint existed in 1832 existed at present in as great force. We had profited by the French Revolution of 1830, and had gained the Reform Act of 1832, and other great and beneficial measures. France had then made a great change in its government which had proved merely nominal. It had been stationary, whilst we had been safely and steadily progressing. Again we must make a step in advance, and that step must be by adding another Schedule A to another Reform Bill.

Mr. O'Connor denied that the principle of Mr. Hume's motion had ever been adopted by a majority of the working classes. They were in favour of the principles of the People's Charter, and would not be content with less. He expressed himself strongly in support of annual Parliaments, and said that he would rather have household suffrage with annual, than universal suffrage with septennial Parliaments. He was glad to find that Lord J. Russell preferred the People's Charter to Mr. Hume's nostrum of reform. He would vote, however, for that nostrum as the least of the two evils which Mr. Hume and Mr. Urquhart had conjointly brought before the House. If the Motion were passed, it would not be a

settlement of the question; for he should argue as energetically, as enthusiastically, and as forcibly for the People's Charter as he had done before.

Mr. M. Milnes did not think that the ballot would produce any great change in the composition of that House; but the division of Great Britain into new electoral districts would introduce a very portentous change. It would subtract from the influence of the country, and add to the influence of the towns; and at present the towns had no right to complain of their want of influence, as they had carried Free Trade and the Repeal of the Corn Laws against the wishes and the resistance of the agricultural interest. He should, therefore, vote against the motion. There was no immediate grievance which called for it; but the great events which had recently occurred in Europe must naturally find an echo here. If every Frenchman, German, and Italian had his share in the political arrangements of his country, a claim for similar power would be heard here, and we must be prepared to meet it.

Mr. S. Herbert did not think the present scheme of representation to be perfect, and was therefore delighted to hear that Lord John Russell had given up the doctrine of finality. He had likewise heard with pleasure his lordship's admission that the uniformity of the franchise established by the Reform Act was one of its greatest faults. Mr. Cobden had said that a reform of Parliament would bring in its train a reduction of establishments and taxation; but had that been the result of the labours of the representative body recently elected in France under universal suffrage? Quite the reverse. The result was seen in the increase of its standing army, before too large—in the increase of its taxation—in the domination of a many-headed tyranny—and in an immense increase of secret service money. Such being the case in Prussia, as well as in France, he felt himself justified in declaring that, if the Members of the House of Commons performed their duties, there was nothing in their principles or their practice to deprive them of the respect of their country. In some instances their course of late had not been such as to conciliate public estimation, and the cause of it was their inconsistency in regard to cases of corruption, their incapacity to get rapidly through business from their indulgence in unnecessary discussion, and their dealing in ungenerous and unhandsome imputations on each other. These were faults which might be easily amended, and, when that was done, the amendment would cause the House to stand higher in public estimation.

Lord D. Stuart, in a short speech, declared himself friendly to the motion.

Mr. Muntz observed, that the real question before the House had been completely shirked by all parties who had spoken that evening. The question was—first, did the House fairly represent the country; and, secondly, if it did not, was Mr. Hume's plan the best mode of remedying the defects in its composition? Now, the people were of opinion that the House did not fairly represent the country, and had formed that opinion in consequence of the conduct of the House this session on the property-tax, the "gagging" Bill, and the currency;

and he was inclined to think that the remedy of Mr. Hume, if it did not eradicate, would at least mitigate all the evils of the present system.

Mr. C. Villiers briefly explained the reasons why he supported the motion of Mr. Hume, though he did not agree in all the propositions contained in it. His main reason was, that it recognised the policy of extending the basis of the representation. He did not believe that the character of our legislation had been much altered since the Reform Act, and he firmly believed that it would not be much altered by the reform now proposed.

After a brief reply from Mr. Hume, who explained and enforced his former statements, the House divided, when the numbers were—

For Mr. Hume's motion	84
Against it	351
Majority against it . .	267

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:—*Diplomatic Relations with Rome—Negotiations opened at Rome by the Earl of Minto for this object—Bill brought in by the Marquis of Lansdowne to legalise such relations—Debate on the Second Reading—Objections raised by the Duke of Newcastle, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Earl of Eldon—The Bishop of St. David's, Earl St. Germans, Earl Grey, and Lord Stanley support the Second Reading, which is carried—Amendments are made in the Bill in Committee—The Second Reading is moved by Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, on the 17th of August—Mr. C. Anstey, Mr. Urquhart, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Law, Mr. R. Palmer, Mr. Napier, and Mr. Newdegate oppose the Second Reading, which is supported by Lord John Russell, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. M. J. O'Connell, the Earl of Arundel, Mr. Moore, and other Members—The Bill is read a Second Time, a majority of 79 voting in its favour—Further opposition in Committee, and on the Third Reading—The Bill is passed.* AFFAIRS OF ITALY AND SICILY:—*Lord Stanley brings forward a Motion in the House of Lords respecting the intervention of the British Government in the Sicilian Insurrection—The Marquis of Lansdowne answers the charge on the part of the Government—Observations of the Earl of Minto, the Duke of Argyle, Earl of Malmesbury, and other Peers—Proceedings on the same subject in the House of Commons—Declaration of Lord Palmerston respecting the Intervention of England—Mr. Disraeli, on the 16th August, enters into a full review of the whole field of Italian Politics and British Intervention—Remarks upon Lord Minto's Mission and the real objects of Lord Palmerston's Mediations—Lord Palmerston vindicates his own conduct and policy at great length.* AFFAIRS OF SPAIN:—*Abrupt dismissal of Sir H. Bulwer, the British Ambassador—Circumstances which led to this event—The subject is brought before the House of Lords by Lord Stanley—His Speech—Answer of the Marquis of Lansdowne—Remarks of Lord Brougham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and other Peers—Mr. Bankes brings the matter before the House of Commons by a Resolution disapproving of the Policy of our Government—Speeches of Mr. Shiel, Lord Mahon, Mr. Disraeli, Lord John Russell, Sir R. Peel, and Lord Palmerston—The Motion is ultimately withdrawn—Close of the Session:—Mr. Disraeli, on the 30th August, reviews the events of the expiring Session in an animated and humorous*

Speech, satirising the failures and disappointments of the Government —Lord John Russell parries the attack with much dexterity—Remarks of Mr. B. Osborne and Mr. Hume—Prorogation of Parliament by the Queen in person, on the 5th of September—Address of the Speaker to the Throne—Her Majesty's Speech—Close of the Session.

ONE of the most important measures that has been introduced of late years affecting our foreign relations, was a Bill emanating from the Government, to enable Her Majesty to open and carry on diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome. Negotiations with that Court had been commenced in the preceding autumn by the Earl of Minto, whose special mission to Italy we shall presently have occasion to advert to. The feeling of the Papal Court being ascertained to be favourable to an arrangement, the convenience of which appeared to our own Government much to outweigh any possible danger that could result from it, the Marquis of Lansdowne, very early in the present Session, presented a Bill for legalising a diplomatic intercourse with Rome. Some indications were given, on the first reading of the Bill, of a modified opposition on the part of several Peers, but Lord Lansdowne undertook to prove that the proposition to which he asked their consent would involve no possible danger to the Protestant religion in this country. On the 17th of February, the same noble Lord moved the second reading of the Bill. He began by explaining the reasons for its introduction, and the circumstances out of which the doubt which it was proposed to remove had arisen. It had been supposed that the Bill of Rights (1 William and Mary, s. 2, c. 2), and the Act for the further limitation of the Crown (12 and 13 William III., c. 2,) contained words which prohibited diplomatic intercourse between this country and Rome. He considered those Acts to be some of the safeguards and defences of the Constitution. The true spirit of those laws he would be the last man to desire to impair; and he trusted that their true object would continue to be maintained. But his opinion was, that neither of those Acts prohibited such relations; their real object being to prevent the holding spiritual communion with the Church of Rome, not to debar the Protestant Sovereign of this country from establishing those relations with the Court of Rome which were found so necessary and beneficial with other states. After referring to the case of the Earl of Castlemaine, and the opinions of Bishop Burnett and Sir James Mackintosh upon that case, his Lordship took an historical view of our intercourse with Rome. Sir Robert Walpole was in repeated communication with the Pope; he employed his brother Horace for that purpose, and the Pope omitted no opportunity of testifying his regard for the British Minister. When Hanover became connected with this kingdom, it was a part of our policy to keep up a good understanding with the Court of Rome. During the French Revolution, and at the commencement of the French war, Sir John Cox Hippesley, Lord Hood, when he commanded in the Mediterranean, and, more recently, the late Duke of Portland, had opened an intercourse with the

Pope. Having shown the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome, his Lordship proceeded to reply to the questions why, for the first time, the Pope was to be acknowledged by us, and whether the Pope had ever recognised the sovereign of this country? He should be surprised if these questions, though agitated out of doors, were asked in that House. Recognise the Pope! Why, what was the Treaty of Vienna? Great Britain was a contracting party to that treaty, which not only secured to the Pope the possessions he enjoyed at that time, but additional territories in other parts of Italy. And who put the Great Seal to that treaty? Lord Chancellor Eldon, who of all public men of the time was the most averse to Romish ascendancy. Besides other acknowledgments, King George IV. received a letter from the Pope congratulating him upon his accession; and His Majesty wrote a reply to the Pontiff; but it being suggested to him, after it was sent off, that he might thereby have forfeited his crown, a messenger was despatched to Italy to recall the letter, but it was too late; and, *quoad* that letter, King George IV., according to the hypothesis, had forfeited his crown. But we had, in fact, on numerous occasions, acknowledged the Pope, who had, over and over again, acknowledged the Sovereign of this country.

The Duke of Newcastle opposed the Bill as unnecessary, and therefore a superfluous act of legislation; or, if necessary on account of an actual subsisting prohibition, it was objectionable as removing a constitutional safeguard. His grace moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

The Bishop of Winchester questioned the reasons upon which the noble Marquis had founded the Bill. The chief reason was the inconvenience attending an indirect communication with the Court of Rome. But, whenever such communication was called for, means were readily found to effect it. He found that by this Bill Her Majesty was authorized to receive a diplomatic agent "accredited by the Sovereign Pontiff." This was the first time since the Reformation that this expression had been admitted into any Act of Parliament. The head of the Romish Church had hitherto been termed "Bishop of Rome," or "Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope;" and the right rev. prelate read an opinion of the law officers of the Crown, which bore the signature of Mr. Serjeant Copley, which showed that the Legislature had advisedly avoided the title of "Sovereign Pontiff."

The Bishop of St. David's supported the Bill, which he considered to be no innovation or substantial interference with the existing law. The measure was justifiable on political grounds, and, although it had a religious aspect, he was at a loss to understand how the interests of religion or of Protestantism could be affected by the Bill. The right rev. prelate, whilst he did not concur in the objections of the Bishop of Winchester, thought that due respect should be paid to the opinions of a large class of persons in this country who appeared to view this measure with much jealousy. Upon the whole, he expressed his conviction that it was a measure essential to the political interests of the country, and one which might be adopted without any

danger to the established religion of the country.

The Bishop of Exeter considered that the noble Marquis had failed to make out a case of necessity for this measure, and the doubt arising from the word "communion," in the Act 12 and 13 William III., —which obviously meant *communicare in sacris*—was no reason for introducing so important a change as this, fraught with danger, and which would spread alarm in every part of the country. Why were not the judges of the land called upon to say whether there was any doubt? If they declared that no law forbade Her Majesty from carrying on diplomatic relations with Rome, then let Her Majesty's Ministers, on their own responsibility, advise her to open those relations, and not come to Parliament to give them authority. The right rev. prelate supported the amendment.

The Duke of Wellington confessed that, when he first heard of this measure, he considered it with some degree of anxiety. It had been the policy of our laws since the Reformation that there should be no communication, political or otherwise, between this country and the Sovereign of the Roman States. A great alteration had, however, been made in the law by the Act introduced by Lord Lyndhurst; he (the Duke of Wellington) had considered the effect which this Bill would have upon that Act, and he intended to move a provision in the committee, declaratory of the title of the Sovereign of this country to be supreme head and governor in all matters ecclesiastical and civil. Upon the whole, he considered that it was convenient and advantageous to have regular and direct diplomatic relations with the Roman state, and recommended their Lordships to consent to the second reading of the Bill.

Lord Stanley said, if he thought the Bill was at variance with the spirit and principle of the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, or even that it in the slightest degree recognised, or strengthened, or supported any claim or pretence to spiritual power on the part of the Sovereign of the Roman State in this country, he should vote for the amendment. But he could not take such a view of it. At the same time he looked upon it as a measure of grave and weighty policy, and one which ought to be approached with the respect due to a deep religious feeling in this country adverse to the Bill, which was contrary to the interpretation put upon the law for the last 160 years. He was quite sensible that there might be conveniences and advantages attending a direct intercourse with the Court of Rome; but he concurred with those who thought that it was the duty of the Government and Parliament to consider whether there were not collateral disadvantages. He was not of opinion that this measure would tend to uphold the spiritual power and authority of the Pope, which could not be enforced in this country, for our own courts of law would set at nought the authority of the Pope. The noble Lord adverted to the character of the present Pope, and to the effect which the representations of a Protestant Minister from this country might have at the Court of Rome, and warned their Lordships of the evils which might spring from the antagonism of the two religious principles thus brought into contact. In conclusion, the noble Lord declared his intention, in voting for

the second reading, to reserve his final opinion upon the whole Bill until it should have passed the Committee. With regard to the presence of an accredited agent at Rome, the conveniences and inconveniences might be nicely balanced; but the residence of a Papal envoy here, without restriction, especially if he combined a spiritual with a diplomatic character, might be mischievous.

Earl Grey drew an inference favourable to the measure from the very mitigated opposition of Lord Stanley. The Marquis of Lansdowne had laid the case fully and fairly before the House, establishing the policy and necessity of the Bill; and the minute criticism of Lord Stanley upon its form and the manner in which it had been introduced, left the merits of the measure untouched. The noble Earl vindicated the consistency of the Government with reference to the mission of Lord Minto, who had no formal letters of credence to the Court of Rome, and it was an evil, which this Bill went to remedy, that he had no regular authority to act as our Minister there. He agreed with Lord Stanley that the amendment proposed by the Duke of Wellington was a decided improvement in the Bill, which would make assurance doubly sure, and would tranquillize alarm; and he was glad to know that Lord Lansdowne had consented to the noble Duke's amendment.

The Duke of Richmond would not vote against the second reading of the Bill, but he urged, as Lord Stanley had done, that a sufficient interval should be allowed for the expression of the opinion of the country upon the measure.

The Earl of Eldon declared that, if the Duke of Newcastle pressed his amendment to a division, he should vote with him against the Bill.

The Earl of St. Germans supported the Bill, and showed that the apprehensions entertained by the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter were chimerical or exaggerated. This Bill did not compel Her Majesty to appoint a Minister at Rome; and, if there should be a Pope disposed to abuse its provisions, our Government might refuse to keep relations with him, and we should be in the same position towards Rome as at present. He did not participate in Lord Stanley's repugnance to the reception of an ecclesiastic as a papal envoy from Rome.

Lord Redesdale gave notice of a clause he should propose in the Committee, providing that it should not be lawful for Her Majesty to receive any ambassador from the Court of Rome until the Pope had disclaimed all temporal and civil authority in this realm.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in his reply, declared that no instructions had been given to Lord Minto, and no act had been done by that nobleman, at Rome or elsewhere, which he (Lord Lansdowne) was not prepared to defend as for the advantage and interest of this country. The noble Earl had been accredited to Switzerland, and he was now accredited to Naples, and his not being accredited to Rome, where consequently he could not appear in an official capacity, afforded the best illustration of the state of the law and the necessity of this measure.

Their Lordships were about to divide, when the Duke of Newcastle withdrew his amendment, and the bill was read a second time.

Upon the committal of the Bill a rather important verbal alteration was introduced on the proposition of the Duke of Wellington, the title of "Sovereign of the Roman States" being substituted for the words "Sovereign Pontiff" as the designation of the Pope. An animated discussion afterwards took place on an amendment proposed by the Earl of Eglintoun, prohibiting the reception of any ecclesiastic as the accredited minister of the Pope in this country. The Marquis of Lansdowne thought that the right to refuse any Minister who might be distasteful to the Crown ought to be left, in the case of the Pope as in that of any other foreign Sovereign, to Her Majesty and the Government.

The Earl of Aberdeen said that the amendment could not be rejected without incurring the danger of grave consequences, and deprecated the presence of an ecclesiastic as the Pope's Nuncio in this country.

The Duke of Wellington thought the difficulty would be met by simply substituting the words "establish diplomatic relations," for the words in the Bill which pointed out the persons of different ranks whom Her Majesty was to be authorized to receive.

Lord Beaumont was surprised at what had fallen from Lord Aberdeen, and complained that he had mistaken the functions of legates and nuncios.

The Earl of Shrewsbury said, that the Earl of Eglintoun and his supporters seemed to have forgotten that diplomatic relations could not be established with any state except on terms of perfect reciprocity. If Her Majesty refused to receive an ecclesiastic as Minister from Rome, the Pope in his turn might fairly refuse to receive a Protestant as the representative of England,—which was just the position at present of the diplomatic relations between Prussia and the Holy See.

Lord Stanley deemed it highly important that the amendment should be carried. While he had no objection to seeing England properly represented at Rome, he could never sanction the transplanting of the Vatican to London.

After some further discussion, their Lordships divided on the amendment, when the numbers were—

For the amendment . .	67
Against it	64
Majority in favour of the amendment . . .	3

A considerable delay took place before this measure found its way into the lower House. It was not till the 17th of August that the second reading was moved by Lord Palmerston in a very concise speech. The noble lord observed, that the grounds for this measure were so simple, and were so much upon the surface, that it was not requisite for him to enter into any abstruse or refined argument to show its necessity. Doubts had existed, whether, by the interpretation of certain old Acts of Parliament, it was lawful for the Government of this country to hold diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Rome. Those doubts arose on the interpretation of the word "communion," but it appeared to him that the meaning of the law prohibiting any "communion" of the Sovereign with the

Court of Rome was simply this—that the Sovereign of England must be a Protestant. The "communion" prohibited was only spiritual communion, and was not the interchange of political and diplomatical communications. As doubts, however, were entertained on that point, it was deemed necessary to introduce a Bill authorising diplomatic intercourse and communication with the Court of Rome. He then proceeded to obviate the objections raised against it, and to explain the advantages which were likely to accrue from passing it. After showing that the presence of an English ambassador at the Court of Rome, and of a Roman ambassador at the Court of St. James's, could not injure the faith of our Sovereign, he proceeded to demonstrate that the want of intercourse with the Court of Rome was injurious to our interests; for we could not make any commercial treaty with the Court of Rome to obtain for our merchants and manufacturers those advantages which commercial treaties afforded to them in every other part of the world. As no constitutional danger could arise from the enactment of this measure, and as great commercial advantages would flow from passing it into law, he had no hesitation in recommending it to the support of the House.

Mr. C. Anstey had expected to hear some explanation of the Bill itself and of the objects which it was to accomplish; but not a word on either of those points had the noble Lord uttered. He was, therefore, compelled to answer, not the speech of Lord Palmerston, but the speeches made in another place. Having done this to a very considerable extent, he commented on the title of this Bill, which professed to be a Bill to enable Her Majesty to hold diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Rome. Now, there were two Courts of Rome — the temporal court and the spiritual court. With the first, Her Majesty was legally entitled to hold diplomatic communication without any Bill to enable her; but, with the second, he maintained that Her Majesty could not legally hold intercourse; and he hoped that no Bill would ever be passed to place the Court of St. James's and the Court of Rome in so delicate a position as would enable the latter to surrender to the former the peculiar influence which the Court of Rome exercised by its spiritual power over all priests and bishops subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He then proceeded to argue with great prolixity that if this Bill passed it would operate most injuriously on the independence of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and would ultimately make the Pope himself a slave to British policy. After pointing out the indirect manner in which the Bill interfered with the prerogative of the Crown, and after analyzing the measure clause by clause, and condemning them all one after another, the hon. Member concluded by moving tht the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. Urquhart seconded the amendment.

Sir R. Inglis complained, like Mr. Anstey, of the insufficiency of the speech which Lord Palmerston had made that evening for the introduction of so important a change into the Constitution of England, and also pitied his lordship for having been reduced to the painful necessity of pleading as his reason for this Bill the importance of consulting the commercial interests of

England in Italy, and the increased facility which it would give to British subjects to obtain the construction of a railroad over the Pontine marshes for abridging their communications with India. He called on the House to reflect at what time this Bill was brought in, who was Pope, and what the Court of Rome now was. The Bill was introduced into this House on the 16th August, at a time when the Pope had violated all his obligations to Austria, the chief benefactor of the Papacy,—when the Pope had been unable to protect the Austrian ambassador from the attacks of the rabble of Rome, and when he had absolutely blessed the arms of the soldiery whom he sent to attack the Austrian forces; and all this, too, at a period when England was more alive than ever to the rampant and aggressive character of the Church of Rome against the Protestantism of the world. He did not object to enter into negotiations with the temporal Sovereign of Rome, no matter what his religion might be. He did not object to recognise the civil governor of Rome, even though he should be another Rienzi; but he did object to recognise the spiritual governor of Rome and of all the Roman Catholic population of the world. The Pope had millions of subjects in this country, and he would not give to the Pope the direct means of issuing his powerful edicts to them without any restraint. He had another objection to this Bill—it neither conciliated the affections of the Protestants nor satisfied the wishes of the Roman Catholics, who, in March last, had denounced it to the Pope in the strongest language. Besides, the result of the diplomatic communications of other Protestant states, especially Prussia, with the Pope, was not so satisfactory as to induce us to establish such communication between the Queen of England and the Bishop of Rome. In conclusion, he put three questions to Lord J. Russell—whether he had heard of any project of the Pope to divide England into dioceses, and to appoint an Archbishop of Westminster, and whether he had given his assent to any such project? Next, he asked whether his lordship had any objection to lay on the table such communications, whatever they might be, as had been addressed by the Earl of Clarendon to Earl Grey, whereby Earl Grey had given to the Roman Catholic Bishops titles which neither the Queen nor any Act of Parliament had given them? Lastly, he asked his lordship whether he had any objection to lay on the table the copy of a latter addressed by the Earl of Clarendon, on the 19th of March last, to Archbishop Murray, in which letter Lord Clarendon, without waiting for the passing of this Bill, communicated distinctly to the Pope the statutes of the new Irish Colleges through the instrumentality of Archbishop Murray?

Mr. Moore observed that the arguments of Sir R. Inglis had completely convinced him of the propriety of voting in support of this Bill. Sir R. Inglis had no objection to deal with the civil governor of Rome, or to enter into consular relations even with the Pope himself. In making that declaration, the honourable Baronet had given up the whole subject in dispute, and, as he (Mr. Moore) preferred a straightforward to a tortuous course, he should give his vote in favour of a measure which enabled us to do openly and directly what

for years back we had been doing secretly and indirectly.

Lord J. Russell, after some remarks on the singular position in which Sir R. Inglis stood, as being dissatisfied both with Lord Palmerston's reasons for supporting, and with Mr. Anstey's arguments for opposing this Bill, denied that it made either a fundamental change in the Constitution, or was the first step to a reconciliation with Rome. Sir R. Inglis had declared that he had no objection to enable a consul to carry on commercial relations with that Court; and, that being the case, he must say that it was with the appearance and not with the fact that Sir Robert Inglis quarrelled. He (Lord John Russell) should be much more afraid of the Roman Catholic religion than he was, if he could bring himself to believe that these foolish and obsolete restrictions were really the securities on which Protestantism rested. He showed that they were productive of daily inconvenience to our commercial interests, and repeated the arguments of Lord Palmerston to prove that their removal would be productive of great general benefit both to ourselves and the different nations of Italy. With respect to the questions put to him by Sir R. Inglis, he replied that he did not know that the Pope had authorized the creation of bishoprics or archbishoprics in England. He would, however, comfort Sir R. Inglis by assuring him that he (Lord J. Russell) should not give his assent to the formation of any such dioceses in the Queen's dominions. He must, nevertheless, remind Sir Robert, that if he looked to the other states of Europe, he would see that any control over the spiritual influence of the Pope could only be gained by some compromise or concordat with His Holiness. If, then, we refused all communication with him, we left his spiritual influence unfettered; for we could not bind it without some agreement with him who held it. He then told Sir R. Inglis that no official letter had passed between Lords Clarendon and Grey on the titles to be given in the colonies to the Roman Catholic Bishops; but that a private letter had passed between them, in which Lord Grey had issued his circular to the Colonial Governors. He likewise referred Sir Robert to the explanation which he had given, on a former evening, of the private letter which Lord Clarendon had written to Archbishop Murray on the subject of the Irish Colleges, and entered into a full justification of it, as written for the express purpose of convincing the Pope that the Irish Colleges were not of that irreligious character which some Roman Catholic prelates had represented them to be. He concluded an able speech by expressing a confident hope that the House, seeing the Bill to be only a mode of making the law agree with the fact, would have no objection to sanction it.

Mr. Law made a resolute stand against the Bill, and particularly complained of the falsehood of its preamble, in which it was asserted that there were doubts whether Her Majesty could or could not maintain diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Rome. He could not concur in the construction which Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell had put upon the law, and he entered into a long argument to prove that their lordships had not the slightest grounds for asserting that the Crown could legally hold intercourse at present with the Pope

of Rome as the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. H. Drummond observed that, if he could believe the assertion of Mr. C. Anstey, that the object of the Bill was to enable the Queen to govern her Roman Catholic subjects through the agency of the Pope, he should certainly oppose it; for he could not support any measure which assumed that Her Majesty had not means of her own to govern her own subjects. He was prepared to support any measure which was likely to settle the peace of Christendom, and put an end to sectarian disputes, and this Bill he considered to fall within that category. He then entered into a very able argument to allay the fears which existed in more quarters than one, respecting the power and influence of the Pope. He looked upon this Bill as a measure enabling Ministers to do openly what they formerly were accustomed to do secretly and clandestinely, and he should therefore support it.

Mr. Napier observed that, if it was the intention of Ministers to govern the people of Ireland through the influence of the Pope, he would most certainly oppose the Bill. It was, therefore, a question which the House ought at once to determine, whether the genuine object — he did not say the ostensible object — of Ministers, in proposing this measure, was not to use the influence of the Pope for the government of Ireland. He then proceeded to show that this was the object of Ministers from their own declarations. He next appealed to the laws passed in England before the Reformation for the purpose of impressing on the House, that as there had been in past times a constant train of Acts of Parliament controlling the encroachments of the Pope, so there would be in future a constant necessity of enacting such laws, if this Bill obtained the sanction of the House. England had hitherto excluded the supremacy of the Pope, and in so excluding it was maintaining a principle of great importance, not only to itself, but also to the whole civilized world. He warned the House not to abandon its old policy, which had produced peace and prosperity and loyalty in Ireland, and to adopt a policy which must terminate in very contrary results. He reminded the House that the Protestants of Ireland had always been quiet and loyal. Could the same be predicated of the Roman Catholic population? Three provinces of Ireland were now ripe for insurrection; were those the provinces in which Protestantism prevailed? Certainly not. He therefore implored the House not to irritate the feelings of the Protestants in Ireland, by passing a Bill of which the object was almost universally believed to be the government of Ireland through the medium of the Pope.

Mr. Roundell Palmer observed, that the House would be deceiving itself and the country if it did not deal with this question as one of the highest importance. If he thought that this Bill rested on such grounds merely as those which had been stated by Lord Palmerston and Lord J. Russell, he should say, even though he differed not from the principle, that it could not be of that pressing importance which required it to be forced on at this late period of the session. He called on the House to consider whether this was a measure likely to be used for other

than diplomatic purposes in order to forward the policy of this country. Believing that it would be so used, he maintained that the House ought not to agree to the Bill in its present shape, unless it was prepared to adopt a different policy with respect to the relations of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic church of Ireland. He was therefore unwilling to vote at this period for the second reading of the Bill, as it could not receive that deliberation which the importance of its collateral considerations required.

Mr. Fagan felt so strongly the insult offered to the Pope, in the second clause of the Bill, that he was coerced to vote against its second reading altogether.

Mr. M. J. O. Connell felt obliged to vote for the second reading, as he intended to support Lord Arundel's motion, in the Committee, to strike out of it the second clause. He rebuked Mr. Napier for claiming exclusive loyalty for the Protestants of Ireland.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone observed, that there were several circumstances which rendered it painful to him to give his vote in favour of the principle of this Bill. He thought it unfortunate that the House should be called on at so late a period of the session to discuss a measure of such high importance. It was also most unfortunate that the House had to discuss it at a period when it scarcely knew whether there was a Pope or not; and when it was left in ignorance as to whether he had, or had not, ventured to divide England by his own authority into ecclesiastical dioceses. If we declined all communication with the Pope, we could not justly find fault with him for exercising, as he pleased, his spiritual jurisdiction. He thought, however, that the project of the Pope, to exercise his spiritual jurisdiction in the creation of English dioceses, was equally contrary to the feelings of the people, and the law of the land. He thought it would have been much wiser had the Government postponed this measure to another session; but, nevertheless, he could not consent to anything likely to blink the main principle of it. He believed that there was an inevitable necessity for a Bill of this kind. The enactment of the Irish Colleges Bill had rendered it absolutely necessary for the Government to consult with the Roman Catholic authorities as to the statutes by which they were to be governed. Now, if we had to communicate with the Roman Catholic authorities, we must have to communicate with the Pope, for you could not make a valid obligation with the Court of Rome without communication with the Pope himself. There was, therefore, an inevitable necessity for this Bill; and he should therefore support it, on the ground that it was better that our communication with Rome should be direct and avowed than furtive and clandestine.

Mr. Newdegate declared his intention of voting against the Bill.

Lord Arundel voted for the second reading of the Bill; but it would depend on the way in which the House dealt with the second clause of it in Committee, whether he should support the third reading.

Mr. Goulburn observed that, if he voted against the second reading of this Bill, it was owing to the late period of the session at which it had been proposed.

After a few words from Colonel Verner in support of the argument of Mr. Napier, the House divided, when the numbers were, for the second reading—

Ayes	125
Noes	46
Majority	79

The principle of the Bill was thus carried by a large majority, but its progress was stoutly opposed in Committee by some of the same Members who had spoken against the second reading. Several amendments were moved by the dissentient party, but without success. Upon the third reading being moved, on the 29th August, Mr. Napier, who was supported by Mr. C. Anstey and a few other Members, again attempted to defeat the measure, by moving that it be read a third time that day three months. The only speech containing any novelty was made by Mr. Shiel, who reminded the House that, by the treaty of Vienna, the rights of the "Holy See" were defined and secured. England was a party to that treaty; it was signed by her representative; it was laid before Parliament; there was no remonstrance against it. Was it not preposterous that England should have secured the Pope in the enjoyment of a portion of his dominions, and yet be denied the right of holding diplomatic intercourse with him, who was thus, in effect, under her protection? While Italy was giving birth to portentous events, and the Pope himself called for our interposition, it was absurd to refuse to put an end to a system of surreptitious intercourse, and openly establish diplomatic relations with Rome.

Mr. Napier's amendment was negatived, on a division, by 88 to 25, and the Bill was read a third time and passed.

The state of our relations with the ex-King of the Two Sicilies became the subject of discussion in the House of Lords, on the 8th August, upon a motion by Lord Stanley for an address to the Crown for copies of all the correspondence upon the subject, provided that the papers could be produced without any detriment to the public service.

Lord Stanley opened the statement with which he prefaced his remarks by urging the importance of the maxim, that, in the event of a civil contest going on in an independent state, it is the paramount duty of every foreign power to maintain a strict and absolute neutrality. On that principle we had uniformly repressed here the manifestation of public feeling on the sanguinary contests between Russia and Poland; had abstained from intervention between Austria and her revolted provinces; had condemned intervention by Prussia in the Schleswig-Holstein affair; had remonstrated with King Charles Albert on his invasion of Lombardy; and had cordially approved the answer given to misguided men from Ireland by the Provisional Government of France. If there was any nation in the world on whom the strict observance of this doctrine was incumbent, it was England—England, with Ireland at its side, and a large proportion of the inhabitants of that island too happy to shake off what they have been taught to consider the baneful domination of the mother-country.

Lord Stanley sketched the order of events in Sicily during the

revolution: the outbreak, at a time when our Minister (Lord Palmerston's brother) had left his most comfortable post at a most luxurious capital; the accidental presence at Rome of Earl Minto, then on his roving commission of Minister-General to every state in the south of Europe; his invitation by the King of Naples; Lord Minto's journey to Naples, his advice, and the rejection of his advice; the success of the Sicilians, and their election of the Duke of Genoa to be their King. Lord Stanley had been credibly informed that, immediately before the final decision of the Assembly at Sicily to offer the crown of the country to the son of the King of Sardinia, the Porcupine was despatched from the British Embassy at Naples, having on board a gentleman attached to the mission at Naples, named Fagan, who was instructed to state the pleasure of England that they should choose, not a Republican, but a Monarchical form of Government, and as the head of that government should select the son of the King of Sardinia. Lord Stanley asked whether it was true that Mr. Fagan had received and fulfilled such instructions?

He also found it reported that, while the King of Naples was preparing a force in the Bay of Naples for the reduction of Sicily to his authority, Her Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, in the execution of orders, had appeared there; that they surrounded the vessels which were being prepared to transport the Neapolitan troops to Sicily; and that, although there had been no intimation given of an intention to prevent the enterprise, the British fleet held a menacing position. Had there been this or any interference with the authority of the King?

The Marquis of Lansdowne declared himself quite willing to afford general information upon the character of our interference, if such it could be called, between the King of Naples and a portion of his subjects. Throughout the intervention, a position of amity towards Naples had been maintained; and the whole object of the mission of Lord Minto to Naples—undertaken at the solicitation of the King himself—was to produce and promote the adoption of healing measures; and, if Naples had subscribed to his advice, she might have still retained her power over Sicily. But changes took place in her councils, followed by the almost complete success of the Sicilian arms. Mr. Temple's absence from his post at Naples was unconnected with these circumstances; and no country was ever represented at Naples with more ability, assiduity, and skill, than this country had been by Lord Napier.

At first the British representative tried to maintain the union of the two Sicilies. But the time came when it was manifest that Sicily would no longer remain part of the kingdom of Naples; and it afterwards became still more manifest that the union of all classes and orders of her people was so perfect, and her military power and skill so great, that she could maintain the independence she had declared. In this new state of things a new step was to be taken by us; and this country successfully endeavoured to promote the institution of Monarchy rather than Republicanism, and to direct the choice of the Sicilians in electing a sovereign

for their island, first to a prince of the house of Naples, and afterwards to some prince from some other of the Italian States. But advice was the whole influence employed; and it was unaccompanied by anything like a condition, or a threat, or the semblance of a threat; and no assurance had been required that the Duke of Genoa should be chosen.

With regard to the proceedings of Sir William Parker at Naples, Lord Lansdowne assured Lord Stanley that they had no reference to the circumstances alluded to, but referred to an entirely different subject. He hoped the motion would not be pressed.

Lord Stanley thought the answer given by no means satisfactory, though he was aware that Sir W. Parker's fleet had appeared in the Bay of Naples in consequence of a ground of complaint against a Neapolitan vessel. The sole cause of the offence which had led to the appearance there of a British fleet was, that, in the open sea, a Neapolitan vessel chased a Sicilian vessel, and, for the purpose of coming within distance, she hoisted British colours; but previously to firing she lowered the British colours, and hoisted the Neapolitan. No doubt, such a matter properly called for diplomatic correspondence and explanations; but it was wholly improper and unbecoming to permit the intervention of a powerful squadron concerning it.

The Earl of Minto corrected Lord Stanley's statement. The Neapolitan vessel had hoisted British colours, not in the open sea, but in the waters of Corfu, where a number of Sicilian refugees were taken on board. They were brought over to Naples; and, as access to them was refused to the admiral, who wished to know what their ground of complaint was, there could be no doubt but that a sufficient ground existed to justify a very peremptory demand on the part of this country.

Lord Minto assured the House that his object throughout his mission to Naples had been to maintain the connexion between the two kingdoms; but he had felt that the connexion ought not to rest solely with the Neapolitan Government, who offered terms which they shortly afterwards withdrew from. He agreed with Lord Stanley as to the general principle of non-interference; but he could not agree in thinking that there were no circumstances in the previous connexion between this country and Sicily which imposed upon England very serious obligations towards that country. On a fitting occasion he should be perfectly prepared to enter fully into this question.

The Duke of Argyle regretted the haste shown in recognising the independence of Sicily: he felt strongly that the true interests of Italy lay rather in a consolidation than a division of her power.

The Earl of Malmesbury reiterated in plain English a plain question which had never yet been answered. Was the fleet of Admiral Parker to interfere or not with any expedition that the King of Naples might send against his revolted subjects in Sicily?

The Marquis of Lansdowne said he had already stated that it would not be consistent with the public interests to give an answer to this question.

The general subject of Italian politics, and the part taken by this

country, both in reference to the rupture between Austria and Sardinia, and also to the revolutionary movement among the Sicilian subjects of the King of Naples, was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli, a few days after the discussion just recorded. The intended mediation of our own Government between the dissentient powers in the north of Italy had been formally announced by Lord Palmerston, on the 6th of August, in the following terms, in answer to a question addressed to him by Mr. Philip Howard: —"I can assure my honourable friend," said the noble Lord, "that Her Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of the great importance of seeing a termination put to that unfortunate warfare which is now waged in the north of Italy; and, though I have, perhaps, no right to speak for other Governments, yet I may assure the House that that desire is equally shared by the Government of France. (*Cheers.*) Her Majesty's Government are therefore about to engage—indeed, I may say are already engaged—or at all events are about to take steps, in conjunction, I trust, with the Government of France, to endeavour by amicable negotiation to bring the present warfare to an end."

Mr. Disraeli promptly embraced the opportunity to bring this subject before the House of Commons on the motion for going into a Committee of Supply, on the 16th of August, when he reviewed the transactions of the Foreign Office in the field of Italian politics in a tone of lively and good-humoured sarcasm. He began by some jocose remarks upon the somewhat anomalous expedition of Lord Minto to Italy in the preceding autumn, which Mr. Disraeli described as a "roving mission to teach politics to the country in which Machiavelli was born." It was curious to compare the objects of this mission with its results. Lord Minto was to induce Austria to abstain from invading the Sardinian dominions. In this he was quite successful, for it was Sardinia that invaded Austria. The next object of this official mediator was to negotiate with the Pope for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations with this country. Unfortunately, at the very moment that effect was about to be given to this negotiation by an Act of Parliament, brought in with breathless haste by the Government, the Pope ceased to exist as a temporal prince, and the measure was suspended. Probably now the bulletins were a little more favourable, for now, just at the end of the Session, the measure introduced into the House of Lords in February was beginning to steal again into legislative life. The King of the Two Sicilies then invited Lord Minto into his dominions. He accepted the invitation, and had laboured hard to support the legislative union between the Two Sicilies. His labours ended in severing the political connexion. Not being able to profit by this experience, Lord Palmerston was now about to try his hand on a mediation in Italy in conjunction with another country. "Now, I think," said Mr. Disraeli, "I am but making a legitimate inquiry of the noble Lord, if I ask him to inform the Committee—first, what is to be the *principle* of this mediation? Secondly, what is to be the *nature* of this mediation? And, thirdly, what is the end to

be *attained* by this mediation? Is the principle to be political—to stop effusion of blood? or to arrest a state of things injurious to British merchants? Why, there is no effusion of blood to stop, and there are no commercial interests which require defence. Mediation on a political principle will be an easy task: the noble Lord will be guided by the doctrines of the law of nations and the stipulations of existing treaties; he will take down *Vattel*, and look to the treaties of Paris and Vienna; and, when he finds the Emperor of Austria in possession and peaceable possession of the dominions which those treaties secured to him, and the King of Sardinia also in possession of the dominions which those treaties secured to him—when he finds, as regards these two powers, that there is no principle of public law which is at all in controversy, the noble Lord may shut his books, and his mediation will be a nullity.

"But it was inconceivable that so able and experienced a statesman could adopt a course with such an issue: was he going again to mediate on the dangerous principle with which he sometimes played—the sentimental principle of nationality? Such a course would be full of difficulties. "If it be necessary, on the sentimental principle, that Lombardy should be in the possession of the Lombards, and that the presence of an Austrian should not be tolerated there, on what ground can you justify an arrangement by which the Austrians are to retain the whole of Venetia, a territory as extensive as Lombardy, and far more important? If the noble Lord is the disciple and preacher of the principle of nationality, and if upon that principle he is going to advise the Emperor of Austria to relinquish his dominions in Lombardy, on what ground can he refuse to develope the idea completely, and to recommend his Imperial Majesty to relinquish his whole hold on the Venetian territory? And how can the noble Lord be the preacher of the sentimental principle of nationality in Lombardy, when in the North of Europe he is—as he is bound to do—defending the interests of Holland and Denmark against invasion, founded upon and justified by this very same principle of nationality? How would he act if Hungary claimed mediation—with its four races, the Magyars, the Sclaves, the Germans, and Wallachs? I wish to learn from Her Majesty's Ministers what is to be the principle of that mediation—whether it is to be a political principle, founded upon the law of nations and the stipulations of treaties; or upon this modern, new-fangled, sentimental principle of nationality, which will lead to inextricable confusion, difficulty, and danger?

"What are the means by which the mediation is to be carried into effect? Is it to be an armed mediation? If so—Austria being in possession of her states, and Sardinia of hers—war not being at this moment waged between the two sovereigns—an armed mediation would be an invasion; we should be securing peace by beginning war. If it is only to be a mediation of good offices, with what prospects of success should we, as friends of the Emperor, ask him to yield the dominions which he has held for three centuries, which he has regained by great sacrifices, and by the great valour of his troops, and which he per-

haps never held with a firmer grasp than at this moment?

"As to the end of mediation, what is to be done if Lombardy be relinquished by Austria? Is it to be given to Charles Albert, in reward for his nocturnal attack on a neighbour; or to be erected into a weak independent state? Is it to be a kingdom, or a republic? and, if a republic, what sort of republic? A Revolutionary republic or a Conservative republic? a Red republic or a White republic—a republic with a red cap, or a republic with a white feather?

"The real object of the mediation is one that cannot be announced—it is to prevent an invasion of Italy by France. That is an event to be deprecated; but is it probable? France has no right to interfere in Italy; and in doing so she would violate every principle of public law, and every Italian treaty. It is not her interest to interfere. It must be confessed that our own conduct with regard to Naples would give France the colour and pretext of a precedent. But France has not now the slightest wish to invade Italy. Her only object is to force an occasion of giving to Europe an idea that there is "cordial co-operation" between the Cabinets of Paris and St. James's. And the harm of this is, that these forced occasions of co-operation have always been at the expense of the rights of third parties and independent sovereigns. A real concert between the two countries in European affairs is desirable, but not novel: for more than two-thirds of the past two hundred and fifty years, a cordial understanding may have existed between the Governments: it was sanctioned by the sagacity of Elizabeth; the prudence and wisdom of Cromwell; by Bolingbroke and Walpole. But a forced and unreal co-operation can lead to no results but disasters. Lord Palmerston tried the system—which he was not to be taunted with, for it was the system of his predecessors—in 1830–32, under far more favourable circumstances than the present, in co-operation with a Sovereign who, whatever his errors, did succeed in bridling for seventeen years the Jacobin tiger. Yet the system then ended in the tricolour floating over Ancona and Antwerp; in Spanish and Portuguese invasions, and Grecian revolt; in South American blockades, and the troubling of our commerce over all the Atlantic and Pacific waters.

"The good course open to the Foreign Secretary," said Mr. Disraeli, "is one which his abilities, knowledge, and courage fully qualify him to adopt and succeed in—it is the conduct which every Englishman should adopt. Let him tell the world that, under his counsels, England will maintain the principles of international law—will observe the stipulations of existing treaties—will not sanction any outrage of the rights of nations—will not counsel any of her allies to yield their legitimate interests in order to gratify the morbid vanity of an ill-regulated society.—Then would Lord Palmerston earn the sympathy of sovereigns and the trust of suffering nations, rather than by attempting to regulate the world in a forced concert with the Jacobin system, which begins with fraternity and universal charity, and ends with assassination and spoliation."

Lord Palmerston commenced his answer by explaining the circumstances under which Lord Minto had been despatched upon his Ita-

lian mission. In the preceding summer, in consequence of the altered policy of the new Pope, principles of constitutional improvement had begun to spread over the whole of Italy. It was intimated to him (Lord Palmerston) authentically, though not publicly, that the Roman Government was anxious to have a representative of this country, possessing the full confidence of its Government, to whom recourse might be had for advice and assistance on occasions of difficulty. A similar wish having been expressed by other governments in Italy, Lord Minto, being designated by the Ministry for this purpose, carried letters accrediting him to the Courts of Turin and Florence on a special mission. His advice was obtruded upon no party, but was given only when he was appealed to. At Turin, Florence, and Rome he had been eminently successful: constitutional changes had been brought about in those countries without any civil rupture or convulsion. It was, however, no part of his mission to prevent Austria from attacking Sardinia: but he had dissuaded the King of Sardinia from adopting offensive measures. He had been formally invited to Naples by the King, and had employed his most zealous efforts to reconcile that monarch and his Sicilian subjects. But circumstances had conspired to thwart his success. At a critical period of his negotiations news of the French revolution had reached Palermo. Difficulties arose on the one side that were not met by concessions on the other. The Sicilians refused to acknowledge the King of Naples as their Sovereign: he declined to assent to the crown being given to one of his sons, to whom it was offered. The ultimate choice of another prince was purely and solely the act of the Sicilians themselves, though undoubtedly the British Government, accepting as they do facts and events, had signified their intention to acknowledge the Sovereign whom the Sicilians might choose as soon as he should be *de facto* in possession.

As to the joint mediation with France, so far from being intrusive, it was made on the earnest application of all the parties concerned. It was at the express desire of Austria, of Sardinia, of Rome, and of the people of Italy. The Government of Austria at the beginning had solicited our good offices, and on two recent occasions had renewed the application. It was objected that France had no right to intermeddle; but there could be no question, whatever might be the justice of interference, that, when two nations were at war, it was competent to a third to take which side it pleased, if it chose to engage in the contest. At the beginning of the late military events in Italy, France was strongly urged to give instant aid to the Italian cause. It was maintained by Mr. Disraeli that cordial friendship with France had been, and should be, the standing rule of this country; though his mode of enforcing this doctrine was unfortunate, as he could scarcely—of course without intention—have thrown more bitter ingredients or poisonous drugs into the caldron of national animosities. But it was a mistake to suppose that the present condition of France made it impossible for her to take part in any hostile operations that might engage the sympathies of her rulers and people. Let not the House

imagine that any vain phantom had created uneasiness. The armed interference of France in Italy would be pregnant with all the dangers which Mr. Disraeli had graphically described. If France sent an army to Italy, she must send another to the Rhine; if Germany then rose against her, Russia would rise behind her and follow in her track; and the flame of war would be lighted up all over Europe. But the French Government said to us, "We are pressed to interfere by arms in the cause of Italy; but we do not wish to involve our country in a war: we are willing to endeavour to settle matters by mediation, if you will assist us: it must be a joint effort; that will remove all ground of jealousy, for no one can suppose that England entertains hostile views with respect to Austria; whatever France and England do in conjunction must be a work of peace; it must have the termination of hostilities for its object: upon these grounds we hope you will interfere conjointly with us, and until we obtain your answer we will suspend our decision as to the adoption of other measures." Addressed in such language, it would have been most blameable for us to refuse to enter on a joint mediation. It was agreed that our alliances with France should be the result of events, and that occasions for co-operation should not be invented. Had the mighty convulsions at present agitating Europe been invented for such an occasion? Is a co-operation under such circumstances a forced alliance?

"There still exists," continued the noble Lord, "on the part of those who govern France, and, I am happy to say, on the part of the majority of the French nation also, a frank, loyal, honest, and enlightened desire that the policy of France may find itself in unison with the policy of this country. (*Cheers.*) I must also say, that the events of the last few months show the extraordinary progress which civilization and enlightenment have made in Europe during the last half century. (*Cheers.*) The same events which have lately occurred on the Continent would, if they had taken place fifty years ago, have involved the whole of Europe in a war of the bitterest nature and of long duration. Now, we see an enlightened and sincere desire for external peace. The French Government is anxiously, wisely, earnestly, and courageously employed in establishing order; it is working for the prosperity of the French nation, and consolidating the liberties of that country; and I think such a course of conduct does honour to the men who are engaged in it, whatever may have been their previous opinions or associations. (*Cheers.*) It is impossible that two nations like England and France should unite together for any purposes which cannot be avowed in the face of all mankind. The purpose for which they are now acting together is one of that description; and I trust in Heaven their efforts may be successful. At all events, our efforts will be steadily and zealously directed to that end; and, whether we succeed or fail, I am persuaded, that the deliberate judgment of Parliament and the unanimous opinion of the country will be, that we have acted right in making the endeavour." (*Cheers.*)

After a few words from Mr. Bankes, the discussion terminated.

The remarkable event of the abrupt dismissal of the British

Minister, Sir Henry Bulwer, from Madrid, which took place in the early part of this year, excited great astonishment and remark in this country. The Spanish Government, actuated by a feeling of strong resentment at certain advice tendered to their Government with respect to the mode of conducting their domestic policy, conveyed notice in the most summary and unceremonious manner to Sir Henry Bulwer, that he should betake himself out of the country with the least possible delay. The insult thus offered to England in the person of her ambassador produced a lively sentiment of indignation in this country. The mode of proceeding adopted by the Spanish Minister gave great offence, as it appeared to be quite unwarranted by the established usages and courtesies of diplomacy. At the same time, many persons attributed great blame to the conduct of our own ambassador, or rather to that of Lord Palmerston, under whose instructions he acted, and whose policy of interference with the affairs of foreign states was the real origin of this unseemly quarrel.

The first reference made to this subject in Parliament was in a discussion brought on by Lord Stanley in the House of Lords, on the 6th May, upon a motion for the production of the correspondence between Lord Palmerston, Mr. Bulwer, and the Duke of Sotomayor. Lord Stanley on this occasion delivered a very clear, impressive, and temperate speech on the impolicy of intermeddling with the government of foreign countries, and especially with that of Spain.

Personally he avowed respect and regard for Lord Palmerston, but censured his morbid desire for interfering and intermeddling with the affairs of other countries. How had this conduct advanced British interests or British influence? Had it done so in Portugal—where the Queen evaded the terms of the last convention? Had it done so in Italy—whither Lord Minto was sent to "ride the whirlwind and direct the storm"—where the two Sicilies were separated—where Naples refused to tolerate any but the Roman Catholic religion—where the Pope, the King of Sardinia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were engaged in an unprovoked aggression on a friendly power? Lord Stanley anticipated that Austria would temporarily regain her influence, and that the Milanese would have recourse for assistance, not to England, but to France, who would outrun England in the race of popularity. Lord Stanley read the three letters of the recent correspondence, with a running commentary, pointing out the unbecoming language of the two English letters, and the mortifying rebuff which Mr. Bulwer had received from the Spanish Minister. He asked whether the Order of the Bath had been conferred on Mr. Bulwer in consequence of that correspondence? (The Marquis of Lansdowne—"No, no.") The best course for a great nation to take would be, to admit that the interference was unwarranted, and to trust to Castilian honour for the withdrawal of all that was offensive in the Spanish Minister's reply.

The Marquis of Lansdowne answered Lord Stanley. He explained how, in the published version of Lord Palmerston's letter, words were omitted which left a discretion to Mr. Bulwer, as to the "opportunity" of making the com-

munication. So far as he was informed, Lord Lansdowne thought it a subject of much regret that Mr. Bulwer had chosen to make his communication in the precise terms of the despatch. But it should be remembered, that Mr. Bulwer was intimately acquainted with the state of Spain, and that the communication was made to a Government which had repeatedly asked advice and assistance from this country.

Lord Lansdowne took the opportunity of explaining a circumstance not alluded to by Lord Stanley, in connexion with the recent departure of the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier from England. A rumour had been industriously circulated that some disrespect had been shown to them. That was not the fact. The Duke and Duchess had called at Buckingham Palace to bid the Queen adieu; but they had omitted the usual etiquette observed on the occasion of all royal visits, and had not previously intimated their intention. The Queen was desirous to have the presence of Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston on such an occasion: Lord Palmerston was sent for; but he was from home.

Lord Brougham, in a short speech, excused Lord Palmerston, but strongly blamed the indiscretion of Mr. Bulwer for the time and manner of his communication to the Spanish Minister. He suggested that the honorary distinction lately conferred on Mr. Bulwer, would have been better postponed till a fitter season.

Lord Lansdowne having intimated that the papers would be produced, Lord Stanley withdrew his motion; but, upon the correspondence being shortly afterwards laid before the House, he again brought the subject forward, when an interesting debate took place.

Lord Stanley said he was now satisfied that the publication of these despatches had not occurred by the assistance or with the knowledge of Mr. Bulwer; and he thought the Duke of Sotomayor himself must have become satisfied on that point. In the authentic documents lately given, Lord Palmerston's despatch commenced thus—"Sir, I have to instruct you to recommend earnestly to the Spanish Government, and to the Queen-Mother, if you have an opportunity of doing so, the adoption of a legal and constitutional course of government in Spain." Now, the "opportunity of doing so" clearly applied to the Queen-Mother; and Lord Palmerston's instructions to Mr. Bulwer were to recommend a certain course to the Spanish Government. and to the Queen-Mother also, if he had an opportunity of doing so. In transmitting a copy of the despatch to the Spanish Government, Mr. Bulwer appeared to have omitted the passage applying to the Queen-Mother, and had given to the Spanish Government, with or without opportunity, the views of the British Government. This, however, was a minor point, and he did not attach to it the importance that Lord Lansdowne had done.

A far more important point was the agreement of opinion between the British Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the one hand, and the wide and inexplicable difference of opinion which appeared to exist between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and his colleagues in the Government. Lord Lansdowne had treated the despatch as an indefensible one to a foreign

power, and had deemed it a private letter not intended to be shown. "Lamented" was the word Lord Lansdowne had used in commenting on Mr. Bulwer's conduct. It now appeared that the conduct which Lord Lansdowne as a British Minister "lamented," the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the face of the documents since published, had formally and entirely approved, in the name of the Government. Mr. Bulwer's first despatch to the Duke de Sotomayor was dated on the 7th of April, and on the 19th Lord Palmerston wrote to Mr. Bulwer—"With reference to your despatch of the 10th instant, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Queen Christina on the 4th instant, pointing out to her Majesty the importance of governing Spain by constitutional means: and that Her Majesty's Government likewise approve of the note which you addressed on the 7th instant to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, offering similar counsel to the present Ministers of Her Catholic Majesty." Lord Stanley left it to the noble Marquis to explain the discrepancy which existed between the noble Viscount, who spoke in the name of his colleagues in this despatch, and the noble Marquis, who appeared to speak in the name of his colleagues on the present occasion. But, in addition to this, there was another letter of Lord Palmerston now published—the most extraordinary one it had ever been Lord Stanley's fortune to read. It was written on receipt of the Duke of Sotomayor's despatch of the 10th, and began thus—

"Foreign Office, April 20, 1848.

"Sir,—I have received your despatch of the 11th instant, with its enclosures; and I have to instruct you to state to the Duke of Sotomayor that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the step which you took in making your communication of the 7th instant, and likewise of your note of the 12th."

In the same letter, Lord Palmerston went on to say, that Her Majesty's Government were not at all offended either at the return of Mr. Bulwer's note or at the tone of the Duke of Sotomayor's letter. The Christian forgiveness and meekness here exhibited might be very praiseworthy on the part of a private individual, but they were wholly unworthy of the dignity of the great power of which Lord Palmerston was the Minister. The noble Viscount had in the most explicit manner conveyed his sanction of Mr. Bulwer's proceedings; and yet, when the despatches were returned, the noble Lord wrote to tell Mr. Bulwer that he was "not at all offended" at what the Spanish Government had done. This was the most absurd termination to the most inconceivably imprudent step that he had ever heard of. The noble Viscount was not offended at his despatches being returned to him! In a space of twenty-nine lines the noble Viscount supposed cases which had not occurred between Spain and England; and, instead of taking the course which such an insulting return of his despatch demanded, the noble Viscount concluded by reminding the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, that under certain circumstances, and unless Great Britain had interfered to maintain the present Queen of Spain upon the throne, the Minister of Foreign Affairs

in that country might himself have been a proscribed exile in a foreign country. This stroke of generosity, he admitted, he had read with the greatest regret. He saw no prospect of a satisfactory issue on the part of the noble Viscount to a correspondence so conducted. He believed it to be his duty to call their Lordships' attention to the facts as they existed on the face of the documents laid before Parliament; and he thought their Lordships had a right to know whether the course and conduct of Mr. Bulwer, in presenting this note, were considered, as appeared by the statement of the noble Marquis the other night, an imprudent course by her Majesty's Government, or whether the noble Viscount was justified in stating that it had the entire and cordial approval of his colleagues.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said that the construction put upon the language he had used on the former occasion was hardly a fair one. Judging of the case in *this* country, he had certainly regretted the communication; but he had particularly stated his confidence that Mr. Bulwer, with his knowledge of the country in which he resided, and his talents for public business, had had reasons which made the course he took imperative on him. Unless Mr. Bulwer had been afterwards instructed to state the approbation of his conduct by his chief, it would have been equal to an expression of disapprobation, and his recall must have followed; a step which the Ministers were not prepared to take, especially considering the language of the Duke of Sotomayor's despatch. However, Lord Lansdowne was happy to say that an amicable spirit had since arisen between the parties, owing to the conciliatory conduct which Mr. Bulwer had pursued. His recall was not demanded; and a renewal of the controversy among their Lordships would only end in unnecessary imputations.

The Earl of Aberdeen agreed that it would have been most unjust to recall Mr. Bulwer; for he had certainly acted according to the spirit of his instructions.

It was said that approbation of Mr. Bulwer was necessarily conveyed to him in order that the Duke of Sotomayor should have no triumph. But the approbation had been already expressed *before* Lord Palmerston had received the Duke's despatch; so the excuse had no application.

He (Lord Aberdeen) heard with peculiar satisfaction that amicable relations were renewed; but he concurred in Lord Stanley's censures. "I was curious upon the point when I saw these papers; and, although I fully expected to hear that the renewal of friendly communications had been brought about, I certainly could not have anticipated that it would have taken place in the manner in which it appears by these papers to have occurred. For your Lordships are perhaps scarcely aware how perfectly unprecedented a proceeding this is which has taken place. I have had some experience in these matters. I have had correspondence, occasionally more or less angry, with foreign Governments, though not very often; but that a despatch of a British Secretary of State should be returned by the Minister of a foreign Government as unfit to be retained or received, appears to me to be a thing quite unexampled. I never could have supposed that such a

thing was possible. Not only in my experience have I never heard of such a thing, but I will venture to say that this is the first time a British Minister ever suffered such an indignity."

Lord Aberdeen condemned, as being indelicate and in bad taste, the allusion, in Mr. Bulwer's letter, to the unfortunate King of the French and his family, within a fortnight after his arrival in this country, and the holding him up as a warning to the Spanish Government.

The course taken in regard to the Spanish Prime Minister was most inopportune, and unlikely to produce a good effect. Unfortunately, in the case of Spain, ever since the correspondence took place which had been produced some time ago, in which the Spanish Government was alluded to in no very measured terms, there had existed a feeling of suspicion and hostility on their part which prevented them from receiving any kind of advice from this country, however salutary, without a certain degree of reluctance. The existence of this feeling was well known; and this made it only the more necessary, if we wished to act with them in a friendly manner, to approach them with all that care, delicacy, and preparation, which might render it possible to do away with that suspicion and hostility. But, made as that communication was, it almost appeared to him (Lord Aberdeen) that, if not made purposely with the view of its not being accepted, it must have been made without the shadow of a hope that it would be accepted. To propose to such a Minister—who, whatever his merits might be, was known to possess a most imperious temper—to propose to him to transfer the government to persons who were at that moment actually under an accusation of attempting a revolution in the state—seemed to be an act so ill advised that it could only be received as it has been. Nobody would have dreamt some time ago that a successful opposition could have been made in Spain to revolutionary attempts; but, such having been made, it was the interest as well as the duty of Great Britain to give the Government every support in its power, instead of getting up miserable quarrels about more or less infusion of Liberal persons into that Government.

Lord Brougham closed the debate by a few remarks. He suggested that amity between the nations would be best promoted, if such discussions as the present were abstained from.

In the House of Commons, the same subject was debated on the 5th of June, being introduced by Mr. George Bankes, who moved, pursuant to notice, the following resolution:—

"That this House learns with deep regret, from a correspondence between the British Government and the Government of Spain, now upon the table of this House, that a proposed interference with the internal concerns of the Spanish Government, as conducted under the authority and with the entire approval of Her Majesty's Ministers, has placed the British Government, and our representative at the Court of Madrid, in a position humiliating in its character, and which is calculated to affect the friendly relations heretofore existing between the Courts of Great Britain and of Spain."

In the remarks with which he

prefaced his motion, Mr. Bankes called attention, first, to the singular circumstance that, for the first time in our history, a British Minister had been expelled from the Court to which he had been accredited, and had been compelled to leave the country within a very limited time; and, next, to the still more singular circumstance, that the British Government had hitherto observed the most complaisant silence thereupon. He therefore felt it to be his duty to call on the Government to give explanations, which it had hitherto withheld from the House, on this subject. He hoped that Lord Palmerston would see that the opportunity now given him for vindicating the conduct of the British Government and its ambassador was not too late. Prepared as he was to join with Her Majesty's Ministers to demand reparation from the country which had insulted and injured us, he thought that he should do this cause good by admitting the grievous error committed by the British Cabinet in the first instance. It was essential that Parliament should know whether the charges brought against Sir H. Bulwer, in the papers already presented to it, were the only charges to be preferred against him. If there were nothing more against Sir H. Bulwer than the charges preferred in these papers, then, though he must admit that they arose out of the most unhappy diplomacy of Lord Palmerston, he certainly could not admit that they afforded any justification for the expulsion of our ambassador. He lamented that the instructions sent out to Sir H. Bulwer had led to such results; but he could not allow that Sir H. Bulwer had in any respect exceeded them. The Spanish Government, however, had exceeded its duty when it not only rejected the despatches of Sir H. Bulwer, but also directed him to leave the capital within forty-eight hours. He then criticized the celebrated letter communicated by Sir H. Bulwer to the Duke de Sotomayor, contending that it was an uncalled-for interference with the affairs of a foreign Government, which no Government calling itself independent could view without indignation, and which, in his opinion, was certain to disturb the ties of friendship which had so long existed between England and Spain. He could not permit that letter, and the other papers by which it was accompanied, to remain on the table of the House, either with the approbation of Parliament, or without a severe comment upon them. He expressed the deepest regret that those papers existed; and he believed that every Member in the House shared in that regret. He then entered into a very minute examination of them, contending that they had been very cautiously and cleverly selected for Lord Palmerston's purposes; that they consisted of mere extracts, not from the despatches of foreign ministers, but from the despatches of our own; and that they were filled with extracts from foreign newspapers, which were not worth the paper on which they were written. He conceived that they were laid before Parliament for the mere purpose of delay, and for the sake of mystifying instead of elucidating all the points at issue. He then maintained that the language in which Lord Palmerston had pressed adoption of a legal and constitutional course upon the

Queen-Mother, and the Spanish Government was so rude and insulting that his Lordship could not have adopted, if he had wished, a more certain method of defeating his own object. He contrasted that insulting tone with the conciliatory language addressed by Lord Palmerston's ancestor, Sir W. Temple, to one of our own ambassadors in the reign of Charles II., who had to make a similar communication in his day to a foreign power. On the other hand, Mr. Banks urged that the conduct of Sir H. Bulwer required no defence. He had neither exceeded nor fallen short of his instructions; but it was impossible to deny that, as the instructions given to him in the first instance were the cause of all the misunderstanding, we ought to admit our error in that respect before we vindicated the insult which had been inflicted on this country by the expulsion of our Minister. He thought there would be no difficulty in such a course, especially as Lord J. Russell and Lord Palmerston had both belonged to Earl Grey's Government, which took office on the three principles of reform, retrenchment, and non-interference with the affairs of foreign states.

Mr. Shiel, in a speech of considerable length and ability, vindicated Lord Palmerston's intervention in the affairs of Spain, which he described as being necessary to prevent every vestige of freedom from being swept away in that country. The Spanish Government, forgetting the benefits, or rather resenting the obligations, that it had received from Lord Palmerston, put upon him a contumely which could not humiliate him, though it might be disgraceful to them. They had, moreover, circulated the calumny that Sir H. Bulwer had been abandoned for his conduct by the British Government. Lord Palmerston would rather give his office to the winds than treat Sir H. Bulwer in that manner. Mr. Shiel concluded by pronouncing a warm and eloquent panegyric upon the Foreign Minister for the enlightened and liberal spirit which characterized his policy.

Lord Mahon admitted that, under the circumstances stated by Mr. Shiel, Lord Palmerston had a right to tender his advice to the Government of Spain; but he could not concur in the scope of that advice, or the terms in which it had been conveyed. The papers on the table at present were too incomplete to enable a mature judgment to be formed with respect to the position in which this country was placed towards Spain. So far as those papers went, there was not in them even the shadow of a justification for the dismissal by the Spanish Government of the ambassador of a friendly power, to whom they were indebted so deeply for co-operation and moral influence. He could not concur in the resolution of Mr. Bankes, regarding it as a vote of censure upon the Government, the consequences of which he was not prepared to incur at the present time.

Lord John Russell, after complimenting Lord Mahon on the candour with which he had spoken, thought that his Lordship would admit that one Government was at liberty and might even be bound to give its advice to another on its internal affairs, provided its advice was tendered in friendly language. It was but recently that the Minister of the Queen of Spain had felt

himself bound to impress on the Government of the King of Naples the necessity of displaying clemency after the successes which he had gained over his insurgent subjects. The same advice had been given at the same time by the Minister of England, and yet it had never occurred to the Minister of Naples to say that their interference was unjustifiable unless they intended that he should also interfere with the Governments of Spain and England. Lord J. Russell then explained, in terms similar to those employed by Mr. Shiel, the peculiar reasons which justified England in giving advice to the Queen of Spain. The events of the present year had been extraordinary. There was no country which could be considered safe from those convulsions which had upset thrones, destroyed constitutions, and placed large capitals in the power of violent mobs; and, under such circumstances, how could the fate of Spain fail to attract painfully the attention of Lord Palmerston? He then recapitulated the circumstances under which Lord Palmerston had written his celebrated despatch of March last, and proceeded to justify the advice which his Lordship had given the Queen of Spain to form an Administration out of the two great factions into which the country was divided, as the best means of supporting her throne against all parties. Having received his instructions from Lord Palmerston, Sir H. Bulwer saw with alarm a law passed at Madrid suspending all the privileges of the Constitution, and also saw all the leading Progressistas seized and imprisoned without even the form of a trial. Under such circumstances, after Sir H. Bulwer had presented to the Spanish Government the note of Lord Palmerston, the English Government had to consider whether he had acted properly in presenting it. It was their unanimous conclusion that he had done so. It would have been a gross abandonment of character if the Government had taken a technical advantage of Sir H. Bulwer, and had said, "You had no instructions to deliver that note; and, as you have done so without authority, we disavow you and your proceedings." The Government, therefore, willingly incurred the whole responsibility for Sir H. Bulwer's conduct, and now stood before the House to justify its policy; to be acquitted, if the House pleased to acquit it—to be censured, if the House pleased to censure it—but not denying or evading the responsibility properly belonging to it. Lord J. Russell then proceeded to refute the argument that Lord Palmerston should have resented most deeply, and in the most pompous terms, the discourtesy of the Spanish Government in rejecting his despatch. He thought that his Lordship had done better in explaining that what we had done was done in a friendly spirit; and that, if Spain chose to be angry, we did not intend to be offended. He censured Mr. Bankes not only for asking for further information whilst negotiations were going on, but also for moving a vote of censure on Ministers at present; for he was quite convinced that, if the House were now to adopt such a vote, it would weaken the powers of the Queen's representatives, whoever they might be, in demanding reparation from the Spanish Government. With regard to our relations with Spain, he admitted that they were peculiar and delicate; but, considering our power and the weakness of Spain, he thought

that we were bound to treat her with the utmost forbearance. He regretted the violent and peremptory step taken by the Spanish Government towards Sir H. Bulwer, for which he could see no justification; but he assured the House that, whilst the destinies of Spain were placed in hands wanting in temper, discretion, and regard for a generous ally, he would not forget that the interests of the Queen of Spain and of the gallant Spanish nation ought to be regarded, for the saké of old recollections, with feelings of friendship and amity on our part.

Mr. Disraeli considered that a gross insult had been inflicted on the dignity of the Queen and the British Government, and asked why a full satisfaction had not been exacted from the offending Court. The House knew from the Spanish Government the reasons which had induced it to dismiss Sir H Bulwer from Madrid. Would any man venture to affirm that they formed a satisfactory justification for so unparalleled an outrage? We were powerful enough to submit to insult for a time, provided it was clear that an apology would ultimately be offered; but had the Spanish Government shown any readiness to apologize for the great and unparalleled insult which it had offered to the Crown and Ministry of Great Britain? Nothing like it. After all the delay which had taken place in the production of these papers, he believed that the Spanish Government had no other charge to prefer against Sir H. Bulwer than those ridiculous accusations which appeared in them; and, if so, next to the outrage which it had committed against us in dismissing Sir H. Bulwer was the outrage of daring to send an envoy to explain it. Mr. Disraeli then entered into a long examination of the foreign policy of which Lord Palmerston had been the exponent, for the purpose of showing that it had laid the seeds of infinite confusion in every country with which he, a partizan of non-intervention, had interfered. Of late years the plot had thickened, and our foreign policy had been directed to finding not merely constitutions for the acceptance of independent states, but statesmen to superintend their administration. The expulsion of the English Minister from Madrid was the result of that pernicious system of Liberalism which had prevailed so long in that House; and, as a check upon it, it was their first duty to express their sense of the unparalleled outrage committed against the dignity of the Sovereign; their next, not to allow a diplomatic servant of the country to be made a scapegoat for Ministers; and their third, to show that this was not an attack on an individual Minister, but on a system which he had too long been forced to develope, but from which he had departed in 1840, in obedience to the dictates of his own genius, and had so conferred great benefits on his country.

Sir R. Inglis condemned the dismissal of Sir H. Bulwer from Madrid by the Spanish Government as an unparalleled outrage on the dignity of Great Britain, and, at the same time, considered the interference of Lord Palmerston in the affairs of Spain as very unjustifiable.

Sir R. Peel had heard with the greatest satisfaction the determination of Government to adopt the conduct of Sir H. Bulwer as their own, and to assume the full responsibility of it. It was but just that they should do so;

one of the causes alleged for the removal of Sir H. Bulwer from Madrid by the Spanish Government was that public opinion was averse to him, not only in Spain but also in England. He then stated that Sir H. Bulwer had been placed in his diplomatic situation in Spain by the Earl of Aberdeen, not from any political predilection or connexion, but from a conviction of his superior skill and ability. Looking at these despatches, he saw no ground for finding fault with his conduct at Madrid. The question then arose, how the House was to dispose of this motion. Mr. Disraeli had stated that there were three objects for which it had been brought forward; the first to manifest the intention of the House to exempt Sir H. Bulwer from blame; secondly, to maintain the honour of England, which had been outraged by Spain; and, thirdly, not to condemn Lord Palmerston, but that system by which Liberalism had been made triumphant. Now, the resolution then before the House would not allow any of those three objects to be accomplished, as he showed at considerable length. Though he could not concur in the resolution of Mr. Bankes, which was a vote of censure on the Government, he must not be considered as giving his full approbation to the conduct of Lord Palmerston. He did not object to his Lordship's giving advice to the Spanish Government, but to his mode of giving it. There was an assumption of superiority in his despatch which was calculated to give offence to a proud nation like that of Spain. It contained a *recordatio* which was very like an *exprobatio beneficii*, and which ought to have been avoided. He objected, however, to the vote, because he was unwilling to place on record that his country was in a humiliating position. He also thought that the time of bringing it forward was premature; for, if the House needs must express an opinion upon it, it would be better to wait until the whole drama was before it, and not to condemn the first act without knowing how it might work upon the *dénouement*. Because he thought the penalty now proposed to be inflicted too heavy for the offence, because it was unwise for the House of Commons to declare its own humiliation, because such a declaration would paralyse the arm of the Government, and would lead the Spanish Government to entertain false expectations of support from that House, he should give on this occasion a vote which, though it would not imply censure on the Government, would enable the House to go without delay into a Committee of Supply.

Lord Palmerston, after showing the inexpediency of the motion at the present time, as affirming the humiliation of the country, proceeded to declare that he and he alone was responsible for the communication of his approbation to Sir H. Bulwer as an agent in the department over which he had the honour to preside, and that, if any person were censurable for that approbation, upon him, and upon him alone, that censure ought to fall. But he contended, that no censure ought to fall even upon him, for Sir H. Bulwer had, in his opinion, behaved admirably, and he had felt it to be his duty to communicate to him that opinion. At the same time, he must say that his (Lord Palmerston's) despatch of the 16th of March was not written to be communicated to the

Spanish Government. It was hardly necessary for him, after the speech of Sir R. Peel, to justify himself for having tendered the advice of the British Government to the Queen of Spain; but, as Sir Robert had found fault with the mode of conveying that advice, he thought it right to say that, when the Queen of Spain was endeavouring to establish in that country the despotism which England had assisted her in overthrowing, we had a right, arising out of the treaty by which we guaranteed her crown, to give our advice in the most explicit terms. In writing the despatch of the 16th of March he did no more than the British Government had a right to do; and, when Sir R. Peel asserted that that despatch was not calculated to conciliate or persuade, his (Lord Palmerston's) reply was that it was a confidential despatch, not intended for communication to the Spanish Government. He then vindicated himself with great force and ability from the attacks of Mr. Bankes, and, after adverting to the dismissal of Sir H. Bulwer from Madrid, observed that communications were now going on with the Spanish Government as to their reasons for sending that gentleman his passports. When the communications—for he could not call them negotiations—were concluded, he would communicate to Parliament the correspondence; but, whilst they were in progress, it was impossible for him consistently with public duty to reveal what had passed, or to state their precise nature.

Mr. Hume expressed his opinion that both Sir H. Bulwer and Lord Palmerston had been fully justified in the conduct pursued by them, and he recommended Mr. Bankes to withdraw his Motion. Mr. Urquhart attempted to address the House, but the clamour and interruption were so great as to prevent his obtaining a hearing. Mr. Bankes, in reply, said that his object was attained by the discussion which had been elicited, and allowed his resolution to be negatived without a division.

On the 30th of August, Mr. Disraeli reviewed the transactions of the expiring Session in a speech distinguished by his usual caustic humour and felicitous illustration, in which he rallied the Government in a most entertaining manner upon the abortive results of their measures, and dwelt with peculiar effect on the inconsistencies of their financial policy. He began by some observations on the unexampled length of the present Session. After having sat now for nearly ten months, Parliament was about to be prorogued with a vast number of important Bills not only not passed, but also very little advanced. One of the most plausible reasons assigned for that unsatisfactory state of affairs was, that our system of government was inadequate to pass those measures which were required for the public welfare, or, in other words, that there was too much discussion and too much talk in the House of Commons. Another reason assigned for it was that the forms of the House were so cumbersome and antiquated as to offer a great obstacle to the efficient and speedy transaction of public business. He believed that this was the feeling of the Government, and, as a proof of the correctness of his belief, quoted a newspaper paragraph, attributing the postponement of the Ministerial whitebait dinner to the "vexatious discussions" in the House of Commons. He denied that there was any justifiable cause

for attributing to either of these two causes the fact that the Legislature, after having sat for nearly ten months, had done very little, and that very little not very well, and he referred to the report of the Committee on Public Business to show how much of the time of the Session had been occupied by the employment of Members in Public Committees, in Election Committees, in Railway Committees, and in Committees on Private Business. Mr. Disraeli, having finished his statement upon that point, proceeded to call the attention of the House to the circumstances under which this Parliament had assembled. There was then famine in Ireland, and commercial distress in England of unprecedented severity; but he thought that no man would contend that, when the House met in November last, there was too much discussion on those subjects. He contended that the motion of Mr. Herries on the management and constitution of the Bank of England, and on the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers during the crisis of October, was neither of an intrusive nor of an impertinent character. After alluding to the unsatisfactory result of the Parliamentary discussions on banking, and expressing his belief that sounder principles could only be established by another pressure and another panic, he referred to the discussions in the House on the financial question. On the 18th of February, the first financial statement was made to the House, not by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but by the Premier himself. The country was to be defended as well as the taxes to be paid. There was to be an increase, not only of the Miscellaneous, but also of the Military Estimates, and the Income Tax was to be doubled. The feeling of the House, after hearing that budget, was one of considerable dissatisfaction; and, in the country, a menagerie before feeding-time could alone give an idea of the unearthly yell with which it was received. On the 21st of February, with the view of lulling the storm, the Minister proposed the immediate reference of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates to a Select Committee, and of the Miscellaneous Estimates to a similar ordeal. On the 28th of February, as the storm was still raging, and Mr. Hume had given notice of a motion for the reduction of expenditure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down and presented the House with another budget, and promised to bring the expenditure and income to a balance without doubling the Income Tax. On the 30th of June, in the midst of a Colonial debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer suddenly threw a third budget on the table of the House. They had, then, three budgets between the 18th of February and the period to which he had traced the proceedings of the Session, and yet they did not advance one jot. All this time, the Estimates were before the Select Committees up-stairs, which were really Select Committees of Supply; and Ministers could do nothing but obtain a vote on confidence to pay wages or dividends. They had been treated with the greatest forbearance and indulgence; yet, from the 18th of February to the 30th of June, all they did was to produce three financial projects, all of which were inefficient. The Estimates did not come down to the House till August; by which delay, Members were deprived of their constitutional privilege of discussing and criticizing the Supply. "We have had three budgets, two Committees,

and six months and a half wasted by this Administration—these men of business—who were to give us a satisfactory financial exposition early in February; and the Prime Minister, with that almost sublime coolness which characterizes him, announced, late in July, that his right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take an opportunity, before the House separated, of making another financial statement. Well, sir, we had at last the fourth budget. We had some time ago the Government of all the talents; this is the Government of all the budgets. Alas for this fourth budget! it came late, and at a moment when we wanted glad tidings; but, unfortunately, it was not characterized by the sunny aspect which was desired by its proposers. I shall never forget the scene. It was a very dreary moment. There was a very thin House—the thinnest, I suppose, that ever attended a ceremony so interesting to every country, and especially to a commercial and financial country like England. I never saw a budget brought forward before an attendance so gloomy and so small. I was irresistibly reminded of a celebrated character, who, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had four trials in his time, and his last was his most unsuccessful. I mean the great hero of Cervantes, when he returned from his fourth and final expedition. The great spirit of Quixote had subsided; all that sally of financial chivalry which cut us down at the beginning of the Session, and which trampled and cantered over us in the middle, was gone. Honourable gentlemen will remember the chapter to which I refer, which describes the period when the knight's delusions on the subject of chivalry were to be dispelled. The villagers, like the Opposition, were drawn out to receive him; and Cervantes tells us that, although they were aware of his weakness, they treated him with respect. (*Great laughter.*) His immediate friends, the Barber, the Curate, and the Bachelor Sampson Carrasco—whose places might be supplied in this House by the First Lord of the Treasury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the President of the Board of Trade—were assembled; and with demure reverence and feigned sympathy they greeted him, broken in spirit, and about for ever to renounce those delightful illusions under which he had sallied forth so triumphantly: but, just at this moment, when everything was in the best taste, Sancho's wife rushes forward and exclaims, 'Never mind your kicks and cuffs, so you 've brought home some money.' (*Much laughter.*) But that is just the thing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has *not* brought. Such was the end of the fourth and final expedition, and such is the result of the fourth and final budget. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, during the whole Session, has been bringing home barbers' basins instead of knightly helms; and at the last moment, true to his nature, to his vocation, and to his career, he finds instead of a surplus a deficiency, and, instead of reducing taxation, he commemorates his second year of finance by a second loan. Now, I ask honourable gentlemen to cast their eyes over the period I have sketched, from the 18th of February to the 25th of August—over the three budgets, the unconstitutional Committees on the Estimates, and the fourth and final budget—and then I ask the House and the country with confidence for their verdict,

that whatever time has been wasted, whatever delay has taken place, has not been attributable to the discussions of Members, or to the forms of the House."

Mr. Disraeli proceeded in a similar manner to show that it was not the fault of the House if they had not obeyed Her Majesty's commands, first, in passing measures for promoting the health of the metropolis; and, secondly, in reforming the Navigation Laws. He ridiculed with much effect the changes and transmutations which the Public Health Bill had undergone. He commented on the dilatory and unbusiness-like style in which the Navigation Bill had been dealt with, attributing its postponement to Lord J. Russell's anxiety to carry through a Bill which was not mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech — the Jewish Disabilities Bill. Personally, he approved of that measure, but he thought the evils were great of a Ministry attempting to bring forward a project of that nature unless they had strength to carry it. The consequence of a failure was that the cause lost ground. Mr. Disraeli then reviewed at much length, and with pungent severity, the Ministerial proceedings respecting the Sugar Duties. He recapitulated the facts as they occurred from the commencement of the Session— the complaints that poured in from the West Indies—the exertions of Lord George Bentinck in moving for, and afterwards conducting, the inquiries of, the Select Committee; the recommendation of that Committee in favour of a differential duty of 10*s.*; the declaration of Lord J. Russell on the 29th May, announcing his resolve to adhere firmly to the Act of 1846; the new Bill brought in on the 16th of June, involving a departure from the principles of that Act, and the twenty-three arithmetical blunders detected in that Bill by the penetration of Lord George Bentinck. The Bill was then withdrawn; a second Bill was introduced, in which the twenty-three blunders were dealt with; seven were corrected, but two new blunders were created. The second Bill was also withdrawn, and a third was introduced, in which the Government confessed to sixteen blunders, but did not correct them. Six days' discussion then took place in Committee on the Bill, occasioned solely by the imperfect preparation of its clauses and its schedules. He then alluded to the amazing quantity of time which had been lost this Session in moving writs and dealing with delinquent boroughs, and to the various Election Bills introduced and withdrawn by Sir J. Hanmer, until he came at last to the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill, subsequently introduced by the Government, and passed through all its stages in that House. After nineteen debates on the subject of issuing writs, the Corrupt Practices Bill was sent to the House of Lords, and then was withdrawn by the noble Lord who so ably conducted the functions of Government in that assembly. He had now placed the House in possession of information which would enable it to judge whether the blame of legislative failure in the present Session rested with the House of Commons or the Government. During the ten months Parliament had been sitting, there had been sedition in England, insurrection in Ireland, and revolution in Europe. Had the Whigs been in opposition with such advantages, twenty, and not ten months would have been fully expended, but for what

object and with what results he would not inquire. Calling the attention of the House to the fact that no great portion of its time had been consumed in discussing either the foreign policy of the country or the condition of England, he next proceeded to inquire whether there had been any waste of time with respect to Ireland. He contended that there had not, and gave as an instance the readiness with which the House had recently passed the Bill for rescinding all the civil liberties of that country. On that occasion Parliament had displayed a great example to Europe, and had proved that the English Constitution could combine the energy of a despotism with the enthusiasm of a republic. He then read what he called the bills of mortality for the Session of 1848, from which he proved that forty-seven Bills had been abandoned, withdrawn, or postponed within the last six months. In his opinion, it was not difficult to discover the causes of this mortality. The cause was to be found there (pointing to the Treasury benches) —in that Ministry which acceded to power without a Parliamentary majority, and which was therefore unable to propose measures with a conviction that they would be carried. Their measures were, in consequence, altered, remodelled, patched, cobbled, painted, and veneered, until no trace was left of their original form, or they were withdrawn in disgust by their authors after long discussions in that House.

Lord John Russell vindicated the Government of which he was the head with much adroitness from the aspersions and ridicule of Mr Disraeli. He began by observing that that gentleman seemed to imagine that he had to defend the House of Commons from some charge which the Government had made against it; but, on the part of the Government, he declared that no such charge had been made. He thought, however, that some alteration might be made in the forms of the House without injury to the essential rights of discussion, and without impediment to the freedom of debate. Mr. Disraeli had remarked that in this year there had been sedition in England, rebellion in Ireland, and revolution in Europe. Now, the Ministers of the Crown were chiefly appointed to administer the affairs of the empire, and when sedition had been checked in England, and rebellion suppressed in Ireland, and foreign revolution prevented from shaking our institutions at home, he must say, as a member of the Government, that the administration of the empire could not have been very defective. It was not the duty of the members of Government to introduce and carry through Parliament a great number of measures every Session; and three Ministers who had been supported by large majorities — he meant Sir R. Walpole, Lord Chatham, and Mr. Pitt—had neither proposed nor carried any great legislative enactments during the whole of their Ministerial career. In times of great difficulty and pressure, the chief attention of Ministers must be given to those questions of administration which every day brings forth. Under such circumstances it was difficult to watch the details of every measure submitted to Parliament, and yet, during the present Session, Ministers had already passed 105 out of the 125 bills which they had submitted to Parliament. Many of

those Bills were of the utmost importance, as, for instance, the Crime and Outrage (Ireland) Bill, the Evicted Destitute Poor Bill, and the measure for the sale of encumbered estates in that country. Lord John Russell next proceeded to vindicate the Administration for its conduct towards the Bank of England during the commercial crisis of 1847, and he parried with considerable address Mr. Disraeli's sarcasms about the four budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, passing lightly over the financial case which his adversary had made out against the Government. He defended the appointment of Select Committees to inquire into the different Estimates of the year, and pointed out the advantages which had arisen from their inquiries. In reference to Mr. Disraeli's remarks on the Public Health Bill, he took pride to himself in being a member of a Ministry which had entered upon such an untrodden field of legislation, and had produced a measure so likely to produce great benefit to the empire. Government had obtained the assent of the House to the principle involved in the repeal of the Navigation Laws, but had been prevented by other discussions from going on with that measure. The noble Lord then repelled with great vigour the attack which Mr. Disraeli had made upon the Government on the subject of the Sugar Duties Bill, admitting that that Bill had taken up much time, and had led to great debates, which were continued by Lord G. Bentinck on other points not very closely connected with them. Referring to Mr. Disraeli's comments on the conduct of the House with respect to writs and corrupt practices at Elections, he asserted that it was not the duty of the Government to take the lead on such subjects, and intimated that, if he were inclined to complain of any opposition during the present Session, he should complain of the opposition offered, in the first instance, to the Bills of Sir J. Hanmer, and afterwards to the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill which the Government had brought in. Mr. Disraeli had complained that there was at present no regular and organized party in the House. He agreed with Mr. Disraeli as to the importance of party; but, if Mr. Disraeli and Lord G. Bentinck had not been able to form a party and to array it against the Government, that, at any rate, was not the fault of Government.

Lord John Russell then glanced at the causes which had occasioned the prolongation of the Session. He then continued:—"Some of them we may expect to be corrected in a future Session. I think, however, that it will be worth while for Members of this House to consider whether, while we preserve the valuable rules of debate, it would not be desirable for some Members to refrain from giving us so much of their opinions, and so frequently, as they do at present. ('Hear, hear!' *and laughter.*) It would be invidious on my part were I to point out any honourable Members who might be considered obnoxious to this observation: when, however, the honourable Member says that he comes here to defend the House of Commons, I really must say that the House of Commons is not the defending but the complaining party. The House of Commons is the plaintiff in the cause; at least 49-50ths of the House complain of the other fraction of the House, on account

of their being the cause of the delay which occurs in the transaction of public business. I am quite certain that, if the opinion of the majority of the House could be consulted, they would on certain occasions say, 'Here is a speech which might well be spared: we have heard it five or six times before, and therefore we do not feel it absolutely necessary that we should hear it again.'" (*Laughter.*)

Lord John Russell recurred to his position, that with sedition in England, incipient rebellion in Ireland, and convulsion in Europe, the labour of administration was the business that chiefly claimed the care of Government. "There have been moments when every one must have felt that a slight indiscretion would have provoked foreign nations; there have been moments when a slight want of watchfulness or care might have given an inconsiderable number of miscreants an opportunity of involving the country in confusion. Wishing to preserve the tranquillity of Europe – valuing peace above all price—and thinking that the war of 1793 was unnecessary for the purpose for which it was set on foot and maintained—we are nevertheless prepared to devote our best energies and our constant endeavours to the maintenance of amicable relations with foreign countries. Valuing, as I do, our institutions, and believing that they are the best adapted of any which ever were framed for preserving the liberty of the community, I trust that whoever may succeed us in the task of future legislation will have to defend, and not to restore, the constitution of this country." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Hume said a few words, expressing his satisfaction at the breaking up of the great aristocratic parties into which the House was formerly divided. Mr. B. Osborne remarked upon the unsatisfactory nature of the encounter which the House had just witnessed between two skilful combatants. The debate had gone off like many modern duels. Mr. Disraeli had fired a very astounding broadside; the fire had been returned by Lord John Russell; and both parties seemed equally satisfied. But there was another party whom neither represented; and however able the speech of Mr. Disraeli, or however witty the speech of Lord John Russell as to the measures of the Government, that party—namely, the people—would look with indifference both on the attack and the defence.

Mr. Disraeli had been conjuring up the old illusion of traditionary influence; but while popular privileges, like the right of discussing grievances on reading the order of the day, were swept away, it was precisely because the country could forget its aristocratic prejudices that it was obliged to accept the present Government.

He regretted that in this debate the state of Ireland had been passed over. The noble Lord was about to visit that country. He trusted that the visit would not be of the usual character—a trumpet dinner at the Castle in full uniform, and a return home, knowing all about Ireland. If the noble Lord went merely to pay such a visit, or consult with the distinguished individual at the head of affairs there, he might have as much information by post.

The noble Lord would find that a reaction would succeed the temporary panic created by the arrest of the Chartist leaders — miser-

able and misguided individuals.—He alluded to those wretched carpenters and tailors found plotting in public-houses. He warned the noble Lord, that a reaction would succeed, and that the people of this country would not be satisfied unless some larger and more comprehensive measures were resorted to than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, or any of the other miserable Downing Street precedents for ruling a people.

The debate then terminated.

At length, on the 5th of September, the end of this unprecedented session arrived. With the exception of the recess at Christmas, and the short intervals at Easter and Whitsuntide, Parliament had been sitting continuously for nearly ten months. Although the legislative results bore but a very scanty proportion to this vast consumption of time, the labours which the Members of the House of Commons had undergone had been very severe, and the relief afforded by the prorogation was both a needful and a welcome one. The long-desired event took place on the day above mentioned, Her Majesty being present in person. The magnificent new chamber of the Peers was crowded with persons of distinction. Among the spectators at the ceremony were the Duc de Némours and the Prince de Joinville. The Commons being summoned, the Speaker addressed the Queen in the following terms:—

"Most Gracious Sovereign—We, your Majesty's faithful Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, attend your Majesty, after a protracted and laborious Session, with our last Bills of Supply.

"After a most patient and careful examination of the Estimates which by your Majesty's commands were laid before us, we have made every practicable reduction in the public expenditure: at the same time that we have had regard to the financial state of prosperity of this country as affected by the commercial embarrassments of the past year, and by the interruption of trade consequent upon the late political events in Europe, we have taken every precaution to secure the efficiency of all departments of the public service.

"In obedience to your Majesty's most gracious recommendation, which was communicated to us by the Lords Commissioners at the commencement of the Session, our attention has been specially directed to measures relating to the public health. It is impossible to overrate the importance of a subject so deeply affecting the comfort and happiness of the poorer classes; and we confidently hope that, if the Bills which have been passed are carried out in the same spirit in which they have been framed, they will greatly tend to lessen the amount of human suffering, and to promote the moral improvement, as well as contentment, of the labouring classes in dense and populous districts.

"Not unmindful of the condition of Ireland, or of the distressed state of the poor in that country, owing to the limited demand for labour, we have provided additional funds, arising from the repayment of additional loans, to be expended in public works; and we have removed the impediments to the sale of encumbered estates, in order to encourage as much as possible the application of capital to the improvement of land.

"The spirit of insubordination which has prevailed in various parts of the country, especially in Ireland, has forced upon our consideration topics of a far more grave and anxious character. We have cordially concurred in those measures which have been thought necessary to secure obedience to the laws, and to repress and to prevent outrage and rebellion.

"Deeply sensible of the value of those institutions under which we have the happiness to live, no effort on our part has been wanting to preserve them from the evil designs of misguided men, who, taking advantage of a season of temporary distress, have endeavoured to excite discontent and insurrection.

"We have witnessed with gratitude and proud satisfaction the unequivocal expression, on the part of the great mass of the people, of those marks of attachment to their Sovereign and respect for the law; and we, as their representatives, participating to the fullest extent in these feelings, now tender to your Majesty the sincere expression of our devotion and loyalty."

The Queen, after having given the Royal Assent to some Bills presented by the Speaker, then read from the throne the following speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am happy to be able to release you from the duties of a laborious and protracted Session.

"The Act for the Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Ireland, which received my assent at the commencement of the Session, was attended by the most beneficial effects. The open display of arms intended for criminal purposes was checked; the course of justice was no longer interrupted; and several atrocious murderers who had spread terror through the country were apprehended, tried, and convicted.

"The distress in Ireland, consequent upon successive failures in the production of food, has been mitigated by the application of the law for the relief of the poor, and by the amount of charitable contributions raised in other parts of the United Kingdom.

"On the other hand, organized confederacies took advantage of the existing pressure to excite my suffering subjects to rebellion. Hopes of plunder and confiscation were held out to tempt the distressed, while the most visionary prospects were exhibited to the ambitious. In this conjuncture I applied to your loyalty and wisdom for increased powers; and, strengthened by your prompt concurrence, my Government was enabled to defeat in a few days machinations which had been prepared during many months. The energy and decision shown by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in this emergency deserve my warmest approbation.

"In the midst of these difficulties, you have continued your labours for the improvement of the laws. The Act for facilitating the Sale of Encumbered Estates will, I trust, gradually remove an evil of great magnitude in the social state of Ireland.

"The system of perpetual entails of land established in Scotland produced very serious evils both to heirs of entail and to the community; and I have had great satisfaction in seeing it amended upon principles which have long been found to operate beneficially in this part of the United Kingdom.

"I have given my cordial assent to the measures which have in view the improvement of the public

health; and I entertain an earnest hope that a foundation has been laid for continual advances in this beneficial work.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons*—

"I have to thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the Supplies necessary for the public service. I shall avail myself of every opportunity which the exigencies of the State may allow for enforcing economy.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*—

"I have renewed in a formal manner my diplomatic relations with the Government of France. The good understanding between the two countries has continued without the slightest interruption.

"Events of deep importance have disturbed the internal tranquillity of many of the states in Europe, both in the north and in the south. Those events have led to hostilities between neighbouring countries. I am employing my good offices, in concert with other friendly Powers, to bring to an amicable settlement these differences; and I trust that our efforts may be successful.

"I am rejoiced to think that an increasing sense of the value of peace encourages the hope that the nations of Europe may continue in the enjoyment of its blessings.

"Amidst these convulsions, I have had the satisfaction of being able to preserve peace for my own dominions, and to maintain our domestic tranquillity. The strength of our institutions has been tried, and has not been found wanting. I have studied to preserve the people committed to my charge in the enjoyment of that temperate freedom which they so justly value. My people, on their side, feel too sensibly the advantages of order and security, to allow the promoters of pillage and confusion any chance of success in their wicked designs.

"I acknowledge with grateful feelings the many marks of loyalty and attachment which I have received from all classes of my people. It is my earnest hope that by cultivating respect to the law, and obedience to the precepts of religion, the liberties of this people may, by the blessing of Almighty God, be perpetuated."

The Lord Chancellor then declared the Parliament to be prorogued to the 2nd November, and the protracted Session of 1847–8 was at an end.

CHAPTER VII.

FRANCE.—*Position of the Guizot Ministry—State of Parties in France—Unpopularity of the King—Death of Madame Adelaide, the King's Sister—Surrender of Abd-el-Kader in Algeria—Violation of the Promise made to him—His Letter at the end of the Year to Prince Louis Napoleon—Explanation by M. Guizot as to Foreign Policy of his Government—Able Speech on the Necessity of Reform, by M. Mesnard, in the Chamber of Peers—Address as Voted by the Chamber of Peers—Budget for Year* 1849*—Discussion in Chamber of Peers on Affairs of Switzerland—Eloquent Speech of Count de Montalembert—M. Guizot on the English Alliance—Speech of Count d'Alton Shee on the Question of Reform of the Electoral Law—Discussion in the Chamber of Deputies respecting the Sale of Offices by the Government—Speeches of MM. Odillon Barrot and Guizot—Victory of Ministers in the Chamber—Discussion on the Separate Paragraphs of the Address—Speeches on Finance by MM. Dumon and Thiers—Speech of M. Thiers on the Affairs of Italy—Reply by M. Guizot—Speeches of MM. Thiers and Guizot on the Affairs of Switzerland—Declaration of M. Duchatel condemning the Reform Banquets—Uproar in the Chamber—Debate on Affairs of Poland—Statement by M. Guizot respecting Destination of Abd-el-Kader—Renewed Discussion on Reform Demonstrations, and Scene of Confusion in the Chamber—The Opposition refuse to Vote—Majority for Ministers—Debate on Electoral Reform—Speeches of MM. Guizot, Thiers, and others—The Address voted in the Chamber of Deputies—State of Public Feeling at this time.*

IF the annalist has had difficulty in finding materials for foreign history during the last few years, owing to the tranquillity which has almost, without exception, pervaded Europe, and the absence of incidents calculated to interest attention, he now feels himself almost overwhelmed by the magnitude and variety of the events which have during the year now under review crowded so fast upon each other, and rendered it one of the most remarkable in the annals of the world. The fountains of the great deep of political society have been suddenly and violently broken up, and the most portentous changes have taken place in the different countries of Europe, the ultimate results of which it is impossible to predict or foresee. The year 1848 will be hereafter known as that of the great and general revolt of nations against their rulers. Within the short space of twelve months centuries seem to have rolled away. Dynasties have been overthrown

or shaken to their centre, and the deposition and flight of monarchs have attested the irresistible energy with which the people have risen to vindicate for themselves their real or fancied rights. We have not now to record the squabbles of a Chamber of Deputies, or a Cortes, or to chronicle changes of Ministry brought about by faction and intrigue, and exercising no important influence upon the world's history,—but the commencement and progress of mighty revolutions, which have swept away, as with a flood, the landmarks of ancient institutions, and introduced a new era in the political condition of Europe. These changes have happened with startling suddenness, and we believe that no one at the close of the preceding year could have conjectured from the aspect of affairs on the Continent the likelihood of their occurrence. And yet the mine was ready laid, and nothing was wanting but the match to produce the explosion. This was supplied by France; and to that country we must first turn, and contemplate the events which have produced such tremendous consequences.

The position of the Guizot Ministry at the close of the year 1847 was very anomalous. It possessed a large majority in the Chambers, but was mistrusted and disliked by the nation. Owing to the narrow basis of the electoral constituency, and the enormous amount of patronage whereby the Government was enabled to purchase the votes of that body, the Chamber of Deputies could hardly be called the representatives of the nation. The Minister relied upon a majority there and in the Chamber of Peers; but the people had begun loudly to complain that they had practically no voice in the Legislature, and to insist upon an extension of the franchise. There was a deep-seated feeling that the majority in the Chamber of Deputies was purchased by the corrupt exercise of patronage, and hence it was looked upon as no index of the opinions of the French nation. But although it was very generally thought that, on the death of Louis Philippe, some great political convulsion would ensue, few, if any, looked forward to such an event during the lifetime of that monarch. That there was a Republican party in France was well known, but its numbers and influence were greatly underrated, and the abortive nature of the attempts which it had made to effect a change of Government, on several previous occasions since the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne, had induced the belief that no serious apprehension need be entertained of it during his life.

It was thought that the middle classes in France were too much interested in the preservation of order and tranquillity to embark willingly in the vortex of a revolution, and as the National Guard was composed of citizens taken chiefly from that important body, it was looked to more than the army as affording a guarantee for the maintenance of peace within the kingdom. The Guizot Ministry had, however, become very unpopular with the middle classes, and the King had so identified himself with his successive Governments, and it was so well known that he strongly influenced, if he did not altogether direct, the policy of his Cabinet, contrary to the favourite maxim of the Opposition in France, *Le Roi règne, mais il ne gouverne pas*, that the hostility en-

tertained towards his Ministry extended to himself, and became a feeling of dislike towards the Orleans dynasty. There was a growing conviction in France that the King of the Barricades had forgotten the principle on which his throne was based—namely, that of a limited monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. The nation saw Louis Philippe intent chiefly upon plans of family aggrandisement; and the tortuous intrigues which had brought about the Spanish marriages proved that he was prepared to brave any degree of odium in order to advance that object. We must ever regard that step of the aged monarch as not only reprehensible on the ground of morality, but also false in point of policy. To embitter the life of the Queen of Spain by forcing or cajoling her into a marriage with an imbecile husband was a great sin, and the disgust which was felt throughout Europe rendered the French nation angry with the author of such a disgrace, rather than gratified at the prospect of seeing a scion of their own House of Bourbon upon the throne of Spain. Nor was there any confidence felt in the purity of the Government. Although the virulence of faction never dared to breathe a whisper against the integrity of M. Guizot, whose conduct, except in the fatal instance of the Spanish marriages, seems to have been perfectly open and honourable—yet the system was known to be hollow and corrupt. The Ministry commanded a majority in the Chamber of Deputies by patronage and favouritism, and the lamentable disclosures which had taken place in the affair of MM. Teste and Pellapra had revealed to the public the fact that some of the highest officers of the State were open to a bribe.

On the last day of the preceding year the King's sister, to whom he was tenderly attached, the Princess Adelaide of Orleans, died, in the 71st year of her age. This threw a gloom over the Royal circle, and prevented the usual festivities of the *Jour de l'An* from taking place. Nor was Louis Philippe in his usual health—a fact which caused considerable anxiety in the minds of those who believed that the peace and tranquillity of France were bound up with the continuance of his life.

The opening of the new year, however, was signalized by a fortunate occurrence for the French arms. Intelligence arrived that Abd-el-Kader, the brave, and hitherto indomitable, foe of France in Africa, had at last yielded to the superior power of the invaders of his native soil, and that on the 23rd of December he surrendered himself a prisoner to General Lamoricière. This gratifying intelligence was announced by the young Duke d'Aumale, the newly-appointed Governor-General of Algeria, in a despatch addressed by him to the Minister of War in the following terms:—

"A great event has just been accomplished. Abd-el-Kader is in our camp. Beaten by the Kabyles of Morocco—driven from the plains of the Moulouia by the troops of Muley Abderrhamann—abandoned by the greater part of his people, who have sought refuge in our territory, he threw himself into the country of the Beni-Snassen, and endeavoured to gain the road to the south, which the Emperor of Morocco had left free; but, surrounded by our cavalry on that side, he trusted to the generosity

of France, and surrendered on condition of being sent to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre."

The Emir had on the night of the 11th of December surprised the Moorish camps, and occasioned them great loss. But the numbers were too formidable for him to cope with, and, collecting his wives and personal baggage, he concentrated all his forces in the direction of the mouth of the river Moulouia. On the 21st he began to cross the stream, when the Moorish Kabyles fiercely attacked him, but he repelled them, and effected his passage without loss. He then stood in the French territory, but he had no sooner reached it than he hastily abandoned it, and with a small number of followers resolved to pass through the country of the Beni-Snassen to the south. But General Lamoricière divined the scheme, and immediately took measures to prevent it. What followed may be told in the words of the Duc d'Aumale's despatch.

"Twenty spahis, commanded by an intelligent and trusty officer, Lieutenant Ben Khouia, had been sent to the Col der Kherbous, on the evening of the 21st; the first news, shortly after the reports of the musketry, announced that an action had commenced in that direction. It was Abd-el-Kader who engaged our spahis. General de Lamoricière, who during the night had put his column under arms, advanced rapidly with his cavalry. The Emir had the advantage of the darkness and a difficult country, traversed by roads unknown to our guides. He could still have easily retreated. But two of his cavalry, led by Ben Khouia himself, bring to the general the intelligence that he is decided to surrender, and that he only desires to be conducted to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre The convention, concluded orally at once, is soon after ratified in writing by General de Lamoricière.

"To-day in the afternoon Abd-el-Kader has been received at the marabout of Sidi Brahim, by Colonel de Montauban, who was rejoined shortly after by Generals de Lamoricière and Cavaignac.—Sidi Brahim, the theatre of the Emir's last success, and which Providence seems to have designed to be the theatre of the last and most signal of his reverses, as a kind of expiation for the slaughter of our unfortunate comrades.

"An hour afterwards Abd-el-Kader was conducted to Nemours, where I had arrived the same morning. I ratified General Lamoricière's promise, and I confidently hope that the King's Government will give its approval to it. I announced to the Emir that he would have to embark for Oran to-morrow with his family; to this he submitted, not without emotion and repugnance. It was the last drop of the cup of affliction."

The promise, thus solemnly made and ratified, was not fulfilled, and Abd-el-Kader was sent to France, where he was detained a prisoner, first at Toulon, and afterwards in the Château d'Amboise, throughout the whole of the present year. It was contended that General Lamoricière had no right or authority to make such a promise, and that he could not bind the Government. It seems, however, to have been forgotten that, even admitting the fact to be so, the Governor-General of the province—the King's son—had, according to his own confession,

ratified that promise. When the subject came before the Chamber of Peers, on the 17th of January, M. Guizot said, that the King's Government would know how to reconcile what was due to the honour of an engagement entered into with a vanquished enemy, with what the interests and security of the country demanded. That was the task to which it was devoting itself; and when it had been fulfilled every information would be given to the Chamber.

During a debate that took place in the Chamber of Deputies on the 3rd of February, General Lamoricière said, that all responsibility had been taken off *his* shoulders as soon as the Governor-General ratified the convention. He could not, under the circumstances, have forced the Emir to surrender unconditionally; he might have secured the tent, and even the carpet of Abd el Kader; but the Emir himself would have been able to reach the Desert.

Before dismissing the subject we may mention, that when Louis Napoleon was installed President of the French Republic, Abd-el-Kader, on the 23rd of December, addressed to him a letter containing the following passages, which awaken a lively interest in the fate of the fallen Emir.

"When, guided by my confidence in the bravery and the promises of the French, I came to place myself and mine under the protection of France, by giving myself up to General Lamoricière, at that time Commandant of the province of Oran, I received the formal promise that I should be sent to the noble land of France, and be afterwards conveyed to Egypt, and from thence to Syria, near the sacred tomb of the Prophet, that I might enlighten myself with new light, and my days be wholly devoted to the happiness of my family, and far from the hazards of war, the theatre of which I abandoned for ever to the domination of France, in execution of the will of the Almighty, who lowers or raises empires as he pleases. Far from these sacred promises having been fulfilled, I and mine have been subjected to captivity, without being able to cause justice to be rendered to me. I demand of the Chief of the French Government to fulfil the promises that were made to me by the Generals of Africa, and to accord me the liberty of going on parole with my family, into Syria, to follow the precepts of our religion. Grateful for such an act of clemency and justice, I would pray our God to bestow on France and her chiefs all his great consolations and blessings. I rely on the wisdom of the President of the Republic and of the National Assembly."

It is remarkable that this appeal should have been made to him who was once himself the prisoner of Ham, but who was detained in captivity on just grounds —whereas the unfortunate Abd-el-Kader seems to be imprisoned in violation of solemn promises, and in direct breach of the condition on which he surrendered himself. May his appeal to French honour not be made in vain!

Want of space compels us to present in a more abridged form than usual the speeches that were delivered in the two Chambers during the discussion on the Address. And this is the less to be regretted, as, in comparison with the astounding events which were about to happen, the political discussions and opinions of the dif-

ferent parties upon ordinary topics of public interest sink into insignificance. While reading the debates that took place in the Chamber of Peers or Deputies during the months of January and February this year, with the consciousness of the catastrophe before us, it seems as if we were gliding down the stream of a peaceful river in the calm confidence of security, though now and then there falls upon the ear the echo of the distant roar of some mighty cataract. It is indeed

> "The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below."

We shall see that for the burst of feeling which revealed itself in Paris, and taking the nation by surprise, paralyzed all opposition, politicians of every class, except that of the most extreme democracy, were utterly unprepared; and even *they* had made no provision for a crisis which was the cherished dream of their fanaticism. It came upon them like an avalanche, sweeping away the throne and the constitution; but they were able to turn it to account, and realize at last the vision of that Republic which they rather ardently desired than believed to be possible.

On the 3rd of January, in one of the *bureaux* of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Guizot, having been called upon by M. Durand de Romorantin, explained some acts of his foreign policy.

With regard to Switzerland, he had, he said, continued the policy followed since 1833 towards that country. The Government had sold arms to the Sonderbund from a conviction that its cause was a just one, and that the triumph of the Catholic party would be favourable to the interests of France. A Deputy having asked if it was true that the Austrians had occupied Parma and Modena, M. Guizot replied that he was not aware of the entrance of the Austrians into Parma: they had entered Modena, at the request of the Duke, for the purpose of restoring order; but he had been assured that they would immediately withdraw. Referring next to the last paragraph of the Address, M. Guizot observed that the expression "hostile passions" was not applied to any Member of the Chamber; that the Cabinet had used them to characterize passions inimical to the Charter and to society itself, and that, perceiving those symptoms of disorder, it was its duty to denounce them.

In the Chamber of Peers the general discussion on the Address commenced, and closed on the 10th of January. A very able speech was delivered by M. Mesnard, which was listened to with the most profound attention. It contained some sound truths, and it would have been well for M. Guizot's Government and for France, if they had been not only admitted but promptly acted upon. The necessity for Reform was transparent to all except those to whose political existence it was most essential.

M. Mesnard said that, having been for seventeen years connected from conviction with the Conservative party, he felt under obligations to the Ministry for having grouped around themselves a strong majority; but he was apprehensive that at present they entertained erroneous notions relative to the real state of public opinion. Were he alone in that idea, he should have hesitated to express it by a just distrust of himself; but when he found that a very great number

of clear-headed men entertained the same dread, he considered it his duty to come forward and publicly expose his way of thinking. The Ministry was at present in a less firm position than last year, and the country was not so calm. Last year the Session opened after the happy conclusion of the Spanish marriages, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs obtained before the Chambers one of those splendid successes which suffice to honour the career of a statesman. Everything was possible for a Ministry in such a position, particularly when, being strengthened by the issue of the elections, it had no longer any obstacles to fear in the Chambers. The hour of progress had certainly arrived, and the Government could with success have directed its attention to those great moral interests which it had post poned—nay, more, amongst the Conservative party a general expectation prevailed that such would have been the course which the Ministry would think it necessary to pursue. Yet notwithstanding that fortunate position of the Ministry, and the hopes of the Conservative party, the Session had been completely barren. Much had then to be done, and scarcely anything was effected! The consequence was that serious embarrassments were at present menacing the Government, and the Ministry would certainly one day reproach itself for having neglected so excellent an occasion. The Cabinet, every time that reforms were proposed, declared that the time was inopportune and even dangerous. In that respect he was of opinion that the Ministry were quite mistaken as to the real state of the public mind. They seemed to think that the question of reforms, when brought forward by the Opposition, was a piece of party tactics; and when mooted by a Member of the majority, as was the case once last Session, they looked on it as a sort of malcontent fancy, which called for no especial attention. He firmly believed that this was quite an error, and he could affirm, with every feeling of confidence in the truth of his assertion, that the country felt strongly on the subject, and expected to have something done. It was from the ranks of the Conservative party that had escaped the well-known phrase of "Nothing, nothing! nothing!" It had become a sort of party cry, and that "nothing" was now attempted to be turned into something serious. Such was the state of things, and if the position of the Cabinet was inferior to that of last year, its own conduct on the question just alluded to must be considered as the cause of the change. It had allowed the opportunity to escape when the country was tranquil, and in all probability it would not be able to find again so favourable a moment. He did not mean to say that the Government ought to have carried out last Session all the reforms that were proposed—the country did not ask for so much, nor expect it. It would have been sufficient if the Government had used a different language, and given reason to suppose that at no very distant period what was demanded would be granted. The Cabinet would have gained its cause had it, by its assurances, satisfied those moderate men who were as strongly opposed to wild and disorderly progress as they were to a complete stand still—to a state of petrifaction; and that satisfaction was in truth the only one that was possi-

ble at the commencement of a new Legislature. In the present situation, perilous and embarrassing as it was, what ought to be the conduct of the Government? When moral questions agitated a people, a wise Ministry would endeavour to take the lead, and by that means direct the public mind in the proper course; but if it held back, and allowed the people to drag it on, it would, on the contrary, be compelled to submit to their most unreasonable exigencies. These truisms indicated, in his opinion, what the Government ought to do —namely, take the lead and direct the movement. He was aware that a grave objection might be brought forward against such a course; that it might be asked, was it a proper moment, when the public were agitated and the most gloomy reminiscences of the past appealed to, to accede to a demand of reform, thrown down as a sort of arrogant challenge to the King? His unhesitating reply was, that such was the conduct most likely to be of advantage to the Ministry, to the Conservative party, and to the public. Far from being an objection to reform, the present agitation of men's minds was, he conceived, a great argument in its favour. If the cry for reform was a mere party business, he should be the first to say to the Ministry —"Resist; do not yield an inch!" but the matter had taken far deeper root—was the hourly subject of conversation and discussion—had become, in fact, with the public a sort of necessity which it would be most dangerous to slight. There was, besides, no feverish agitation in the country—all was calm and orderly. Indeed, the manner in which the deprivations, incidental to the scarcity of food, had been borne was a proof of the spirit of order and tranquillity which prevailed; that state of the public mind was even the more dangerous for the Ministry. He in consequence strongly recommended it to seize on the question of reform, and bring it boldly before the Parliament. Let it do that, and it would see if the public would not applaud a line of conduct at once so adroit and so courageous. There were demands to which it was prudent and even noble to yield; and the Government ought to make concessions to avoid having what was called for forced from it. He should have been delighted had he found in the Address a single phrase which responded to the feeling that was now gaining ground in favour of reform.

The Address, as finally voted in the Chamber of Peers on the 10th of January, was as follows:—

Sire,—

Since our last Session an abundant crop has dissipated the fears and allayed the evils which afflicted our country. France, by her courage, deserved that blessing of Heaven. Never, under similar circumstances, was public order so generally maintained. The population understood that the freedom of commercial transactions was the surest remedy to their sufferings. The inexhaustible zeal of private charity assisted the sacrifices of the public Treasury. Our trade has been saved by its prudence, if not from painful losses, at least from the calamities which have visited other states. We congratulate ourselves, with your Majesty, on reaching the term of those trials, the recollection of which will remain as a reassuring experiment and a salutary caution.

You may rely on our co-opera-

tion to terminate the great public works which we have undertaken. It is important for the power and prosperity of the country, for the development of our manufactures and the progress of agriculture, that those great works be completed. But, at the same time that we will apply to that object sufficient resources, we will watch with the strictest economy to maintain in our budgets that order on which depends the stability of our finances, and to re-establish at last a complete and real balance between the receipts and expenditure, which is the first condition of the power and security of the state.

The project of law relative to the reduction of the price of salt and of the postage of letters within the limits compatible with the situation of our finance, will be the object of our solicitude and serious meditation.

We hope that this Session may be productive of useful and important results. Already have projects of law on public instruction, on prison discipline, and on our Customs' tariffs, been submitted to our deliberation. You announce to us other bills on various subjects not less worthy of examination—on communal property, on the system of mortgages, the *monts de pietè*, on the application of the savings-banks to the relief of labourers in their old age. We shall concur in the wish of your Majesty, by constantly endeavouring to alleviate the fate of those who possess no other resources than their labour. It is our duty, at the same time, to caution them with firmness against the delusions of dangerous Utopias, and to procure them all the material and moral improvements which it is in our power to realize.

The relations of your Government with all the foreign Powers give you the confidence that the peace of the world is secured. Like you, Sire, we hope that the progress of civilization and liberty may be everywhere accomplished, without impairing either the internal order, the independence, or the friendly relations of states. Our sympathies and wishes accompany those Italian Sovereigns and nations who advance together in that new path with a provident wisdom, of which the august chief of Christendom has set them the affecting and magnanimous example.

Civil war has broken out in a neighbouring and friendly country. Your Government had come to an understanding with the Governments of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in order to offer it a friendly mediation. Switzerland will recognise, we trust, that it is by respecting the rights of all, and by maintaining the fundamental bases of the Helvetic Confederation, that it can insure its happiness, and preserve the condition of security which Europe wished to guarantee to it.

Faithful to the cause of a generous nation, France recalls to Europe the rights of Polish nationality so formally stipulated by treaties.

The Chamber hopes that the measures adopted by our Government, in accord with the Government of the Queen of Great Britain, will re-establish at last our commercial relations on the banks of La Plata.

We reap in Algeria the fruits of our perseverance, of the indefatigable devotedness of our soldiers, and of a war gloriously conducted by an illustrious chief. The most dreaded adversary of our power has made his submission. That

event, which promises France the proximate alleviation of a portion of her burdens, prepares a new era for our African establishments; your beloved son will becomingly fulfil, we trust, his grand and glorious mission. Under the direction of your Government, he will consolidate our domination by a regular and vigilant administration. The blessings of peace must now continue the conquest of that land which has become French by the power of our arms.

Sire, by devoting yourself to the service of our country with that courage which nothing can subdue, not even the afflictions that visit you in your dearest affections; by devoting your life and that of your children to the care of our interests and our dignity, you strengthen every day the edifice we have founded together. Depend on our support to assist you in defending it. Agitations, excited by hostile passions or blind delusions, will vanish before public reason, enlightened by our free discussions, and the manifestation of all legitimate opinions. In a constitutional monarchy the union of the great powers of the State overcomes every obstacle, and enables the Government to satisfy all the moral and material interests of the country. By that union, Sire, we will maintain social order and all its conditions. We will guarantee public liberties and all their development. Our Charter of 1830, transmitted by us to future generations as an inviolable deposit, will secure to them the most valuable inheritance which nations can receive—the alliance of order and liberty.

On the 12th of January the *bureaux* of the Chamber of Deputies commenced their examination of the budget for the year 1849, and it may be interesting to give the Estimates relating to the Army and Navy.

The military budget presented a decrease of about 1,000,000*f.*, compared with the year 1848. It amounted to the sum total of 320,703,084*f.* It was proposed that the effective of the army should consist of 333,510 men, and 80,051 horses, of which force 58,729 men and 14,900 horses were to be employed in Algeria. In preceding years, the army in Algeria amounted to nearly 100,000 men, including the paid native troops.

The budget of the Navy exhibited a sum total of 139,309,608*f.*, presenting a difference, as compared with the budget of 1848, of more than 2,000,000*f.* less. This decrease had been effected in the armaments and the naval crews. It was proposed to reduce the effective of the naval forces by 13 vessels and 1959 seamen; and it would in that case consist of 293 vessels, with 27,372 seamen on board*.

In the Chamber of Peers, during a discussion that took place on the 13th of January, relative to the affairs of Switzerland, the Count de Montalembert made a long and eloquent speech, which, at the time, was much applauded. The Duc de Broglie had defended the policy of the French Government in co-operating with the other great Powers for the settlement of the Swiss question. He concluded by saying that that Go-

* The following is a recapitulation of the vessels in active service at sea, viz., 6 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 15 corvettes, 16 brigs, 27 light vessels, 23 transports, 51 steamers, and 28 different vessels for the west coast of Africa station; whilst 12 vessels were to remain in harbour commission, and 18 in port commission.

vernment had at various times, by simple recommendations, reminded the Diet of respect due to treaties, and it was therefore not responsible for what at last took place. If it did not succeed in the work of pacification which it undertook, it at least laid down the bases of a durable understanding between the five great Powers, and of a common action between the Powers on the frontier of Switzerland, who equally desire the re-establishment of moral order in that country. "Let those persons who attack us say what they would have done in our place. The French Government, I am convinced, did better than they could have done themselves."

On the following day Count de Montalembert rose and addressed himself, at great length, to the whole subject; but we can give only a few extracts. While we admire his eloquence, and agree with many of his sentiments, we cannot but regret that the policy of Lord Palmerston has provoked such censure upon the conduct of England.

"Last year the question in agitation was the last remains of Poland; this year it is the cradle of Helvetic liberty. The crime is the same; then, it was the act of despotism; now, it is the work of those who dream of overthrowing religious societies. But it is still the abuse of force in Switzerland as in Poland; it is the oppression of right by number and by violence. And how is it that we have every year to denounce similar crimes? How can we help being distressed at this apparent sterility of our efforts? I am not about to utter my complaints here as a Catholic, in the name of religion. It is the fate of religion to suffer such wounds; they are cured: but it is not only religion which is attacked, it is also order and liberty, the wounds of which are more deep and dangerous. Were I able, I should like to show you what has been done to give to Radicalism a citadel whence it might act, not on absolute monarchies, for the Radicals will have nothing to do with them, but on constitutional monarchies; for it is for the purpose of acting against the constitutional Governments of Germany that the Radicals unite in Switzerland. You will call to mind that for a long time there was not a single cry in Switzerland against the Jesuits; certainly, when General Ramorino made his expedition into Piedmont, it was not for the expulsion of that body. No, the Radicals did not wish to act against that order alone, but against Christianity in general; they deny it, they wish to destroy it, striking at the same time against Catholicism and against Protestantism. It is not only against the Jesuits that the Swiss Radicals are hostile, but the entire church and religion. But it is not only religion that is menaced; it is every kind of liberty. The liberty of the press! It has been stifled, and it has been even interdicted to publish any news which is contrary to the views of the Government. The right of petition has been gagged; the liberty of elections has been violated in the most flagrant manner. And this is not all; the rights of property have been invaded. Liberty is respect for man; Radicalism is contempt for man—contempt the most arrogant. I consider myself entitled more perhaps than any other to speak in favour of liberty. I have been deemed exclusively devoted to religious liberty

—but no, I am devoted to liberty of every description—to liberty in its fullest sense. If the cause of the Swiss Radicals were to triumph in France, what should we have? Disorder and anarchy—nay, worse than anarchy, for that at last becomes extinguished of itself. We should have organized Radicalism, and yet the dynastic Opposition applauds it. There have been 50 or 60 banquets given by the Opposition; they were organized for electoral reform, and yet at them the guests drank to the success of Switzerland. But, since I have thus denounced to you the crimes which have been committed in Switzerland, whom do you imagine I consider as the principal offender? The Foreign Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty! When noble peers stand up in this tribune and speak what they think of the Emperor of Austria, and of Prince de Metternich, I may surely declare my opinion of Lord Palmerston. It is he who, in my eyes, is the executioner of the independence of Switzerland; it is he who, at the moment of making a manifestation in favour of the good right, insisted on a previous understanding among the Cabinets, and so produced procrastinations, during which he pressed on hostilities in Switzerland. It is not with impunity that England will have followed her policy. The encouragement given to anarchy in Greece, in Switzerland, will not remain unpunished; the flames of that conflagration will cross the Channel, and will show England that propriety, justice, and liberty, are not the privilege of one nation alone. The present situation may be thus briefly summed up: the flag which, in 1832 and 1834, you vanquished at Lyons, has now risen again on the other side of the Jura, on the most liberal frontiers of France, and with the support of England; and, in France, you now have, more than in 1832 and 1834, open sympathies, avowed by the Convention and the Mountain. I do not ask, it may be well supposed, for any measures of exception; but what I desire to witness is, that well-disposed men may open their eyes—may arm themselves with resolution. For me, the greatest of evils is fear. What, think you, has been the origin of all the catastrophes which have desolated France? The fear which the well-disposed have felt of the vilest wretches. Let us not give up to the wicked a monopoly of energy; let the right-minded defend order at home and abroad, by testifying their horror and disgust for all that resembles 1792 and 1793; let the principle of all men anxious for what is right be the union of liberty with order and peace; let us comprehend, by what has just passed at the other side of the Jura, how dangerous it is not to tolerate liberty even amongst those who do not think as we do. Let us not forget that liberty has just been betrayed and immolated through the agency of England, and that France is bound to be its rallying point and safeguard."

With reference to the Swiss question, M. Guizot, in the Chamber of Peers, on the next day, expressed himself in the following terms, which we quote as showing the conviction of that eminent statesman of the wisdom and policy of cultivating friendship with Great Britain. Very different has been the language and conduct of M. Thiers; and yet it must be borne in mind that M. Guizot himself, in the affair of the Spanish mar-

riages, was willing to peril the good understanding between the two countries in order to gratify the ambitious desire of family aggrandizement in Louis Philippe. He now said, "I considered it of great importance to secure the co-operation of England. From the first moment I made sacrifices to arrive at that result. I think I have a right to say that the independence of our policy as respects England is fully established. It is now proved that whenever we meet a great national interest we do not hesitate to assert it by every means in our power. We nevertheless continued, and will still continue, to attach an extreme importance to the maintenance of friendly relations and of a good understanding between England and France. We will continue to think that on important occasions, when the cause of civilization and justice is at stake, the common action of England and France is powerful, and salutary for the peace of the world. The opinion we entertained on the subject a year, two years, three years ago, is not changed. At the same time that we are fully determined to maintain the independence of our policy and the dignity of our country and Government, whenever an opportunity shall present itself of combining the action of England and France for the success of one of the great causes I above alluded to, we will exert ourselves to procure that common action, even if we were to be uneasy at the result of our advances. In the question now before the House, we had every reason to believe that the common action of England with the continental Powers would experience no serious difficulties. That question, the interests and rights of cantonal sovereignty, the relations of the Helvetic Confederation with Europe, were not new topics, having already been discussed in 1832 and 1833, on the occasion of the revision of the Federal Compact."

On the 17th the question of the Reform Banquets was brought into discussion in the Chamber of Peers; when Count d'Alton Shee, well known for his extreme political opinions, said that he had never been present at any of the banquets, nor applauded them, but he could not approve of the imprudent language which the Ministry had put into the King's mouth, or the still more imprudent words which the committee had inserted in the Address. He considered that a very inexact epithet had been applied to those Reform meetings; the ministry might probably have wished that those assemblages should have degenerated into *émeutes*, but on no occasion had any disorder taken place. In 1838 a coalition had been formed, under the direction of Messrs. Guizot, Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Berryer, and Garnier-Pages; between these eminent men there was but one point of contact—to substitute a Parliamentary for a personal Government. Ten years have since passed over, and the object still remained the same, only the men were changed. In 1838 the electoral body approved of the Opposition, and success was only lost through the treachery of the leaders. At the present time, when after several years' repose the public mind was awakened, it would be impossible, in presence of the frightful progress of corruption, to look for success in the elections, and it was necessary to resort to other means to ensure the triumph

of public opinion. In the first instance an electoral reform had been demanded, which would shelter the electors from the seductions of the Government and from electoral mendicity; and, afterwards, Parliamentary reform had been asked for, which should relieve the other Chamber from the host of public functionaries with which it was encumbered. He was aware that at the banquets other subjects had been started besides Reform, and many other toasts had been drunk. He should not speak of those which, like that of "The Alliance of the People," substituted for "The Alliance of Kings," belonged to the discussion of foreign affairs, but of home questions. The first important toast he met with was, "To the Organization of Labour." What, he would ask, could be more simple than that toast? Was there any one in that essentially Conservative assembly that could deny the duty of labour and the rights of labour? The Government itself, in its speech from the Throne, had announced Bills destined to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. Another toast had been given, "To the Reform of the Army." It was not sufficient to recall a few regiments from Africa, for if they were kept armed in France no economy would be effected. After 30 years of peace it was but reasonable that they should reap some fruits from such a state. It was the reduction of 100,000 men that was called for, which would effect a saving of 100,000,000*f.*, which there would be no difficulty in finding a use for. Toasts had also been drunk "To Probity" and "To Humanity;" but to these he should not further allude. The Address spoke of passions inimical to their political establishment. There were men, he admitted, who went further than they ought; but when public indignation had been so roused it would be childish to talk of any order. Some looked to things, others to men. It was the fault of the Ministers and of their manner of governing. The Address also spoke of opinions subversive of social order. He was aware how the Conservatives, who were all-powerful, understood and interpreted liberty of opinion, but he did not bend before such a tendency; he did not respect it.

The Minister of the Interior, M. Duchatel, said that from the day that the Chambers were invested in France with sufficient powers to influence the political direction of the country, they had always contained within themselves a party attached to the views of Ministers—that was invariably the practice both in England and in France. There ought not consequently to be any reproach attached to the existence of that great party which acknowledged the Ministry as their leaders, it being well understood that this quality of heads of party did not involve any right of manifesting partiality in the administration of affairs. To be in such a position was to be the head of a party without any of the inconveniences attached to the post—it was, in fact, in his opinion, the verity of representative government. The last Session was the first of a new Legislature. They found that the majority was the sincere expression of the opinions of the country. Ought they to have then touched the electoral law which had given such a result? Ought they to have broken the instrument which had given them a majority which they regarded as

satisfactory in principle? To touch the electoral law would be to break up the Chamber itself. That was why they had opposed electoral reform. Did it thence follow that they had done nothing? He had only to mention the numerous and important measures that they had brought forward. The committees of the Chambers were still occupied with the labours which the Government had given them; and, moreover, let the circumstances be remembered in which they had been placed. Before turning attention to theoretical laws, it was necessary to think of getting through in the best manner a terrible crisis arising from the scarcity of food. The English Parliament during the last Session had not done more than they had. Was it nothing to have passed through such a difficult period without disorders, without dangers? They considered the reproaches addressed to them were unjust. They were ready to change their ideas if it could be proved that they were wrong. But what, he would ask, had been proposed to them for the benefit of the country? Nothing. It was the Government which might in their turn make use of that word. But what was meant by the reforms demanded? The Government did not consider an electoral reform better this year than they did the last. But it had been said, "Give us at least promises." For his part, he believed promises more dangerous than acts. To announce beforehand that the law of the country would be changed, would be to make an appeal to people's imaginations, and cause that law to be suspected. If a wise and prudent Government thought that the electoral law was bad, it ought to change it immediately, but to announce that it ought to be changed, without doing so, would be highly imprudent; it would be to shake the whole edifice of their legislation. That the Government would not do; it would not sacrifice the laws of the country; it would not open a breach without knowing how it could be filled up. On the day when the Chambers should entertain the idea that a reform was necessary, they would give the subject due attention; for his part, he should never advise them to enter on a dangerous reform. A present change of the electoral law would have the immediate effect of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and that, in the opinion of the Government, would be a very great inconvenience for the country.

On the 21st of the same month, a singular and not very creditable discussion took place in the Chamber of Deputies respecting the sale of offices in the patronage of Government. It was commenced by M. Odillon Barrot, who ascended the tribune to address to the Ministry interpellations relative to the sale of an office in the Finance Department. He said, that he had verified the statement contained in a memorial published by M. Petit, and he owed it to truth to declare, that the documents adduced by him existed, and that the facts were supported by authentic acts. It appeared from them that, early in November, 1841, M. Bertin de Vaux called on M. Petit, and offered to procure for him the place of referendary of the second class in the Court of Accounts, on condition that he should purchase the resignation of a referendary of the first class, which the Government stood in need of to satisfy a promise

made by M. Guizot to M. Passy. In a few days M. Petit brought the resignation of M. Herout to M. Guizot, having paid for it a sum of 30,000*f.* In 1844, the same M. Petit was again employed by M. Genie, private secretary of M. Guizot, to negotiate the resignation of an office in the same court which M. Guizot wanted for a friend of M. Lacave Laplagne. M. Genie had sent for M. Petit, and told him that he could obtain the situation of collector of the taxes at Corbeil, if he could procure the resignation of a referendary of the second class in the same court. M. Genie gave him a list of the councillors of that court, and, in the course of a few days, he placed in the hands of M. Genie the resignation required. This was on the 10th or 11th of December, and on the 12th, agreeably to M. Genie's promise, the Royal Ordinances, appointing the friend of M. Lacave Laplagne referendary in the Court of Accounts, and M. Petit collector at Corbeil, were signed. That resignation had cost M. Petit a sum of 15,000*f.*, and an engagement to pay the person who resigned that office a pension of 6,000*f.* per annum, one-half of which was to revert to his wife. M. Odillon Barrot, in conclusion, declared that the negotiation took place in the cabinet of the Minister, with or without his knowledge, and that, in either case, he owed the country a signal reparation or a solemn expiation.

The President of the Council said, that amongst the facts which were just brought forward some were false and others very insignificant. Explanations would be given by several persons, and particularly by M. Lacave Laplagne, whose responsibility was identical with that of the Ministry in this affair. He did not make that remark from any idea of flinching from the discussion, but the accusations and insinuations which had been brought before the Chamber were as he had designated them. It was, perhaps, thought that to cover one abuse he should reveal others, and make it a discussion of proper names; but he should do nothing of the sort, as he considered it would be beneath the dignity of the Chamber and of the Government.

M. E. de Girardin observed, that the Minister did not act with so much dignity when his affair was under discussion last year.

The President of the Council did not intend to place on the forehead of Government a catalogue of its errors and of its malpractices. It would be easy for him to enter into a discussion with those who thus interrupted him, but he thought it would not be at all pleasing to the Chamber. He should come to the fact itself—to a resignation given for a sum of money with the tolerance and the knowledge of the Government. That fact had been often and for a long time practised and tolerated. Others might think proper to say that they were completely ignorant of it, but, for his part, he should say no such thing. The first condition for the honour of the Chamber and of the Government was sincerity, and it was not at a time when he rejected false assertions that he should depart from the truth. The fact complained of was of old standing; the practice was known and tolerated. In 1845, the Court of Bordeaux declared that the practice was legal, and had nothing in it contrary to the laws or to morality. He should never regret to see those old abuses put

an end to—to find the public conscience more tenacious, and impose on the Administration new duties and more elevated sentiments of delicacy (*approbation*); but he, at the same time, would be just towards the past and the present. In such a state of things, what was the conduct to be pursued by the Government? To put an end to the abuses which had been pointed out to it. For two years past the abuse complained of had ceased, and such practices as were now brought before the Chamber forbidden. Since that time he had heard of a great number of demands and solicitations of the same nature, which had all fallen to the ground. The Government had done more; it had proposed to substitute a formal law for a doubtful and uncertain system. The Bill would be discussed, and might be altered if it were considered not severe enough. What more could be demanded? He should thus consider the question as terminated. He had no right to demand justice from the Opposition. Parties could not be just towards one another, or demand perfect impartiality and the absence of all passion. What, however, had now taken place went beyond the ordinary limits of attacks on justice and on truth. He sought to express himself in the mildest and least offensive manner, but he could not but repeat what he had said. The Conservative party ought, more than any other, to show itself vigilant in watching over public morality, the true basis of public order. He must, however, remind it of one thing, that the men whom it honoured with its confidence had received a very mingled inheritance from the past; they had sought to regulate and purify that which had been thus bequeathed to them. If it did not feel a confidence that the labours of the Government were in conformity with the wishes of the majority, let it be overthrown at once. The Government, however, felt that it had a right to inspire that confidence; and, if it saw its power weakened and lessened in its hands, it would not retain it for a single moment.

M. Odillon Barrot said, that after the speech which they had just heard from the honourable Minister, the discussion could scarcely be prolonged. He had long been aware that they could not agree with regard to politics, but he now found that they could not do so on questions of honour and morality. He had brought forward facts in such a manner, that he believed it impossible for the Government to escape the alternative of either declaring them false, or accepting the responsibility attendant on them. "But no," said the honourable gentleman, turning towards M. Guizot, "you call these facts insignificant, — you, a political man, raised to the Presidency of the Council, representing the Government in its highest degree, you dare to style insignificant the fact of having sought out a third party, who would purchase the resignation of which you stood in need, and of having repaid that third party with a place in the Finance. Such a fact has taken place in your office, through the agency of him who represents you, and you think no more of it! The whole Chamber has been already moved, not by an act of direct complicity, but by one of simple tolerance, and when the act of complicity, which we now denounce, is accomplished with your concurrence, with your approbation, and

even at your office, after the solemn discussion which had taken place in this Chamber, after the solemn engagement which that discussion drew from you, what signifies the language which you use to-day? The engagement which you have taken does not doubtless signify that you will not participate in the bargain; one does not engage oneself to be an honest man and a loyal Minister. But the members of the Court of Accounts who have accepted these bargains have not participated in the pecuniary sacrifices which the movement has caused. It is a third party who paid for them, and that third party has been repaid with a place which should have been the legitimate reward of old and honourable services—and yet these you call insignificant facts! Believe me, you will require all your moral force in order to withstand the trial that awaits you. You intrench yourself in your pride: but, when the Government is concerned, set your personal pride aside, for it has nothing to do here. Permit me to tell you that you put the majority to a very cruel trial. You build on the confidence you imagine you inspire; but that confidence, allow me to tell you, has in it something very insolent. All you do is to turn towards your majority, and say, 'Continue to vote for me as hitherto, and all will be well!'"

An animated debate followed, in the course of which M. Thiers, in reply to some remarks by M. de Peyramont, said that he did not deny that the abuse spoken of had existed under several Administrations; he admitted it. But what he denied was, that either he or any of his colleagues had ever taken part in such practices, or in any way mixed themselves up with them. If any one said that he had ever taken part in such negotiations, he should reply to him by a contradiction as to a base caluminator.

Ultimately M. de Peyramont proposed the following order of the day:—"The Chamber, relying on the wish expressed by the Government, and on the efficacy of the measures to be taken to put an end to a long-standing and objectionable abuse, passes to the order of the day."

M. Darblay proposed a third order of the day, as follows:—"The Chamber, afflicted and dissatisfied, closes the debate on the incident, and passes to the order of the day."

The President of the Council considered the order of the day proposed by M. Darblay as implying censure, and opposed it.

M. E. de Girardin.—The President of the Council ought also to declare his opinion relative to the order of the day of M. de Peyramont, which contains a blame.

The President of the Council.—If M. de Peyramont and his friends attached to his order of the day a sense such as M. E. de Girardin implies, I should reject it also. But it is evident to every man of common sense, from the speech of M. de Peyramont, that he wishes to express his confidence in the firm determination of the Government to prevent the recurrence of a highly objectionable abuse. That not being in any respect contrary to what I have said, I accept it.

The President.—The Chamber will first decide on the order of the day of M. Darblay. If it is accepted, all is finished; but, if not, I shall then consult the Chamber on that of M. de Peyramont.

The Chamber then proceeded to vote on M. Darblay's order of the day, when the numbers were—

Against it	225
In its favour	146
Majority	79

M. Darblay's order of the day was consequently rejected, and that of M. de Peyramont was then adopted by a show of hands.

We may mention that the same subject had been previously, on the 11th of January, brought forward in the Chamber of Peers by the Marquis de Boissy, who said that the Ministry was the object of universal reprobation and animadversion, and the same feeling, he was sorry to say, was shared by the army and navy, who, notwithstanding the decorations and promotions lavished upon them, were deeply afflicted at the deplorable course pursued by the Government. Every person enjoying its confidence was an object of distrust to the country. The recent elections of the National Guard were a proof of it, all the Ministerial candidates having been defeated. The sentiment of opposition in the ranks of the armed citizens had reached such a pitch that the General-in-Chief of the National Guard was afraid to station a single legion on the passage of the King. Upon this M. Guizot rose, and admitted the abuse denounced by M. Boissy relative to the sale of an office in the Court of Accounts. That practice, he said, had existed for many years, and under all previous Administrations. The transaction, he regretted to say, was even authorized by the law. He added, however, that it had now ceased to exist.

The general discussion on the Address in the Chamber of Deputies closed on Saturday the 22nd of January, and on the following Monday the debate on the separate paragraphs commenced. During the discussion on the first paragraph an attack was made upon the Ministry by M. Gauthier de Rumilly, for not having taken the proper measures to alleviate the calamities of the famine of last year. He was followed by M. Cunin Gridaine, the Minister of Agriculture, who vindicated the Government against the charge of not having taken proper measures to avert the crisis of 1846. In the spring of that year he had written to all the prefects, to inform him regularly of the progress of the crops. Their appearance was at first most reassuring, but the heat, usually so beneficial, was attended with the contrary effect. Had the Government manifested its fears as early as September, the price of grain would have increased in all the principal markets and aggravated the difficulty of procuring supplies. When the Minister published the circular alluded to by M. de Rumilly, it was known that a deficit existed, but it was believed that 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 of hectolitres of foreign grain would amply compensate it. Most of the other countries of Europe had suffered from the crisis, and in England it had produced more serious consequences than in France. The deficit in the revenues of Great Britain had amounted to 55,000,000*f.*, while the diminution in those of France did not exceed 2,500,000*f.* The Minister, in concluding, declared, that it was not the provision crisis that had brought about the commercial crisis, but the agitation excited in the country by the Reform banquets.

The second paragraph related to the question of finance, and the completion of the public works then in progress; and in the course of the discussion M. Dumon drew a comparison between the financial situation of France and England, and said that the latter had never undertaken any great work without having recourse to loans or extraordinary taxation, while France during the last ten years effected great undertakings from the ordinary resources of the country. The reserves of the sinking fund appeared to be looked on as an extraordinary resource; but in fact they made part of the ordinary budget of the State, and to have recourse to them was to remain within the ordinary limits of their resources. During the last ten years enormous works had been accomplished; they had conquered and pacified Algeria without imposing fresh taxes or contracting a loan, and at the end of the last financial year all the arrears had been covered by the ordinary resources, and the budget, so to speak, brought into a state of equilibrium. The Government, in establishing the budget of 1849, had endeavoured to abstain from any new expenses, and to secure the receipts without increasing the taxes, but also without consenting to a reduction of taxes which would take 50,000,000*f.* from the Treasury, which no one in his situation would have dared to do. As to whether the budget would remain in a state of equilibrium it was impossible to say. No one could foresee two years beforehand what extraordinary expenses would be called for; the Government had done all that lay in its power at the present moment. It had presented an even budget, and everything led to the hope that that order would not be much disturbed. The *Rentes*, which in 1847 had fallen in consequence of the food crisis, would recover in 1848. There was nothing to lead to a dread of large extraordinary expenses. Africa had been pacified by a glorious event which had just taken place, and the prospect of the future was every way cheering. Every confidence might be felt in the continuance of peace, for unless the Government felt that confidence, it would not engage the country in great public works. It was not sufficient to maintain order, it was necessary also to endow the country with something great and durable; and to do that, it was necessary to feel confident of the duration of peace. A comparison had been drawn between the state of railways in France and other countries, and a complaint made that France was less advanced, while at the same time the Government was accused of wasting the public money. The financial state of the country did not in any way compromise future great public works, for there remained yet to be executed to the amount of 1,080,000,000*f.* About half that sum had been realised, and to complete it 550,000,000*f.* would be taken from the reserves of the sinking fund, which there was every reason to hope would be able to furnish it. He had been reproached with contracting a loan without diminishing the floating debt, but to this he should reply by quoting the example of England, who in contracting a loan had increased the rate of interest on Exchequer bills. He should conclude by observing to certain honourable gentlemen who were fond of asking what would happen if political events should

entail fresh charges on the State, that on that point they might make themselves perfectly easy; for what was apprehended had happened eight years since; political necessities had compelled an interruption to public works, but the policy now followed by the Government would never again impose such necessity.

M. Thiers, who followed, declared that he was not reassured by the financial exposition of M. Dumon. Facts, unfortunately, little justified the illusions of the Minister, and, in M. Thiers' opinion, if a radical change were not introduced into the system, a catastrophe was inevitable. The average annual deficit during the last five years had amounted to from 65,000,000*f.* to 70,000,000*f.* The surplus during the same interval had exceeded 30,000,000*f.*, so that the annual deficit was reduced to 25,000,000*f.* The ordinary budget inspired him with no apprehension, as the reserve of the Sinking Fund was always available. The extraordinary budget, however, filled him with uneasiness. Since 1842, the Chambers had voted 1,100,000,000*f.* for public works, which was not all, for the Government had entailed an additional expense on private companies of between 1,300,000,000*f.*, and 1,400,000,000*f.* more—in all 2,500,000,000*f.* The ordinary budget had reached in 1848 the enormous sum of 1,382,000,000*f.*; the extraordinary budget was 135,000,000*f.*, and with the deficit of 60,000,000*f.* the whole of the estimates would amount to about 1,600,000,000*f.*, a sum which had even been exceeded by 59,000,000*f.* in 1847. Was the Minister of Finance certain that that sum would not be exceeded? He did not think so, and he accordingly considered himself justified in saying that the finances were advancing towards the brink of an abyss. M. Thiers did not believe that 1848 would be the last calamitous year, and that a new era would commence in 1849, when the reserve of the Sinking Fund would be completely available. Abbé Louis often told him that a Government should always pay its debts in time of peace, in order to be able to borrow in time of war. The present Ministers reversed that axiom, and borrowed in time of peace. M. Thiers next examined the question of the floating debt, which now amounted to 330,000,000*f.* He contended that, at the close of 1848, the public works, executed and due, would amount to 676,000,000*f.*, and that, admitting that the loan would produce 140,000,000*f.* on the 7th of December, 1848, and that the railroad companies would reimburse 52,000,000*f.* in the year, which he did not believe, the floating debt would be increased to about 800,000,000*f.*, and at the end of 1849 it would not be under 700,000,000*f.* M. Thiers abstained from characterizing such a situation, and contented himself with observing that it was highly imprudent. In conclusion, he again expressed his fear that a catastrophe was impending. Since the conclusion of the Spanish marriages, the Ministry, he said, could no longer call itself a Ministry of peace, and that impolitic act had been the real and sole cause of the present crisis.

The Minister of Finance pointed out the inaccuracy of M. Thiers' assertion, that the amount of floating debt at the end of 1848 would be from 750,000,000*f.* to

800,000,000*f.* That was an error into which the honourable gentleman could not have fallen if he had not assumed as expenses the credits which had been opened, and if he had taken more into account the influence of the loan on the floating debt. The amount of the credits opened for the execution of the works voted by the Bill of 1842 amounted to 150,000,000*f.*, which brought the whole sum at the charge of the floating debt to 815,000,000*f.* But, on the other hand, the resources were 190,000,000*f.* from the loan, and 20,000,000*f.* from the railway companies, which together gave a sum of 210,000,000*f.*; thus reducing the amount of the floating debt to 605,000,000*f.* It was, therefore, with good reason that he had asserted that the floating debt at the end of 1848 would not exceed 620,000,000*f.*

M. Thiers repeated his arguments in favour of the opinion that the amount of the floating debt would be from 750,000,000*f.* to 800,000,000*f.* until such period when the public works were terminated, and concluded thus:—"Your situation is so much the more grave that you incessantly are postponing the means of extricating yourselves from it. No very extraordinary circumstances are required to cause a Government to have need of 100,000,000*f.* If to-morrow you were in want of an issue of 100,000,000*f.* of Treasury bonds, it would be impossible for you to obtain that amount."

In the course of the debate M. Luneau was proceeding to read some passages from a pamphlet, but cries of "Enough, enough," drowned his voice. Ministers, said the honourable deputy, had an army of 300 supporters behind them, so that it was impossible for an independent deputy to obtain a hearing. He concluded by declaring that the Government was fast proceeding towards a general monopoly, which was, in fact, nothing but pure communism.

On the 31st of January, when the subject of debate in the Chamber of Deputies was the paragraph relating to foreign Powers, and especially the affairs of Italy, M. Thiers ascended the tribune, and delivered a long and able speech in favour of Italian independence. The following are a few extracts:—"When Italy now looks forth for hope, it is not to France that she directs her regards—a misfortune alike for her and for us! And therefore is it that I repeat that she ought not to be allowed to entertain any doubt of our feeling towards her. Let me, however, before I enter on the question of our policy towards that country, devote a few words to the cause of liberty. You all know what is passing at Palermo. A great city has been bombarded for eight-and-forty hours—bombarded, not by foreigners, but by her own Government—bombarded, not for injuries done, but for having demanded rights. Yes, the inhabitants demanded, not anarchical and dangerous liberties, but the most equitable and most natural rights—that of being judged by impartial magistrates—of controlling the expenses of an Administration which weighs them down with taxes—of having certain municipal privileges—in fine, they demanded a constitution for Sicily. Such were the rights for demanding which Palermo was subjected to a forty-eight hours' bombardment! In the name of humanity I here denounce such acts. I do not here contest the rights of established Governments:

they have a right to defend themselves; when the authorities are attacked by an armed force, they must naturally look to their defence; it is a hard extremity, but it must sometimes occur; but against inoffensive assemblages, when it is only necessary to repress some innocuous cries, it is repugnant to all the laws of humanity to have recourse to such extreme means. And since in denouncing some excesses, which I deplore, such lively sympathies were called forth in another assembly, you will not remain silent and insensible in presence of those for which Italy groans. The noble Parliament of England, which examines, weighs, and judges every matter, has well examined and judged this serious question; we have also a tribune, let us use it in behalf of those who have none. There is a moral equilibrium to maintain. Yes, there are in Europe Absolutist ideas and Liberal ideas. The great equilibrium exercises these two tendencies. I mean nothing offensive to any one. Let those people who like absolutism live quietly beneath its yoke; but what we must watch over is, that the just balance between the two tendencies is maintained. Every time that France gets rid of an enemy she gains a friend. Is that a reason why we should go violently and clandestinely to give liberty to countries which have it not? Certainly not. To impose liberty at the point of the bayonet is violence; to impose it by propagandism would be perfidy. But we have been just towards others, let us be so to ourselves. When liberty shall develope itself in any quarter, without any other participation on our part than Montesquieu, Descartes, Pascal, those sublime agitators of human ideas, without any other complicity on our part than the taking of the Bastile, and the revolution of July —when revolution shall develope itself it is sacred. It is sacred, and no one should interfere with it; to do so would be an attack against nature and against humanity. We should not carry liberty into any quarter, but we ought not to suffer it to be molested when it comes spontaneously. No; France must not suffer it. It is the principle of our policy. You are aware of what took place at Rome at the time of the nomination of the present Pontiff. Every one expected a long conclave, but it only lasted three days. Count Rossi is assuredly a very clever man, but I do not think he contributed much to the elevation of Pius IX. How was he elected? By the oldest cardinals, from a sentiment of fear, and they named a reforming Pontiff in order to remove danger. At Florence and at Turin the sovereigns yielded to the seductions of a people whom they loved. One sovereign alone, that of Naples, presented to the people, who with eagerness thronged around him, the point of his sword, at the risk of wounding himself with it. But we had nothing to do with it. We are strangers to it all. Treaties have been spoken of—yes, they must be observed, but we cannot be prevented from detesting them. Others must be made to observe them. You have not done in Italy what you might have done. I have admired with what address you have dissembled the real question. Remodelling of territory is not the point at issue. We do not call on you to overturn Italy, but to cause treaties to be observed. Why are the Austrians at Modena? The

treaties of 1815 forbid it. Cause them to be respected. You will tell me the Italians will not find that enough. Act always for yourselves, for your honour under present circumstances. Give hope to those who ought to hope, and inspire fear in those who ought to apprehend it. Doubtless those who suffer demand more, but cause treaties to be respected, for that will be something. At Turin, at Florence, at Rome, where the people, I must say, are not too exacting, why do the sovereigns concede so little? Because they live in fear of the intervention of Austria. It is the sword of Damocles suspended over Italy. I admit that hitherto liberty has been respected at Turin, at Rome, and at Florence, and this fact constitutes a great danger for Austria. But what is the convention which the Absolute and the Liberal Governments have entered into? It is to tolerate each other's vicinity—we support that of absolutism, let them support that of liberty. Yes, it will be painful to the Austrians to put up with the administrative reforms of the Italian States; but she must support them, and, had it not been for the enormous fault which has been committed, there would have been two nations together to make her do so—I allude to the Spanish marriages. That question is not finished; the results are now beginning to show themselves. England has assumed a position which I advise you to adopt; she has required a respect for the territories and the prerogatives of Governments, and added that, if force were employed, she could not look on with indifference. I ask you, whether if France and England had come to an understanding, if they had used the same language, if they had united together to stop the Austrians, where any danger would have been? England is popular in Italy, because it is known that instead of opposing governmental modifications she has always encouraged them. I am aware that the Italians wish to go faster than is consistent with prudence; but where does the danger lie under such circumstances? The danger is that princes do not refuse concessions, but make them too late, or insufficiently, and that then the people, becoming impatient, should do at Florence and at Rome what has been done at Palermo. What ought you to do in this case? Instead of your holding up the princes to the people as enemies, they should be advised to wait, and be assured of obtaining the concessions which they demand. This is what has not been done. The question is very simple. It does not concern the future fate of Italy, which I hope will be prosperous and glorious; it does not relate to the remodelling of Italy, to the question of territories, but to the independence of the states in their present limits; and that independence it is our duty to guarantee, and to protect as our own interest. If I were permitted to address myself to the Italians themselves, I should say to them, 'Be united, Tuscans, Romans, Genoese, Piedmontese, and Neapolitans, form yourselves into one great family. People and princes be united. The altar of the country should be at this moment for the whole of Italy the altar of concord, on which you princes should place all that can no longer be reconciled with the spirit of the age, and you people, all your premature hopes. When you shall thus understand each

other, be united state to state, have at Rome one Pontiff, let Charles Albert declare himself in Piedmont the champion of your independence, and, if you are ever attacked, reckon on France—whose glory is of ancient date, but whose heart never grows old—on France, which is neither abased nor degenerated. She has never degenerated but in the hands of those who have considered her made in their own image. On that day France and England will speak in common; they will forget all their dissensions to utter together the language not only of liberty and of humanity, but of treaties, and on that day you will be saved.'"

M. Guizot then rose and said: "In M. Thiers' speech there are a great variety of topics touched on, and on many of the most essential we completely agree; when he expressed his sympathy for Italy, he gave utterance to my sentiments as well as to his own. We also have the pretension of knowing all the services that Italy has rendered to humanity, and we are happy in paying to her, in that respect, our share of gratitude. But it will not be considered strange that we, occupying as we do the Ministerial bench, are obliged to render to ourselves a more exact account of our words and of our acts than the honourable gentleman has occasion for, when speaking with his full liberty as a Deputy. Were that honourable gentleman in my place and I in his, I am certain that he would be as apprehensive as I that brute force—or call it by its proper name, war—should step in to trouble the work now being accomplished in Italy. It is because I am as desirous as M. Thiers that these reforms should gain strength—that nothing should be compromised in Europe, that I have followed the policy which is now attacked. I quite share, also, in the sentiments the honourable gentleman has expressed relative to what I shall call useless excesses; but I must protest against the employment of such words as he has adopted, as being neither useful nor suitable when applied to Governments which it is desired to recall to sentiments of moderation, liberalism, and clemency. I have, also, to clear up a point alluded to by the honourable gentleman relative to an application made by Austria to the Cabinets of Europe. Neither he nor I can produce the despatches spoken of. I have them not, neither probably has he; but if I had them in my possession, I should not conceive myself entitled to produce them here. What occurred was, that Austria, preoccupied with the danger which the territorial question was raising up for her in Italy, addressed a note to the European Governments to affirm her right to maintain her Italian possessions according to the terms of treaties, and to demand their adhesion to her claim. That adhesion was formally given by the English Cabinet as well as by others. I affirm to the Chamber that this is the sense, if not the very words, of the despatch. That incident being disposed of, I now proceed to the main question at present at issue. M. Thiers has reduced the question to two points: he says that we ought to maintain completely the independence of the Italian States, and to afford support to those who wish to encourage in these states internal reforms. On these two points I am exactly of his opinion;

and I affirm that such is not only our language at present, but such has been our rule of conduct throughout. We do not think ourselves called on to indicate of ourselves, and from here, to each Government, what nature of reform, and what degree of it, ought to be proper to be effected. I have for their independence the feeling of respect to let them decide themselves what they ought to do. I am quite of opinion, with M. Thiers, that France ought to watch carefully over the maintenance of that great balance of power which is becoming daily more and more displaced to the profit of the free Governments. I believe that every absolute Government which ceases is a chance gained for France—I believe that every natural attempt to recover liberty is of advantage to this country; but only on condition that such effort proves successful, and that from it issues a regular and durable government. What is most dangerous for us is fruitless, unsuccessful attempts. What was there ever of greater nullity for Italy than the revolutions of 1820 and 1821—those ill-digested, badly-executed acts? I want to see efficient movements only, for by such only can her independence be assured."

The President of the Council then quoted what M. Thiers himself said in a pamphlet, published in 1831. "The Government ought to call on the Austrians to withdraw; but to intervene, in order to obtain that result, would be a grave matter, which might lead to war. France risked it for Belgium; but she ought not to do so for Modena and Bologna."

M. Thiers.—You have not then advanced a step for 17 years.

The President of the Council.—"Neither did we believe that, under existing circumstances, Modena was equal to Rome, and that the entrance of the Austrians into the former state was of the same importance as their entry into the Papal States. I now come to the second point alluded to by the honourable gentleman. He has told us to encourage reforms. We have done so; the proof of this is to be found in the documents which we have communicated to the Chamber, and in all our acts." The King's Government would, everywhere and always, maintain the independence of the Italian states. There was scarcely anything which M. Thiers had mentioned but what the Government was ready to do. He felt bound to tell the Chamber that the advice given by the honourable Deputy had been already acted upon. He might, perhaps, be more popular in Italy; but the conduct of the Government in the Italian states has been, on every point, in conformity to the true interests of the country and those of humanity.

In discussing the paragraph of the address relating to the affairs of Switzerland, M. Thiers said that he would examine the question with all the moderation he could command, and he would deserve much merit in doing so, for no act of the Cabinet had filled him with more irritation than its conduct towards Switzerland. The Ministry viewed, in the triumph of the Swiss Government, the triumph of the Radicals and the prelude of fresh disorders and anarchy. M. Thiers, on the contrary, saw in the present situation of Switzerland, the revolution and the counter-revolution; and the French

Government, he was sorry to find, had espoused the cause of the latter. He then referred to the events accomplished in Switzerland during the last 50 years, and contended that the Treaty of Vienna did not authorize the Powers of Europe, parties thereto, to interfere with the Federal Pact. Those Powers, in concluding that treaty, had merely wished to establish the neutrality of Switzerland, and ensure her territorial integrity. Austria alone asserted that Switzerland had not the right to modify the Pact without the consent of the Powers, and France had at all times entertained the contrary opinion. M. Thiers then proceeded to justify the aggressions committed by the majority of the cantons against the minority, and stated that these intended not only to maintain the Jesuits, but to impose them on the other cantons of the Confederation; he then vindicated the conquerors against the charges of exaction and oppression, and described their conduct as perfectly legal, moral, and moderate.

M. Guizot replied in a most effective speech. He said, that if the policy adopted by the Cabinet towards Switzerland had caused M. Thiers much irritation, he had, in his turn, experienced considerable pain in listening to the speech of the honourable Member, and could not help regretting that so eminent a man should suffer himself to be so blinded by passion. The more he reflected on the opinions expressed by M. Thiers, the more he deplored the situation in which he had placed himself. "It has," exclaimed M. Guizot, "inspired no irritation in me against M. Thiers; but it will have the effect of inducing me to redouble my vigilance against his detestable policy." He would not follow him in his historical disquisition, nor indulge in recrimination, but would at once proceed to examine the right of the Powers, parties to the treaties of 1815, to interfere in the question of the revision of the Federal Pact, which was contested by M. Thiers. This was an error, and a fundamental one. On the 6th of April, 1814, the Diet deliberated with the envoys of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the draught of the Federal Constitution, and, on the 18th of June, France joined the conference. The article of the Convention of Paris positively stated that France recognised and would guarantee the political constitution of Switzerland, and authority had been given to all the delegates of those powers to labour in conjunction with the Diet to frame that constitution. France, consequently, had a right to inquire into the events now passing in the country. M. Guizot next cited passages from a number of documents to prove that it was the cause of liberty he had defended in Switzerland. He then described the state of anarchy which now prevailed there, and asked if that was the liberty desired by M. Thiers. There existed, he said, no struggle in Switzerland between the revolution and counter-revolution, any more than in France; but there was in both countries a strife of the partisans of disorder against regular Governments. Under the influence of a party devoid of all morality, Switzerland must become a focus of disorder, and a refuge for all the discontented of the neighbouring nations. M. Thiers, at another period, had held in his despatches

precisely the same language he (M. Guizot) held at that moment; and to demonstrate it, he quoted despatches, dated 1836, written by M. Thiers, which fully bore out his statement. [M. Thiers here interrupted M. Guizot, and said that circumstances were not the same, and that, in all cases, he had not applied to M. Metternich, but acted alone.] M. Guizot replied, that circumstances were at present far more serious than in 1836; that it was the same anarchical spirit which had then failed to overthrow regular Governments that again raised its head with redoubled fury.

After an animated debate, the paragraph of the Address, which had been warmly contested, was voted by a considerable majority. On a scrutiny there appeared—

For the paragraph . .	206
Against it	126
Majority for Ministers	80

Next followed a debate on the paragraph referring to the Reform Banquets, to which subsequent events gave an interest and importance which it would not otherwise have possessed. M. de Malleville contended that the citizens were legally entitled to hold such meetings, and that no court of justice in France would sanction the pretensions of the Ministry to prohibit them, founded on the law of 1790. The Minister of the Interior rose to reply to M. de Malleville, and said that he wondered at his questioning the legality of the course pursued by the Cabinet, when he himself, as Under-Secretary of State of the Ministry of the Interior, in the Administration of M. Thiers, had invoked the same law in order to prevent similar demonstrations. M. de Malleville here observed that he recognised the right of the Government to prohibit those *réunions* in public places, but he could not grant it as respected private houses. The Minister of the Interior thanked his opponent for that concession, and maintained that the moment an appeal was addressed to the public, and that the dinner was given by subscription, the Government was justified in preventing it, were it even to take place in a private establishment. The Minister then proceeded to describe the danger to public order attending such *réunions*, which he compared to the clubs of the French Revolution.

These statements by M. Duchâtel occasioned great uproar and confusion in the Chamber, and a voice shouted out "*C'est Charles le Dix tout pur.*" M. Crémieux exclaimed, amidst loud applause, "There is blood in it!" and M. Odillon Barrot told the Ministers, that the moment was dangerous, and that they might prepare for revolution.

On the 4th of February the paragraph relative to Poland gave rise to an animated debate. M. Larabet hoped that it would be unanimously voted. M. Vavin expressed his warm sympathy for the Polish cause, and blamed the Ministry for prohibiting a banquet which was to have been lately offered to Prince Czartoryski. M. Salvandy contended that the Poles received a generous hospitality in France. and that a sum of 1,500,000*f.* was annually divided amongst the emigrants who needed assistance. M. L'Herbette asked M. Guizot if a Russian subject had not been recently expelled from France for

pronouncing a speech hostile to the Emperor Nicholas. M. Guizot replied that the banquet at which the speech had been delivered had been permitted by the Government, and that that circumstance had aggravated the offence of the speaker. After a few words from MM. L'Herbette and Chambolle, the paragraph was voted.

On the following day, while the paragraph relating to Algeria was under discussion, Marshal Bugeaud said, that the submission of Abd-el-Kader was a new guarantee in favour of the African possessions of France; but he was, nevertheless, of opinion that the army should be reduced as little as possible in presence of a warlike population of at least 4,000,000 souls, who could, in six weeks, turn into the field between 500,000 and 600,000 combatants.

General Lamoricière vindicated the Duc d'Aumale against the charge of levity which had been directed against him on the occasion of the submission of Abd-el-Kader, and contended that any other general in his place would have acted as he did.

M. Guizot, having been asked by M. Larochejaquelin what the Government intended to do with the Emir, replied—"The promise made to him shall be fulfilled. We cannot, however, allow him to proceed to St. Jean d'Acre, because that fortress belongs to the Porte, which has not yet recognised our African possessions. If Abd-el-Kader wishes to be conveyed to the East, he shall be conducted to Alexandria. There, if the Viceroy consents to receive him, we will find guarantees and securities, which St. Jean d'Acre does not offer."

A long and vehement discussion took place upon the paragraph which attacked the Reform demonstrations throughout the country, and especially upon the propriety of the sentence stating that "the agitation excited by hostile passions, or by blind delusion, will give way before the reason of the public, enlightened by our free discussions."

In the course of the debate the Minister of the Interior again spoke against the Reform banquets, declaring that they were illegal, and that the Government had determined that no more meetings of that kind should take place.

Upon this M. Odillon Barrot exclaimed, "You are worse than Polignac and Perronet!"

A tremendous scene of uproar now ensued. The Ministerial Members would not hear any more speeches, and the Opposition quitting their seats, the President pronounced the discussion to be at an end, amidst much confusion, and mutual recrimination.

Ultimately, however, the Opposition, as a body, refused to vote at all, and the paragraph was carried by a majority of 205. The numbers were—

For the paragraph . .	223
Against it	18

Next day (Feb. 12) the following amendment was moved, by M. Sallandrouze, to the last paragraph of the Address:—

"Amidst those different manifestations, your Government will discriminate the real and legitimate wishes of the country. It will, we trust, assume the initiative of the wise and moderate reforms claimed by public opinion, amongst which Parliamentary reform holds

the first place. In a constitutional Monarchy the union of the great powers of the State enables the Government to pursue, without danger, a policy of progress, and to satisfy all the moral and material interests of the country."

He said, that it was not enough to prohibit banquets, it was likewise indispensable to remove their cause, by granting certain reforms demanded by all parties. It was evident that something should be done; and, if the Government was really anxious to save the country from anarchical doctrines, it had it in its power still to accomplish, with dignity, and within the limits it might deem expedient, the beneficial measure claimed by public opinion. Should it hesitate much longer, it might be compelled, by circumstances, to make deplorable concessions. M. Goulard, who followed, said that the moment was inopportune for Parliamentary reform. He proceeded, amidst the murmurs of the Opposition, to vindicate the existing electoral law, and contended that the Chamber could not alter it without committing suicide. M. Clapier, in the name of part of the Conservative party, demanded that a Bill for Parliamentary reform be presented this year. M. de Morny, another Conservative Member, after indulging in some attacks against the Opposition, declared that he would cease to support the Ministry if it did not bring forward such a law next Session. M. Guizot then rose and said, that the Cabinet would do nothing this year. In the meantime, he refused to make any promise for the future, but added that he and his colleagues would exert themselves in the interest of the Conservative party, to reunite, by a common compromise, the different fractions which composed it. He said, however, that the question should be carefully examined during the present Parliament, and declared that, if arrangements among the Conservatives were not successful, the Cabinet would leave to others the care of presiding over the disorganization of the party and the ruin of its policy.

M. Thiers then rose and said, that the Chamber had not asked for the promise of a discussion; that it could have without leave. The question was, what is the opinion of the majority on the two questions of Parliamentary and Electoral Reform? As to the first branch, all were agreed that two hundred employés ought not to sit in the Chamber. On the second branch all too were agreed, except the Government, which was divided. On a question which agitated France from one end to the other, the Government had no fixed opinion, but was obliged to take its opinions from the Opposition, whose ideas M. Guizot pretended to despise. The success of the measure he was, however, happy to say was certain, and it was now a mere question of time. M. Guizot repeated his former declaration, and was succeeded by M. Blanqui, who protested against the distinction drawn by M. Guizot between the two parties into which the Conservative majority was divided, one of which he had called truly Conservative, and the other hostile. M. d'Arblay, who followed, observed that M. Guizot had made a similar promise last Session. After a few words from M. Rémusat, the discussion was closed, and the amendment of M. Sallandrouze was rejected by a majority of 222 to 189. The entire Ad-

dress was afterwards adopted by 241 to 3, the Opposition still abstaining from voting.

As a symptom of what was passing in men's minds at this time, we transcribe a passage that appeared in the columns of the *National*, the editor of which, M. Armand Marrast, was afterwards, for a considerable period, President of the National Assembly, and one of the most active promoters and supporters of the Republic.

"The contest of words must be transformed into one of actions; arbitrary power must be faced by right and by courage; good citizens must promise us to lend a firm support to all those who do not wish these discussions to remain unfruitful. We have arrived at one of those moments in which to defend the liberty of one's country is to defend one's honour. Paris, which effected the revolution of July, in order to resist Royal ordinances, will not allow her rights to be confiscated by a decree of the police. When force is beyond the pale of the law, it is no longer anything but violence; and violence has always entailed misfortunes on those who have employed it."

CHAPTER VIII.

Meeting of the Opposition Members—Announcement of a Reform Banquet at Paris—The National Guards called upon to appear in uniform—Prohibition of the Banquet by Ministers—It is given up by the Opposition—Address by General Jacqueminot to the National Guards—Act of Impeachment of Ministers—Disturbed state of Paris—Resignation of M. Guizot and his Colleagues—Collisions between the populace and the military—Joy of the mob at the downfall of the Ministry—Lamentable incident at the Hotel of the Minister des Affaires Etrangères—Cruel stratagem of Lagrange and the Republicans—Its momentous Consequences—Barricades erected on the morning of the 24th of February—Count Molé is unable to form a Ministry—M. Thiers sent for by the King—Proclamation by M. Thiers and M. Odillon Barrot—The mob threatens the Tuileries—The National Guards and troops of the line offer no resistance—Abdication of Louis Philippe—Terrible scene in the Chamber of Deputies—The Duchess of Orleans and the young Princes enter the Chamber—Irruption of the mob—Demand of a Provisional Government by M. Marie—Speech of M. Odillon Barrot—Speeches of M. Ledru Rollin and M. de Lamartine—The mob masters of the Chamber—Nomination of a Provisional Government—"To the Hôtel de Ville!"—Scene of tumultuous violence in the Chamber—Proclamation of the Republic *at the Hôtel de Ville—Sanguinary contest at the Palais Royal—Escape of Louis Philippe and the Royal Family—The ex-King and Queen arrive in England—Farewell Address by the Duc d'Aumale to the Army in Algeria—The Tuileries in the hands of the mob—Proclamations of the Provisional Government—Distribution of offices—All vestiges of Monarchy swept away—Abolition of titles of nobility—Respect shown for private property in Paris—Devastations in the provinces—Appointment of Barbès as Colonel in the National Guard—The Populace and the Clergy—Clamours for the "Red Republic" at the Hôtel de Ville—Courageous firmness of M. de Lamartine—Official Proclamation of the Republic—Was France republican at heart?—Decree convoking a Constituent National Assembly—M. de Lamartine and the Foreign Policy of the New Government—His Manifesto to Europe—Alarming Circulars issued by M. Ledru Rollin and M. Carnot—Their Doctrines disclaimed by the Provisional Government—Quarrel between the National Guard and the Government—The former obliged to give way—Appointment of a Committee of Labour for the Operatives—National Workshops (ateliers) established—Hostility to English Workmen—Regulations for*

payment of Taxes—Financial position of the Republic—Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank of France, and by Banks in the provinces—Louis Blanc's plan for the Organization of Labour—The Communists or Socialists—Disturbance created by them on the 16th of April—Election of Deputies for the National Assembly—Riots in various places—Views of the extreme Democrats.

THE Ministry having gained their doubtful triumph in the Chamber, a large meeting of the Members of the Opposition took place on the following day, to consider what course of policy they should adopt. The twelfth arrondissement of Paris had at the beginning of the year determined to celebrate a Reform Banquet on the 19th of January; but in consequence of opposition from the authorities it was from time to time postponed, and it was ultimately fixed that it should take place on Tuesday, the 22nd of February. The intention of the Government was not to prevent the banquet by force, but protest against the proceedings, and afterwards try the question of their legality in a court of law. The Committee, however, appointed to organize the public dinner, issued on Sunday the 20th an announcement, in which they prescribed the mode in which the parties intending to be present were to assemble and proceed in procession along the streets to the banquet. At the same time, the National Guards were called upon to attend in uniform "for the purpose of defending liberty, by joining the demonstration, and protecting order and preventing all collision by their presence."

This was clearly an illegal step—for it was the attempt of a number of private individuals to usurp the functions of the Executive, and by their own authority effect a display of military force in the streets of Paris. The Government, therefore, determined to prohibit the banquet, and, on the evening of Monday the 21st, the following proclamation was issued and posted on the walls in different parts of the city:—

"*Parisians,—*

"The Government had interdicted the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. It was within its right in doing this, being authorized by the letter and spirit of the law. Nevertheless, in consequence of the discussion which took place in the Chamber on this subject, thinking that the Opposition was acting with good faith, it resolved to afford it an opportunity for submitting the question of the legality of banquets to the appreciation of the tribunals and the High Court of Cassation. To do this, it had resolved to authorize for to-morrow the entrance into the banquet-room, hoping that the persons present at the manifestation would have the wisdom to retire at the first summons. But, after the manifesto published this morning, calling the public to a manifestation, convoking the National Guards, and assigning them a place ranked by the legions, and ranging them in line, a Government is raised in opposition to the real Government, usurps the public power, and openly violates the Charter. These are acts which the Government cannot tolerate. In consequence, the banquet of the 12th arrondissement will not take place. Parisians! remain deaf to every excitement to

disorder. Do not, by tumultuous assemblages, afford grounds for a repression which the Government would deplore."

On the appearance of this proclamation a meeting of the opposition Deputies was held at the house of M. Odillon Barrot, and it was resolved to abandon the banquet.—Placards were posted on the walls, announcing their determination, and hopes were entertained by the Ministry that no disturbance would take place. In the order of the day issued by General Jacqueminot, Commander-in-chief of the National Guards, he said:—

"Few among you, without doubt, are disposed to allow yourselves to be led to a culpable step: but I wish to spare them the error and the regret of showing their small number among the 85,000 National Guards of which your legions are composed. It is, then, in the name of the law that I conjure you not to disappoint the confidence of the country, which has confided to you the defence of the constitutional royalty and legal order. You will not refuse to listen to the voice of your Commander-in-chief, who has never deceived you. I rely on your prudence and patriotism, as you may always rely upon my probity and devotedness."

On the following day (Tuesday, 22nd), the attendance of Members in the Chamber of Deputies was scanty, and a languid debate on a bill relative to the Bank of Bordeaux was proceeding, when about five o'clock M. Odillon Barrot advanced to the table and laid upon it an act of impeachment of Ministers, signed by fifty-three Members of the Opposition. It was drawn up in the following terms:—

"We propose to place the Minister in accusation as guilty—1. Of having betrayed abroad the honour and the interest of France. 2. Of having falsified the principles of the constitution, violated the guarantees of liberty, and attacked the rights of the people. 3. Of having, by a systematic corruption, attempted to substitute for the free expression of public opinion the calculations of private interest, and thus perverted the representative government. 4. Of having trafficked for ministerial purposes in public offices, as well as in all the prerogatives and privileges of power. 5. Of having, in the same interest, wasted the finances of the State, and thus compromised the forces and the grandeur of the kingdom. 6. Of having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent to every free constitution, and the exercise of which had been guaranteed to them by the charter, by the laws, and by former precedents. 7. Of having, in fine, by a policy overtly counter-revolutionary, placed in question all the conquests of our two revolutions, and thrown the country into a profound agitation."

The President, however, M. Sauzet, abruptly adjourned the Chamber without reading the paper.

In the meantime vast and tumultuous crowds were filling the streets of Paris, and it became more and more difficult to prevent a collision between them and the military. In the Rue St. Florentin and the Rue Marché St. Honoré, attempts were made to erect barricades, but the troops tore down and removed the materials, and dispersed the mob.

The aspect of affairs, however, had now become most serious, and when the Chamber of Deputies met on Wednesday the 23rd, in

answer to some questions put by M. Vavin, M. Guizot rose and announced the resignation of himself and his colleagues, saying, that the King had sent for Count Molé, in order to confide to him the construction of a cabinet; and that whilst the present Ministers remained in office they would cause order to be respected. But this was more difficult than M. Guizot imagined. The people had assembled in vast crowds early in the morning in the quarters St. Denis and St. Martin, and at ten o'clock they had succeeded in erecting barricades at the Porte St. Denis, in the Rue de Clery, the Rue Neuve Saint Eustache, the Rue de Cadran, and the Rue du Petit-Carreau. Firing took place at some of these barricades between the populace and the Municipal Guards. Two young men were killed, and a picquet of the Municipal Guards was disarmed.

Throughout the day numerous collisions happened between the populace and the troops, but the mob gave way whenever they were charged, and very few lives were lost. The most ominous circumstance was the demeanour and conduct of the National Guards, who were obviously most unwilling to act against the people, and in some places prevented the Municipal Guards from attacking the crowd. This was the more important, as Marshal Bugeaud, the veteran warrior of Algiers, had been appointed by a royal ordinance Commander-in-chief of the first military division, and of the National Guards of Paris, in place of General Jacqueminot. The populace soon understood this feeling in their favour, and shouted loudly, *Vive la Garde Nationale!* In the course of the afternoon, the news spread through Paris that the Ministry had resigned. This was received with enthusiastic expressions of joy, and for a time it appeared as if all further resistance were at an end. Large bodies of the National Guards marched through the streets, both officers and men crying, *Vive la Reforme*, while the crowd that surrounded them kept up a vociferous cheering. As the evening approached many houses began to light up their windows, and the mob with loud cries demanded a general illumination.

About seven o'clock, an immense body of the working classes, headed by men who carried blazing torches, passed along the Boulevards. They chanted, as they advanced, the two lines of the Girondist song, which was at this time the most popular air in Paris.

> " Mourir pour la patrie,
> C'est le sort le plus beau, le plus digne d'envie !"

and ceased from it only to shout at intervals, *à bas* Guizot. The *Marseillaise* hymn was also frequently heard, mingled with cries of *Vive la Reforme.* At the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which abutted close upon the Boulevards, there was posted a strong body of troops, consisting of both infantry and dragoons, who occupied the whole width of the Boulevard, except the pavement near the Rue Basse du Rempart. When the mob reached this spot, the torch-bearers filed off past the troops by the pavement, and the whole crowd followed, shouting *à bas Guizot! Vive la ligne!* Here it was that an event occurred, at a later period of the evening, which may be said to have determined the future course of the Revolution. The populace had collected in large

numbers in the vicinity of M. Guizot's Hotel, and were pressing upon the military, when a man stepped forward, and presenting a pistol at the head of the officer in command, shot him dead on the spot. The troops then immediately fired with fatal effect, and several persons in the crowd were killed. In an incredibly short space of time a funeral procession was formed, the dead bodies were placed upon a cart, and by the glare of torch-light the moving masses followed it towards the *Place de Bastile*, uttering as they went, in low monotonous cadence, the words "Mourir pour la patrie," and demanding arms in order to avenge the slain.

Such were the events as they appeared on the surface, and were narrated in all the journals of the period. But what was the real history of the events of this fatal night? There is too much reason to believe that the French nation were tricked into a revolution by the despicable stratagem of one crazy enthusiast. That man was M. Lagrange, who soon afterwards went mad; his brain being probably turned by the appalling success of his own experiment. The fact is, that when the change of Ministry was announced, and the populace knew that the King had given way, they were disposed to enjoy their triumph with good humour, and traversed the streets of Paris, exacting illuminations, and vociferating their noisy joy. But Lagrange and a few desperate confederates were resolved to give, if possible, a different turn to events. He therefore having made his preparations, joined a band of citizens, who proceeded along the Boulevards in the direction of the *Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères*, and when they reached the spot where the troops were drawn up, he deliberately fired a pistol at the officer in command, in order to provoke the soldiers to fire upon the crowd; *and thereby ensure the sacrifice of some innocent lives.* We have already narrated the result; but it remains to be told that the associates of Lagrange were ready in the adjoining streets with their tumbrils for the dead, whose bodies they arranged in the most tragic form, to excite feelings of rage and horror, and paraded them through the streets. During the night a quantity of bullock's blood was brought and poured upon the pavement where the firing had taken place; and the credulous mob on the following day were too infuriated to notice that it was impossible for the red gore which excited their passion to have proceeded from the few victims who had fallen on the spot.

The news of this unfortunate occurrence spread rapidly through Paris, and a general feeling of exasperation prevailed amongst the people, when they rose on the morning of the following eventful day. Their demands and attitude had undergone a serious change, and it became evident that, unless the troops and National Guards were prepared to act with vigour and promptitude, the dynasty of Louis Philippe was placed in imminent danger. More barricades were hastily erected in many of the principal streets, especially those in the neighbourhood of the Boulevard des Italiens, and were constructed of overturned diligences, omnibuses, and other vehicles, filled with heavy paving stones, and in some places the red flag waved over them.

In the meantime Count Molé

had found it impossible to form a Ministry, and M. Thiers was sent for by the King in the course of the night of the 23rd, and he agreed to accept the office of President of the Council, provided that he were allowed to associate M. Odillon Barrot with him as Minister of the Interior. The new Government immediately issued the following proclamation, which appeared early on the morning of the 24th.

"*Citizens,*—

"Orders are given to stop the firing. We have been charged by the King with the formation of a Ministry. The Chamber is about to be dissolved. General Lamoricière is named Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of Paris. Messrs. Odillon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, and Duvergier de Hauranne, are Ministers. Liberty! Order! Union! Reform!

"Odillon Barrot.
"Thiers."

M. Odillon Barrot proceeded himself on horseback through the streets, which were densely crowded, announcing the change of Ministry, and endeavouring to allay the excitement that prevailed.

But the character of the movement became now apparent. The people refused to listen to Odillon Barrot, and he was met with cries of "We have been deceived too often," and "*Vive la République!*" The proclamation was torn down, and the tumult increased every hour. The crowds began to press on towards the Tuileries, where the Ministers were in earnest consultation with the King. Another proclamation was issued by them, which was immediately destroyed, and soon afterwards M. Emile de Girardin, the editor of the journal called *La Presse*, hastened to the Palace, and representing the imminent danger in which the monarchy was placed, urged that the King should at once abdicate the crown in favour of his grandson the Comte de Paris.

In the course of the morning a large body of the populace proceeded to the Champs Elysées, where was stationed one of the guard-houses of the Municipal Guard. A staff-officer hurried past them, and addressing the soldiers, told them that it was vain to resist, and advised them to comply with the wishes of the people. Their arms were demanded, but they refused to deliver them up, and fired a volley upon the crowd. The guard-house was then immediately taken by storm, and the soldiers were all massacred on the spot. About the same time the following significant occurrence took place on the Boulevard des Italiens. Several regiments of infantry of the line, preceded by a body of National Guards, a regiment of Cuirassiers, three field pieces, and three caissons of ammunition, made their appearance. They were stopped by the people, who, with the most perfect coolness, seized the horses by the heads, broke open the caissons, and distributed the ammunition without any resistance being offered by the troops. The horses were unharnessed, and the cannon drawn away by the people, many of whom rode upon the guns.

Early in the afternoon the news of the abdication of Louis Philippe was communicated to the inhabitants, by the following proclamation signed by M. Odillon Barrot, which announced the accession to the throne of the Comte de Paris, and the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans.

"*Citizens of Paris,—*

"The King has abdicated. The crown, bestowed by the revolution of July, is now placed on the head of a child, protected by his mother. They are both under the safeguard of the honour and courage of the Parisian population. All cause of division amongst us has ceased to exist. Orders have been given to the troops of the line to return to their respective quarters. Our brave army can be better employed than in shedding its blood in so deplorable a collision."

But it was too late. The Bourbon dynasty had already ceased to reign, and a terrible scene was taking place at the Chamber of Deputies, which extinguished all hopes of the continuance of monarchy in France.

At one o'clock, M. Sauzet took the President's chair, and about 300 Deputies were present. It was soon announced that the Duchess of Orleans and her two sons had arrived, and desired to be admitted into the Chamber. A door was thrown open, and the Duchess entered, accompanied by the young Princes and her brothers-in-law, the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier. She seated herself in an arm chair in the semicircle, which was crowded with officers and soldiers of the National Guard.

Almost immediately afterwards a number of persons forced their way into the hall, and placed themselves under the tribune. M. Dupin then rose and announced that the King had abdicated the crown in favour of his grandson the Comte de Paris, and appointed the Duchess of Orleans Regent during his minority. A voice from the gallery shouted the ominous words, "*C'est trop tard,*" (*it is too late*); and this was the signal for the most appalling tumult. The Deputies and National Guards gathered round the Royal Family to shield them from violence, while the fearful drama was acted before their eyes. M. Marie ascended the tribune and demanded that a Provisional Government should be formed, "not to give institutions, but to consult with the two Chambers on the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country." M. Crémieux followed and said, "We cannot at the present moment do more than establish a Provisional Government. (*Cries of* 'No! no!') I have the greatest respect for the Duchess of Orleans, and I just now conducted the Royal Family to the carriage which bore them away."

A Voice.—"*Bon voyage!*"

M. Crémieux.—The population of Paris has shown the most profound respect for the King's misfortunes; but we who have been sent here to enact laws cannot violate them. A law already voted disposes of the regency, and I cannot admit that it can be abrogated at this moment. Since we have come to the point of undergoing a revolution, let us confide ourselves to the country. I propose a Provisional Government of five Members.

The Abbé de Genoude ascended the tribune, and was about to address the Chamber when M. O. Barrot entered. After a few words from the Abbé de Genoude,

M. O. Barrot rose and spoke as follows:—"Never have we had need of more coolness and patriotism. May we be all united in one sentiment—that of saving our country from the most dreadful visitation, a civil war. Nations, I am aware, do not die, but they become weak from intestine dissensions, and France never had more need than

now of all her force—of the aid of all her children. Our duty is clearly traced out—it calls on us to unite ourselves to what is most generous in the heart of the nation. The Crown of July rests on the head of a child and a woman. [Great tumult followed this announcement.] It is a solemn appeal."

The Duchess of Orleans here rose, and pronounced some inaudible words.

M. O. Barrot then continued: "It is in the name of the political liberty existing in our country, of the necessities of order which have occurred to every one's mind, of the union and accord which ought to reign amongst all good citizens, that I call on all my colleagues to support this double representation of the revolution of July. Can it be that any one can imagine that what was decided by the revolution of July can be again called in question? (*Great agitation.*) Gentlemen, the work, I allow, is difficult, but there are such elements of generosity, greatness, and good sense in this country, that it suffices to appeal to them to induce the whole population to rally round the standard I display. Our duty is simple—it is traced out by the laws and by honour. If we do not fulfil it with firmness I cannot say what the consequences will be; but be certain of this, that whoever should dare to incur the responsibility of a civil war would be in the highest degree culpable towards his country. For my part, what I conceive to be most fitting for the situation is this—the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans, a Ministry chosen from the most tried opinions, and an appeal to the country, which will pronounce with full liberty, to an extent sanctioned by law. Such is my opinion, and I cannot consent to assume the responsibility of any other situation.

Soon afterwards an immense crowd burst into the Chamber armed with swords, and pikes, and muskets, and bearing tri-coloured flags. The President put on his hat, but this occasioned a dreadful uproar, and loud cries were uttered of "Off with your hat, President!" while several muskets were pointed at his chair.

During this scene of violence, the Duchess of Orleans sat in calm and dignified composure between her two children, and her conduct seems to have been throughout truly heroic. M. Ledru Rollin at last succeeded in making his voice heard above the tumult, and he addressed the Assembly as follows:—"In the name of the people, I protest against the kind of Government which has just been proposed to you. (*Deafening shouts of applause.*) This is not the first time that I have thus protested; already in 1842 I demanded the Constitution of 1791. That Constitution declared that it should be necessary to make an appeal to the people when a regency bill was to be passed. I protest, therefore, against the Government that it is attempted to establish. I do so in the name of the citizens whom I see before me—who for the last two days have been fighting, and who will, if necessary, again combat this evening. [Arms were here brandished, and muskets raised to the shoulder, amidst a scene of indescribable tumult.] I demand in the name of the people that a Provisional Government be named."

M. de Lamartine next followed and said:—"Gentlemen, I share in the sentiments of grief which just now agitated this assembly in beholding the most afflicting spectacle

that human annals can present—that of a Princess coming forward with her innocent son, after having quitted her deserted palace, to place herself under the protection of the nation. But if I shared in that testimony of respect for a great misfortune, I also share in the solicitude—in the admiration which that people, now fighting during two days against a perfidious Government for the purpose of re-establishing order and liberty, ought to inspire. Let us not deceive ourselves—let us not imagine that an acclamation in this Chamber can replace the co-operation of 35,000,000 of men. Whatever Government be established in the country it must be cemented by solid definitive guarantees! How will you find the conditions necessary for such a Government in the midst of the floating elements which surround us? By descending into the very depth of the country itself, boldly sounding the great mystery of the rights of nations. In place of having recourse to these subterfuges, to these emotions, in order to maintain one of those fictions which have no stability, I propose to you to form a Government, not definite, but provisional—a Government charged, first of all, with the task of stanching the blood which flows, of putting a stop to civil war; a Government which we appoint without putting aside anything of our resentments and our indignation; and in the next place a Government on which we shall impose the duty of convoking and consulting the people in its totality—all that possess in their title of man, the rights of a citizen.

A violent knocking was now heard at the door of an upper tribune, which was not entirely filled; and a number of men rushed in with arms in their hands; several of whom forced their way to the front seats, and pointed their muskets at the Deputies below.

The Duchess of Orleans rose from her seat, and, with her two sons, and the royal Dukes, quitted the Chamber by a door on the left hand. At the same time the President left his chair; the mob were already masters of the Chamber, and the triumph of Democracy was complete.

When silence was in some degree restored, M. Ledru Rollin said, that he would read out the names of those whom he proposed should be members of the Provisional Government. He then announced the following names: MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, De Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Crémieux, which were received with acclamations by those who heard them; but the noise and confusion were so great that the chief part of the Assembly did not know what was going on.

Loud cries of "To the Hôtel de Ville" were now heard, and the attention of the disorderly crowd being directed to the picture representing the King swearing obedience to the Charter, which was placed behind the President's chair, they shouted out "Tear it down!" A workman, armed with a double-barrelled fowling-piece, who was standing in the semicircle, cried out, "Wait until I have a shot at Louis Philippe!" and at the same moment both barrels were discharged. Great uproar followed, and two men jumped on the chairs behind the President's seat, and prepared to cut the picture to pieces with their sabres; but another workman ran up the steps of the tribune, and exclaimed—"Re-

spect public monuments! respect property! Why destroy the pictures with balls? We have shown that the people will not allow itself to be ill-governed; let us now show that it knows how to conduct itself properly after its victory."

M. Dupont (de l'Eure) then took possession of the chair. M. de Lamartine and Ledru Rollin attempted for some time to obtain a hearing, but in vain. A cry, however, arose of "Let Lamartine speak!" and his voice was heard above the tumult, exclaiming "A Provisional Government will be at once proclaimed." Shouts then arose of "The names! the names!" and as the noise rendered hearing impossible, the names were written down on a sheet of paper, which was placed on the end of a musket, and so carried about the Chamber.

M. Ledru Rollin then rose and said:—"A Provisional Government cannot be organised in a light or careless manner. I shall read over the names aloud, and you will approve of them or reject them, as you think fit." Ere this, however, nearly all the Deputies had quitted the Chamber, and after M. Ledru Rollin had read out the names amidst violent tumult, he said—"We must now close the sitting and proceed to the seat of Government." Upon this shouts arose of "To the Hotel de Ville! *Vive la République!*" and the whole body rushed to the Hotel de Ville. Here occurred a scene of wild and tumultuous violence. The populace, like the waves of a surging sea, filled the hall, and with terrific cries demanded the proclamation of a Republic. When any Member of the Provisional Government, who was suspected of more moderate views, attempted to speak, his voice was drowned by shouts of "*A la fenêtre!*" and the imperious will of the mob prevailed. The Republic was proclaimed, and monarchy ceased to exist in France.

In the meantime a sanguinary contest had been going on at the Palais Royal, which was occupied by a company of troops of the line. A large barricade was erected at the corner of the Rue de Valois, which crossed it and the Rue St. Honoré. Some shots were fired at the windows of the Palace by the crowd below, and the soldiers immediately opened their fire. For two hours the conflict raged with great fury, and the National Guards fought vigorously on the side of the people. The Place du Palais Royal was filled with a tumultuous mass, upon which a shower of balls was rained down from the windows by the soldiers. In the midst of the engagement the royal carriages were brought by the populace from the Tuileries to the Place, and an immense bonfire was kindled, in which they were consumed. Behind this an incessant fire of musketry was kept up against the troops, and at last a body of the National Guards scaled the barricades, amongst whom Etienne Arago, the celebrated astronomer, was conspicuous, and, advancing to the Palace, they carried it by storm*.

But what had become of the Royal Family at the Tuileries? The King and Queen, with the

* The revolution was accomplished at a very small cost of life. From an official return in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that there were carried to the hospitals after the conflicts in the streets, 638 wounded, of whom 91 afterwards died. The latter number does not include 65 persons who were found dead and buried at the Château d'Eu, nor those who died on the spot where they fell. These, however, were very few.

Duke and Duchess de Nemours, the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier, and the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, remained in the Palace surrounded by a large number of personal friends, among whom were the Duc de Broglie and several other Members of the Chamber of Peers. M. Thiers and many of the principal Members of the Chamber of Deputies were also present. The Duc de Nemours had the command of the troops which were drawn up in the court-yard of the Palace, and there is every reason to believe that they were ready and willing to act against the insurgent populace, which was rapidly advancing towards the *Place du Carrousel*. But the National Guards retired before the crowd, and when they reached the Palace they cried out to the troops of the line not to fire upon the people. The Duc de Nemours seems to have thought that resistance was hopeless, for he made no attempt to check the progress of the mob—not a shot was fired—and the troops remained inactive while the people thronged the court-yard, and swarmed round the entrance into the Palace. It was a second Tenth of August, and it became necessary for the King and the rest of the Royal Family to take instant measures for their safety. The following interesting account of their flight from the Palace is taken from the narrative of M. Maurice, the editor of one of the Parisian journals, who was an eyewitness of the events he describes—"About one o'clock in the afternoon, whilst in conversation with the Colonel of the 21st Regiment of the line, who appeared well-disposed, and of which he gave proof in ordering his men to sheathe their bayonets, a young man in plain clothes, who turned out to be the son of Admiral Baudin, on horseback, trotted past us at a quick pace, crying out that Louis Philippe had abdicated, and requesting that the news might be circulated. A few instants after, at the Pont Tournant, we saw approach from the Tuileries a troop of National Guards on horseback, at a walking pace, forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment the expression 'a great misfortune' was heard; and the King Louis Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the Queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The Queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The King wore a black coat, with a common round hat, and wore no orders. The Queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to deposit the act of abdication. Cries of 'Vive la Réforme!' 'Vive la France!' and even, by two or three persons, 'Vive le Roi!' were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the Obelisk, when the King, the Queen, and the whole party, made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so crowded that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. In fact,

the spot fatally chosen by an effect of chance produced a strange feeling; a few paces off a Bourbon king, an innocent and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis Philippe turned quickly round, let go the Queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something which the noise prevented my hearing; in fact, the cries and *pêle-mêle* were general. The Queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the King's arm, and turned round with extreme haste, saying something which I could not catch. At this moment I said, 'Madame, ne craignez rein; continuez, les rangs vont s'ouvrir devant vous.' Whether her anxiety gave a false interpretation to my intention or not I am ignorant, but, pushing back my hand, she exclaimed, 'Laissez moi!' with a most irritated accent. She seized hold of the King's arm, and they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The King took the left and the Queen the right, and the children with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity: the coachman whipped his horse violently—in fact, with so much rapidity did it take place that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed before me, surrounded by the cavalry and National Guards present, and Cuirassiers and Dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two ladies, followed the other at the same pace; and the escort, which amounted to about two hundred men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water-side towards St. Cloud."

The rest of the adventures of the royal pair are soon told. They proceeded to Versailles, where they hired a common carriage to convey them to Dreux, and passed the night at the house of a person on whose fidelity they could rely. Here they procured disguises, and before daylight next morning set forward on their journey to the coast, travelling chiefly by night. They reached Honfleur early on the morning of Saturday the 26th of February, where, after having in vain attempted to embark from Trouville, a short distance from the town, and being prevented by the boisteous state of the weather, they remained until the following Thursday. In the meantime information was secretly conveyed to the commander of the *Express* steamer, which plied between Havre and Southampton, that she would be required to convey a party from Havre to England; and on Thursday afternoon the fugitives got into a French fishing-boat at Honfleur, and reaching Havre that evening went on board of the *Express*, which was lying with her steam up ready for sea. She immediately sailed, and the King and Queen, together with Generals Dumas and Rumigny, who had accompanied them in their flight, were safely landed on the following morning at Newhaven, on the coast of Sussex *. The escape of

* In order to facilitate his escape, the ex-King assumed the name of Smith, and obtained a passport under that very general patronymic. When he landed at Newhaven, and was resting after his harassing fatigues at an inn there, several visitors were introduced to him, one of whom bore the name of Smith. His Majesty being not perhaps aware how extensively that appellation prevails in England, exclaimed, "Mr. Smith! that is

Louis Philippe from the shores of France relieved the Provisional Government from a great difficulty; for although we believe that his life was perfectly safe, except, perhaps, in case of some sudden *émeute* of the populace, it would not have been easy to dispose of his person. No public feeling of indignation was expressed against him, and the people seemed to regard his departure with the most perfect indifference. He left no party behind him, and not a voice was raised to advocate the cause of the Orleans family.

The following was the official communication, in true republican style, which the Provisional Government received of the King's escape:—

"Rouen, March 3.

"*Citizen Minister*,

"The ex-King Louis Philippe, after remaining concealed during several days in the environs of Trouville, crossed at high water yesterday from Honfleur to Havre, and there embarked for England in the steamer *Express*. The preparations for his departure were carefully kept secret, and the captains of the steamers employed on the occasion were ignorant of the mission in which they were engaged. I was informed this instant of the fact by a person who assisted in the embarkation.

"Health and fraternity,

"P. Deschamps,

"Extraordinary Commissioner of the Lower Seine."

When the news of the Revolution reached Algiers the Duc d'Aumale immediately prepared to quit the province, and issued two proclamations, one to the army and the other to the colonists. The former was in the following terms:—

"*Officers, Sub-officers, and Soldiers*,

"I had hoped to combat again with you for the country. That honour is denied me; but, from the depth of exile, my heart will follow you wherever the national will shall call you, and exult in your success; my most ardent wishes shall ever be for the glory and happiness of France."

The Prince and all the rest of the Royal Family, with the exception of the Duchess d'Orleans and her two sons, took refuge in England. The Duchess withdrew into Germany, where she remained during the rest of the year in a state of privacy and seclusion. She behaved with heroic courage throughout the fearful scenes which were acted before her eyes in Paris, and which gave the death-blow to her expectations of seeing the Comte de Paris succeed peacefully to the throne of his grandfather. Her fate has been a remarkable example of the vanity of worldly hopes. When she entered France it was as the bride of the heir apparent to the crown of that kingdom, and in a few short years she became a widow and an exile.

curious, indeed, and very remarkable that the first to welcome me should be a Mr. Smith, since the assumed name was 'Smith' by which I escaped from France; and, look, this is my passport made out in the name of 'William Smith!'"

The wonder would have been if *a* Mr. Smith had *not* been the first person to welcome him to England. The following is the description of the fallen monarch's attire when he reached the shores of Britain. He wore a rough pea-jacket—borrowed from the captain of the *Express*—and grey trousers; on his head a close blue cloth cap, and round his neck a common red-and-white "comforter." His beard was apparently of about a week's growth. The Queen was muffled in a large plaid cloak, and carefully concealed her features with a thick veil.

The following account of what followed the flight of the Royal Family from the Tuileries when the mob invaded the Palace, is taken from the work of an author who was himself an eye-witness of the scene*:—

"See! how the people rush into the princely pile. From below to above—from hall to attics—it is filled to overflowing: the people riots in its own sovereign-house! Devastation and destruction seemed at once the order of the day: plunder was at first not thought of, although afterwards, spite of what lying French Republican papers may affirm, it was carried on to an immense extent. The brave *peuple* filled its pockets. Before the very eyes of him who writes were valuables thrust into every possible receptacle,—spoons, objects of art, cups, gold fringes, letters by curious autograph collectors. It was well known, also, that jewels and bank-notes, and other valuable property, were purloined, although, in some instances, the 'justice of the noble people,' as the phrase went, shot down those detected in stealing, and sometimes for a mere trifle; while other more flagrant plunderers escaped unscathed, under the disguise of noisy patriotism. What pictures, indeed, did not those scenes afford! Without,—furniture, dresses, papers, curtains, were flying out of every broken window, and heaped upon bonfires made of the royal *fourgons* and carriages. Glare, flame, and smoke filled the great court. Torn dresses, the caps of the Princesses, strips of curtains, legs of mutton, loaves of bread, were brandished aloft upon the points of bayonets: bottles of wine protruded out of almost every pocket. Drunken men flourished about, amidst the yelling crowd, with satin breeches, they thought the King's, drawn over their greasy trousers. Ragged boys, *en blouse*, blackened by powder and smoke, with pistols in their girdles, and sabres brandished in their hands, bestrode the stone lions of the palace entrance as patriot sentinels. The rattling of the breaking windows, the crash of the furniture hurled out of them, the running fire of the discharged muskets, the crackling of the bonfire flames,—were all overwhelmed by the shouting and the frantic singing of the 'Marseillaise.' Within,—stranger, wilder pictures still! In the apartment of the Duchess of Orleans, on the first floor, a more tranquil spirit was shown than elsewhere. The crowd in those royal rooms was great as everywhere; but it gazed only with curiosity, and touched nothing. In the *salon* was a blazing fire; on the table were several books, among which were the *Consulat* of Thiers, and the *Algérie* of Alexandre Dumas, the latter turned down open upon the tablecloth, as the unfortunate Duchess had probably laid it down at the moment of disturbance. On the floor and on the sofa were rows of little card-paper soldiers on wooden stands, set out as if for battle, with which her two boys had probably been playing when taken from their sports to quit their home, and return to it no more. Touching sight! A boy took up one of the toys; but an armed artizan, one of the rough, honest sort, covered with the smoke of battle, commanded him to lay it down again. 'Tis but a toy,' expostulated the little fellow. 'But if you take a toy, others would

* Pictures from Revolutionary Paris, Nov. 1848. By T. Palgrave Simpson, M.A.

think they might take a treasure,' was the angry rejoinder of the self-installed guard. In the bedroom of the poor Duchess were the hat of her ill-fated husband, his epaulettes, and his whip, under a glass case. The crowd walked round these objects curiously, but with respect. Some women shed tears. Here was thrown a shawl in the dressing-room—there a silk dress—signs of hasty and agitated departure. Everywhere stood small objects of value and taste; but here no one touched them. What sad tokens were they of the character and domestic life of one born to high destinies, and now a fugitive! In the state apartments the scene was far otherwise. Here were the wildest confusion and disorder. The throne was early pulled down and carried away: the curtains were torn to the ground—the lustres and candelabra smashed—the busts broken—the pictures riddled with balls;—everywhere thronging, yelling, half-intoxicated crowds. In the theatre all was torn and broken; the people appeared to resent the past pleasures of the Royal Family. In the chapel the altar was respected, by the intervention of a young *élève* of the Polytechnic School, and the cross borne away by men, thus animated to a sense of religious deference, to the church of St. Roch; but all else was shattered. In the King's private rooms the scene was, if possible, more disorderly still. There everything was recklessly destroyed: papers were hurled about in showers, like a snow-storm. In one corner of a room was erected a sort of low screen, behind which were being flung, by some National Guards, aided by a few workmen, articles of value, moneys, portfolios, and papers: a few sturdy-looking men, with muskets, were set to guard over what was now proclaimed 'national property.' Some ruffianly-looking fellows were devouring, quietly seated, the untouched breakfast set out for the fugitive King: in a great state bed lay several men, quietly smoking their pipes: the cigars of the Princes were freely handed round to every mouth."

But to return to the Hôtel de Ville. The first Proclamation issued by the Provisional Government was the following:—

"A retrograde Government has been overturned by the heroism of the people of Paris. This Government has fled, leaving behind it traces of blood, which will for ever forbid its return.

"The blood of the people has flowed, as in July; but, happily, it has not been shed in vain. It has secured a national and popular Government, in accordance with the rights, the progress, and the will of this great and generous people.

"A Provisional Government, at the call of the people and some Deputies in the sitting of the 24th of February, is for the moment invested with the care of organizing and securing the national victory. It is composed of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Arago, Ledru Rollin, and Garnier Pagès. The Secretaries to this Government are MM. Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, and Ferdinand Flocon. These citizens have not hesitated for an instant to accept the patriotic mission which has been imposed upon them by the urgency of the occasion.

"Frenchmen, give to the world the example Paris has given to France. Prepare yourselves, by

order and confidence in yourselves, for the institutions which are about to be given to you.

"The Provisional Government desires a Republic, pending the ratification of the French people, who are to be immediately consulted. Neither the people of Paris nor the Provisional Government desire to substitute their opinion for the opinions of the citizens at large, upon the definite form of government which the national sovereignty shall proclaim.

"'L'unité de la nation,' formed henceforth of all classes of the people which compose it;

"The government of the nation by itself;

"Liberty, equality, and fraternity for its principles;

"The people to devise and to maintain order.

"Such is the Democratic Government which France owes to herself, and which our efforts will assure to her.

"Such are the first acts of the Provisional Government.

"(Signed) Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Bédeau, Michel Goudchaux, Arago, Bethmont Marie, Carnot, Cavaignac, Garnier Pagès.

"The Municipal Guard is disbanded.

"The protection of the city of Paris is confided to the National Guard, under the orders of M. Courtais."

Proclamations were also issued, decreeing that the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and that the meeting of the *ex*-Chamber of Peers was interdicted. In order to exhibit the anxiety of the new Government to watch over the interests of the people, it was officially announced that "everything that concerned the direction of the *beaux arts* and the museums, hitherto in the department of the Civil List, would constitute a new division of the Ministry of the Interior."

But the decree most significant of the nature and character of the Revolution which had just been accomplished, was the following:—

"The Government of the French Republic engages to guarantee the subsistence of the workman by his labour. *It engages to guarantee work to all citizens.* It recognises the right of workmen to combine for the purpose of enjoying the lawful proceeds of their labour. The Provisional Government restores to the workmen, *to whom it belongs*, the million of the Civil List now due."

Another proclamation declared that—

"A National Assembly will be convoked as soon as the Provisional Government shall have regulated the measures of order and police necessary for the votes of all the citizens."

The following distribution of offices was made amongst the Members of the Provisional Government:—

"M. Dupont (de l'Eure) was named Provisional President of the Council, without portfolio; M. de Lamartine, Provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Crémieux, Provisional Minister of Justice; M. Ledru Rollin, Provisional Minister of the Interior; Michel Goudchaux, Provisional Minister of Finance; M. François Arago, Provisional Minister of Marine; General Bédeau, Provisional Minister of War; M. Carnot, Provisional Minister of Public Instruction and Worship; M. Bethmont, Provisional Minister of Commerce;

M. Marie, Provisional Minister of Public Works; General Cavaignac, Governor of Algeria."

M. Garnier Pagès was named Mayor of Paris; and to him were given as *adjoints*, MM. Guinard and Recurt; and M. Flotard was named Secretary-General.

In a wonderfully short space of time all vestiges of monarchy in France were made to disappear. The names of journals, streets, and public buildings, which had referred to royalty, were immediately changed, and there seemed to be a universal desire to bury in oblivion all traditions of the past. A new nomenclature was everywhere adopted; the palace of the Tuileries, consecrated as the residence of so many kings, was converted into an asylum for invalid workmen; and the Chamber of the Throne at the Hôtel de Ville was named the Hall of the Republic.

The following instance may be given as an example of the rapid mode in which such changes were effected, and of the way in which the Republic was adopted by acclamation:—

On Friday, the 26th, a body of the people proceeded to the barrack in the Rue Pepinière, in which were the 52nd Regiment of the line. They found in front of it a battalion of the 1st Legion of National Guards, one among whom asked, "What do you seek?" "The arms of the 52nd." "Why?" "Because we wish to apply them to the defence of the country." "But are they not in the hands of the 52nd, who have fraternized with the people, and who are ready, willing, and capable of fighting for France?" The National Guard then proposed that a leader of the people should accompany him to the Colonel of the 52nd. An interview took place, after which the Colonel presented himself at the balcony, and thus addressed the people:—

"*Citizens,*—

"You ask for the arms of the 52nd in order that they may be given to patriots. The 52nd are patriots to a man. The 52nd was among the first of the regiments which in 1830 joined the people. The 52nd was the first which in 1848 fraternized with the people. The 52nd is no more. That which was the 52nd of the line is now the first regiment of the Republic."

Shouts of applause followed this adroit speech, and the populace left in the hands of their republican brethren the arms which they had determined to wrench from them as soldiers of the line.

With royalty also disappeared all aristocratic distinctions; for a proclamation decreed that "All the ancient titles of nobility are abolished; and the qualifications which were attached thereto are prohibited. They cannot be used publicly, or figure in any public document whatever."*

* Amidst the wild enthusiasm for impossible equality, it is refreshing to meet with any instance of good sense amongst the populace. This must be our excuse for inserting the following anecdote.

At a meeting of one of the clubs at Paris, a violent democrat declaimed, amidst the applause of his hearers, against the evils of property and the injustice of landlords, and urged confiscation. He was succeeded by a cook, who stated his disinclination to concur in the recommendation of the orator. He endeavoured to show that the charge against landlords was unjust, that there were many good as well as bad, and that it would be unfair to include all in one condemnation. "But let us," he added, "take another view of the case. If you confiscate their property and give it to others, what advantage would result? I, for example, am cook to a gentleman, who until the late revolution held the rank of Duke. He is a kind

A remarkable feature in this revolution, as in that of 1830, was the respect shown by the populace of the capital, amidst all the tumult and confusion, for private property. Whenever thieves were detected in the act of pilfering, they were shot dead on the spot. The people seemed to fear that crimes of this kind would sully the dignity of their position, and lower the character of the struggle in which they had been engaged. But in other parts of France the popular excitement found vent in various acts of outrage, and bands of men traversed the country burning or laying waste, in many places, private houses; destroying portions of railroads at different points, in order to intercept communications, and setting fire to the stations. The royal château of Neuilly was attacked by one of these mobs and burned to the ground; and in Paris the toll-house of the *Pont Louis Philippe* was set on fire, and, the flames catching hold of the woodwork of the bridge, it was precipitated into the Seine. The Throne also was carried from the Tuileries, and burned at the foot of the Column of July. The Provisional Government, however, set itself rigorously to work to put a stop to these excesses, and proclaimed that mobilized battalions would immediately march against the lawless rabble. Here and there collisions did take place; but order was soon restored.

A striking instance of the change that had taken place in politics occurred in the appointment of M. Armand Barbès as Colonel of the 12th Legion of the Paris National Guard. Barbès, who was an *avocat* by profession, had attempted, on the 12th of May, 1839, at the head of 300 or 400 Republicans, to overthrow the government and dynasty of Louis Philippe; and, after a contest of some duration, was captured, and, being put upon his trial before the Court of Peers, was condemned to death. The capital sentence was, however, commuted to one of imprisonment for life, and he was undergoing his punishment at the time when the revolution broke out. In addition to the military command which was given to him, he was also appointed Governor of the Luxembourg.

Another remarkable feature was the respect which the people professed to entertain for the emblems of religion. When the Tuileries was taken by the mob, they found there a magnificent image of our Saviour. "My friends," exclaimed a pupil of the Ecole Polytechnique, "this is the Master of us all!" The people immediately took off their hats, and bore the figure in solemn procession to the church of St. Roche, crying out as they advanced, "Citizens, off with your hats. Salute Christ." The Archbishop of Paris addressed the following letter to each of the clergy of the city:—

"*Monsieur le Curé,*—

"In presence of the great event of which the capital has just been the theatre, our first movement has been to weep for the fate of the victims whom death has struck in such an unforeseen manner. We weep for them all, because they are our brethren; we lament them, because we have learnt once more what disinterestedness, respect for

man, and liberal to those who serve him. I receive from him good wages, and I give him in return good dinners. We are mutually satisfied. Reverse the order of things!—I should be sorry, gentlemen, to invite you to dinners of his cooking."

property, and generous sentiment fill the hearts of the people of Paris.

"We must not confine ourselves to shedding tears: we will pray for all those who have fallen in the struggle; we shall beseech God to open to them the place of light and peace."

The Provisional Government took care to encourage this feeling, and in one of its decrees stated that, being "firmly resolved to maintain the free exercise of religious worship, and wishing to associate the consecration of religious feeling with the great act of liberty acquired, it invited the ministers of all persuasions who are in the territory to call down the Divine blessing on the work of the people, and to invoke on it the spirit of firmness and rule which is at the basis of all institutions." It also requested the Archbishop of Paris, and all the bishops of the Republic, to substitute for the old form of prayer the words "*Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam.*" And, at a later period, a sort of mania having seized the Parisians for planting trees of liberty, these were solemnly blessed by the priests, who sprinkled holy water over them, and pronounced a formal benediction. Some idea of their number may be conjectured from the fact, that in the course of a few days the Curé of St. Medard blessed no less than twenty-one of these trees.

On the 25th several decrees were issued by the Provisional Government—one of which was, that "All objects pledged at the Mont-de-Piété, from Feb. 4, consisting of linen, clothes, and other small articles on which not more than ten francs have been lent, shall be given back to the parties to whom they belong. The Minister of Finance is charged with the task of providing for the expense which the present decree will occasion."

Another: "That the Tuileries shall henceforward serve as an asylum to invalided workmen."

Another: "That the National Guards, dissolved by the former Government, are reorganized. They will immediately resume their duty throughout the whole extent of the Republic."

Another: "The children of citizens killed are adopted by the country. The Republic charges itself with all assistance to be given to the wounded, and to the families of the victims of the Monarchical Government."

The following appointments also took place:—

General Subervie, Minister of War; General Bedeau, Commander of the First Military Division; M. Etienne Arago, Director-General of the Post Office; M. Guinard, Chief of the Staff of the National Guard of Paris; M. Buchez, Deputy to the Mayor of Paris; M. Recurt, Prefect of Police; and General Duvivier was charged with the organization of the moveable National Guard, of whom he was appointed Commander-in-chief.

Another decree provided that "Civil, judicial, and administrative functionaries are released from their oath."

During the whole day the people thronged, in surging multitudes, the *place* or square in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and five times was M. de Lamartine obliged to address them from the windows; and by the magic of his eloquence he succeeded in pacifying their demands, and converted their hoarse murmurs into shouts of acclamation. Voices were heard in the

crowd, clamorously demanding that the tricolour which waved over the Hôtel de Ville should be replaced by a red flag, but this was successfully resisted by De Lamartine. He harangued the tumultuous crowd with admirable courage, in the following heart-stirring appeal:—

"It is thus that you are led from calumny to calumny against the men who have devoted themselves, head, heart, and breast, to give you a real Republic—the Republic of all rights, all interests, and all the legitimate rights of the people. Yesterday you asked us to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of 35,000,000 of men, to vote them an absolute Republic, instead of a Republic invested with the strength of their consent; that is to say, to make that Republic, imposed and not consented to, the will of a part of the people, instead of the will of the whole nation. To-day you demand of us the red flag instead of the tricolour one. Citizens! for my part, I will never adopt the red flag; and I will explain in a word why I will oppose it with all the strength of my patriotism. It is, citizens, because the tricolour flag has made the tour of the world, under the Republic and the empire, with our liberties and our glories, and that the red flag has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, trained through torrents of the blood of the people."

The effect was electric. Loud cheering and clapping of hands followed this address, and the orator was nearly suffocated by the efforts of the multitude to shake hands with him and embrace him.

On the 26th the Republic was officially proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, in the presence of an immense crowd. M. de Lamartine, attended by the other Members of the Provisional Government, descended the steps of the great staircase, and thus addressed the vast assemblage.

"*Citizens,*—

"The Provisional Government of the Republic has called upon the people to witness its gratitude for the magnificent national co-operation which has just accepted these new institutions.

"The Provisional Government of the Republic has only joyful intelligence to announce to the people here assembled.

"Royalty is abolished.

"The Republic is proclaimed.

"The people will exercise their political rights.

"National workshops are open for those who are without work.

"The army is being reorganized. The National Guard indissolubly unites itself with the people, so as to promptly restore order with the same hand that had only the preceding moment conquered our liberty.

"Finally, gentlemen, the Provisional Government was anxious to be itself the bearer to you of the last decree it has resolved on and signed in this memorable sitting; that is, the abolition of the penalty of death for political matters.

"This is the noblest decree, gentlemen, that has ever issued from the mouths of a people the day after their victory. It is the character of the French nation which escapes in one spontaneous cry from the soul of its Government. We have brought it with us, and I will now read it to you. There is not a more becoming homage to a people than the spectacle of its own magnanimity."

"Liberty, equality, and fraternity" was adopted as the motto of the new Republic; and these words headed the numerous decrees which were poured forth in quick succession by the Provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville. One of those issued on the 26th proclaimed the abolition of royalty in the following terms:—

"*Citizens,*—

"Royalty, under whatever form it assumes, is abolished. No more legitimacy—no more Bonapartism—no regency. The Provisional Government has taken all the necessary measures to render impossible the return of the ancient dynasty, or the advent of a new one. The Republic is proclaimed. The people are united. All the forts in the vicinity of the capital are ours."

On the following day (Sunday) the Republic was again proclaimed, from the steps of the Column of July, by M. Arago, in the presence of the whole of the National Guards, and an immense multitude, who devoted the day to rejoicing, although the weather was most unfavourable, the rain pouring down in torrents, accompanied by a boisterous wind. When M. Dupont (de l'Eure) presented himself to the populace, M. Arago exclaimed, in a loud voice, "Listen! it is eighty years of a pure life that speaks to you."

Let us here pause for a moment, and ask the question, whether amidst all this apparent enthusiasm and unanimous zeal, the French people was really republican at heart? It may seem strange that any doubt of such a fact should be suggested or implied, for not a single province or town, or even individual, attempted seriously to raise any other cry than that of the Republic. And yet, standing as we now do upon the vantage-ground of subsequent experience, we may safely say that, in the outburst of democratic fervour in February, "the semblance did deceive the truth." The events in Paris stunned and paralyzed the nation, and the watchword that was there raised was taken up and re-echoed throughout France, because no one had the moral courage to protest against the dictation of the capital. It seems, however, certain that even at the first the great bulk of the middle classes, if they had given their deliberate opinion, would have pronounced *against* a Republic; and afterwards, when commerce and trade were paralyzed, and bankruptcy and beggary came home to the door of the shopkeeper, the artizan, and the peasant, the great experiment was universally confessed to be a failure; and in the elevation of Louis Napoleon, by a majority of millions, to the presidency, the nation silently, but emphatically, declared against the Republic.

The time had now come for the new Government to give proof that it considered itself merely provisional, by referring the question of a constitution to the nation at large. On the 5th of March, therefore, it published a decree, by which it fixed that the elections should take place on the 9th of April, and the constituent National Assembly meet on the 20th of April. At the same time it announced the following as the general principles of the decree which it was about to issue:—

"1. That the National Assembly shall decree the constitution.

"2. That the election shall have the population for its basis.

"3. That the representatives of the people shall amount to 900 in number.

"4. That the suffrage shall be direct and universal, without any limitation as to property.

"5. That all Frenchmen of the age of 21 years shall be electors, and that all Frenchmen of 25 years of age shall be eligible.

"6. That the ballot shall be secret."

The decree which followed this declaration contained some additional articles, the chief of which were the following:

"1. All Frenchmen, 25 years of age, and not judicially deprived of or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights, are eligible.

"2. All the electors shall vote in the chief town of their district, by ballot. Each bulletin shall contain as many names as there shall be representatives to elect in the department.

"No man can be named a representative of the people unless he obtain 2000 suffrages.

"3. Every representative of the people shall receive an indemnity of 25*f.* per day during the Session."*

Afterwards, however, the period for the elections was changed to Sunday, the 23rd of April, and that for the meeting of the National Assembly to the 4th of May.

The position of the Republic with respect to foreign Powers was a matter of grave anxiety. Men could not forget the crusade against the rights of governments upon which the only French Republic which was yet known had been so fiercely engaged; and it was feared that the necessity of finding employment for the army and the ardent population, of which so many thousands were thrown suddenly out of work, might precipitate the nation into an European war. The danger of attack from without was too slight to cause any real uneasiness, although in the first moments of excitement troops had been marched towards the frontier to guard the French soil against any attempt at invasion. In order to quiet the apprehensions of foreign Governments and indicate the policy of the new Republic, M. de Lamartine, in his capacity of Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a very able circular or manifesto to the diplo-

* The following list was made out by the Provisional Government in order to regulate the number of representatives, according to the population—that is, one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants.

"The department of the Ain to return 9 representatives; Aisna, 14; Allier, 8; Alps (Lower), 4; Alps (Upper), 3; Ardeche, 9; Ardennes, 8; Arriège, 7; Aube, 7; Aveyron, 10; Mouths of the Rhone, 10; Calvados, 12; Cantal, 7; Charente, 9; Charente (Lower), 12; Cher, 7; Corrèze, 8; Corsica, 6; Côte d'Or, 10; Côtes du Nord, 16; Creuse, 7; Dordogne, 13; Doubs, 7; Drome, 8; Eure, 11; Eure et Loire, 7; Finistère, 15; Gard, 10; Garonne (Upper), 12; Gors, 8; Gironde, 15; Herault, 10; Ille et Vilaine, 14; Indre, 7; Indre et Loire, 8; Isère, 15; Jura, 8; Landes, 7; Loire et Cher, 6; Loire, 11; Loire (Upper), 8; Loire (Lower), 13; Loiret, 8; Lot, 7; Lot et Garonne, 9; Lozère, 4; Maine et Loire, 13; Manche, 15; Marne, 9; Marne (Upper), 7; Mayenne, 9; Meurthe, 11; Meuse, 8; Morbihan, 12; Moselle, 11; Nièvre, 8; Nord, 28; Oise, 10; Orne, 11; Pas de Calais, 17; Puy de Dome, 15; Pyrenees (Lower), 11; Pyrenees (Upper), 6; Pyrenees (Eastern), 6; Rhine (Lower), 15; Rhine (Upper), 12; Rhone, 14; Saone (Upper), 9; Saone et Loire, 14; Sarthe, 12; Seine, 34; Seine (Lower), 19; Seine et Marne, 9; Seine et Oise, 12; Sevres (Two), 8; Somme, 14; Tarn, 9; Tarn et Garonne, 6; Var, 9; Vaucluse, 6; Vendée, 9; Vienne, 9; Vienne (Upper), 8; Vosges, 11; Yonne, 9—in all, 885; Algeria and the Colonies, 15. Total, 900."

matic agents of France throughout Europe. In this he said—

"The proclamation of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government in the world. The forms of government have diversities as legitimate as the forms of character, the geographical situation, the intellectual, moral, and material development of nations. Nations, like individuals, have different ages. The principles which govern them have successive phases: monarchical, aristocratical, constitutional, republican governments are the expressions of the different degrees of the maturity of the genius of the different nations. They demand more liberty in proportion as they feel themselves capable of supporting more. They demand more equality and democracy in proportion as they are the more inspired with the feeling of justice and love for the people. It is a question of time. A nation goes astray in outrunning the hour of that maturity, as it dishonours itself in allowing it to escape without seizing upon it. The monarchy and the republic are not, in the eyes of true statesmen, absolute principles which are enemies to the death: they are facts which are contrasted to each other, and which can live face to face while they understand and respect each other.

"War, then, is not the principle of the French Republic, as it became the fatal and glorious necessity of the Republic in 1792. Between 1792 and 1848 there is half a century. To return, after the lapse of half a century, to the principles of 1792, or to the principles of conquest and of empire, would not be to advance; it would be to retrograde with the advance of time. The revolution of yesterday is a step in advance, and not one backwards. The world and ourselves wish to march to fraternity and peace."

After analyzing the character of the revolution of 1792, and contrasting it with that which had just been accomplished, M. de Lamartine proceeded:—

"Do not deceive yourselves, nevertheless. Those ideas which the Provisional Government charges you to present to the Powers, as a pledge of European safety, have not for their object to obtain forgiveness to the Republic for having had the boldness to create itself, and still less to ask humbly the place of a great right and a great people in Europe. They have a more noble object: to make sovereigns and nations reflect, and not to allow them to deceive themselves involuntarily as to the character of our revolution; to give its true light and its just character to the event; in short, to give pledges to humanity before giving them to our right and to our honour, if they should be unacknowledged or threatened.

"The French Republic will, then, not make war on any one. It has no occasion to say that, if conditions of war are laid down to the French people, it will accept them. The thoughts of the men who at the present moment govern France are these: it will be fortunate for France if war be declared against it, and if it be constrained thus to increase in strength and in glory, in spite of its moderation; it will be a terrible responsibility for France if the Republic itself declare war without being provoked to it."

The following passages were more ominous, and suggested grave reflections:—

"The Treaties of 1815 exist no longer as law in the eyes of the French Republic; nevertheless, the territorial circumscriptions of these treaties are a fact which it admits as a basis, and as a *point de départ* in its relations with other nations.

"But if the Treaties of 1815 do not exist any longer excepting as facts to modify a common understanding, and if the Republic declares openly that its right and its mission is to arrive regularly and pacifically at these modifications, the good sense, the moderation, the conscience, the prudence of the Republic exist, and are for Europe a better and more honourable guarantee than the letter of those treaties, so often violated and modified by Europe itself.

"Thus, we declare it openly, if the hour of the reconstruction of some nationalities, oppressed in Europe or elsewhere, should appear to us to have sounded in the decrees of Providence—if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the time of Francis I., were constrained or threatened in the advance which she is effecting in her government, in order to lend additional strength to the fascine of democratic governments—if the independent states of Italy were invaded—if any limits or obstacles were imposed on their internal transformations — if the right of alliance among themselves, in order to consolidate an Italian nation, were contested by main force—the French Republic would believe itself entitled to arm itself in order to protect these legitimate movements of the greatness and the nationality of states.

"The Republic, you see, by its first step repudiates the æra of proscriptions and of dictations. She is decided never to veil liberty at home. She is equally decided never to veil its democratic principle abroad. She will never permit any one to interpose between the pacific radiation of its liberty and the regard of nations. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of every right, of every progress, of every legitimate development of the institutions of nations which wish to live on the same principle as herself. She will not endeavour any immoderate or incendiary propagandism among her neighbours. She knows that there is no durable freedom but that which grows of itself on its own soil. But it will exercise by the light of its ideas, by the spectacle of order and of peace which it hopes to give to the world, the sole and honest proselytism of esteem and of sympathy. That is not war—it is nature. That is not the agitation of Europe—it is life. That is not to embroil the world—it is to shine from its place on the horizon of nations, to advance them, and to guide them at the same time. We desire, for humanity, that the peace be preserved. We even hope it. One only question of war was mooted, a year ago, between England and France. It was not Republican France which started that question of war; it was the dynasty. The dynasty carries away with it that danger of war which it had given rise to for Europe by the entirely personal ambition of its family alliances in Spain. Thus, that domestic policy of the fallen dynasty, which weighed for seventeen years on our national dignity,

weighed at the same time, by its pretensions to another crown at Madrid, on our Liberal alliances and on peace. The Republic has no ambition. The Republic has no nepotism. It inherits not the pretensions of a family. Let Spain govern itself; let Spain be independent and free. France, for the solidity of this natural alliance, counts more on the conformity of principles than on the successions of the House of Bourbon."

But, if the manifesto of the Foreign Minister was upon the whole satisfactory, a circular issued soon afterwards by M. Ledru Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, to the "Commissioners" of the Provisional Government throughout France, caused lively alarm in the minds of the public, who saw in it a spirit of propagandism of the most dangerous nature. The following extracts will give some idea of the mode of action which it inculcated:—

"1. What are your Powers.—They are unlimited. Agent of a revolutionary authority, you are revolutionary also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the duty of getting your work proclaimed and consolidated. For the accomplishment of that task you are invested with its sovereignty; you take orders only from your conscience; you are to act as circumstances may demand for the public safety. Thanks to our state of public morals, that mission is not a very terrible one. Hitherto you have not had to break down any serious resistance, and you have been able to remain calm in your force; you must not, however, deceive yourself as to the state of the country. Republican sentiments ought to be strongly forwarded there, and for that purpose all political functions must be allotted to men sure, and of Republican principles. Everywhere the prefects and sub-prefects ought to be changed. In some localities their continuance in office is demanded; it is your duty to make the population perceive that those persons who served a power each act of which was a corruption cannot be preserved. The nomination of sub-commissioners to replace those functionaries belongs to you; and you can refer to me whenever you feel any hesitation. Choose in preference men belonging to the chief town. You are not to take them in the arrondissement itself, unless you know them to be perfectly free from all spirit of *coterie*. Do not set young men aside, as ardour and generosity are the privilege of that age, and the Republic has need of those fine qualities.

"2. Your Relations with the Officers in command of the Troops.—You are exercising the powers of the executive authority, so that the armed force is under your orders. You can call it out, and put it in movement; you can even, in grave cases, suspend a commanding officer, referring the case immediately to me. But you ought to show the greatest caution in this part of your functions."

But, with reference to the Elections, a still more pernicious doctrine was proclaimed by M. Carnot, the Minister of Public Instruction, in a circular which he addressed to the Rectors of Academies. It is difficult to imagine how any one could have dared to insult the good sense of mankind by such advice as the following:—

"The great error against which the inhabitants of our agricultural districts must be guarded is this

—that in order to be a representative it is necessary either to enjoy the advantages of education or the gifts of fortune. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, will represent the interests of his class in the assembly of the nation infinitely better than a rich and educated citizen having no experience of rural life or blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry. As to fortune, the remuneration which will be assigned to all the Members of the Assembly will suffice for the maintenance of the very poorest.

"It must not be forgotten that, in a great assembly like that which is about to assemble, the majority of the Members fulfil the functions of jurors. They decide affirmatively or negatively whether the measures proposed by the *élite* of the members are good or bad. They only require honesty and good sense; they do not invent."

These sentiments, however, of MM. Carnot and Ledru Rollin, by the dread which they inspired, threatened to produce a reaction in favour of monarchical institutions, and the Government hastened to disavow them. Indeed it was evident that the Cabinet already contained two parties: the one devoted to extreme ideas, and ready to carry out the doctrine of the "rights of the people" to the most extravagant and impracticable lengths; the other, sincerely Republican, but more moderate in its views, and anxious chiefly for the preservation of order. Of these the former was supposed to be represented by M. Ledru Rollin, the latter by M. de Lamartine. When a deputation from the Republican Club of Paris waited upon the Provisional Government to express the consternation which had been excited by the language of two of its Members, they were received by the Foreign Minister, who assured them that the Provisional Government had authorized no one to speak to the nation in its name, and especially to speak a language superior to the laws. He declared that the Government, recognising freedom of opinion, repudiated that worst sort of corruption, intimidation—and had deliberately resolved not to interfere, as a Government, directly or indirectly in the elections. He said also that he hoped "that public opinion would be reassured, and would not take in an alarming sense some words wrongly interpreted in the documents of the Ministers, who attach their signatures often in haste."

In order more completely to assure the public mind and restore confidence, the Provisional Government in a body, on the 17th of March, published a proclamation to the French nation, in which they warmly eulogized the conduct of the people of Paris, and said—"They have, in a word, made the name of the people synonymous with courage, clemency, and virtue. We have but one word of instruction to give you. Be inspired by and imitate the people! Think, feel, vote, and act like them! The Provisional Government will not imitate the Governments which usurp the sovereignty of the people, which corrupted the electors, and which purchased at an immoral price the conscience of the country. To what purpose is it that Governments should succeed each other if we are to resemble them? To what purpose have we created and adored the Republic if the Republic is to be the first to

enter the slough of royalty, which is abolished? The Provisional Government considers it to be one of its duties to shed upon electoral operations that light which enlightens consciences without forcing them. It confines itself to neutralizing the hostile influence of the late Administration, which has perverted and changed the nature of elections. The Provisional Government wishes that the public conscience should be paramount. It does not disturb itself with respect to ancient parties. The old parties have lived a century in three days! The Republic will convert them to itself if it be firm and just towards them. Necessity is a great master. The Republic, be it observed, has the good fortune to be a Government of necessity. Reflection is on our side. It is impossible to ascend to monarchy. We cannot descend to unknown anarchy. Everybody will be republican through conviction. Only give security, liberty, and respect for all. Secure to others the independence of suffrage which you wish for yourselves. Regard not the name which those you consider your enemies write upon their ballot, and be assured beforehand that they will write the only name which can save them, that is, that of a Republic, capable and honest."

Amidst the various duties which pressed with overwhelming force upon the Members of the Provisional Government, they had to direct immediate attention to the three important questions of the army; the support of the unemployed multitudes of Paris; and the state of the public finances. To the army a proclamation was addressed, which contained the following passages:—

"You will feel that the new and strong popular institutions which are about to emanate from the National Assembly will open to the army a career of devotedness and service which the national freedom will appreciate and recompense better than kings. The unity of the army and of the people, for a moment impaired, must be re-established. Swear love to the people, among whom are your fathers and brothers! Swear fidelity to these new institutions, and everything will be forgotten, save your courage and discipline. Liberty will ask no other services from you than those before which you will have to rejoice and glorify yourselves before its enemies."

The army, however, gave no trouble to the Government. Its action had been paralyzed at the commencement of the Revolution, by the order prohibiting the troops to fire upon the populace when MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot attempted to construct a Ministry, and after that time it showed no disposition to interfere with the course of events. At the important fortress of Vincennes, in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the forts around the city, which Louis Philippe had been so anxious to construct, the garrisons with little hesitation declared for the Republic. And, after the inauguration of the Provisional Government, one of the first officers who placed his sword at its disposal was Marshal Bugeaud, Duke of Isly. The employment of the workmen of the capital was not so easy; but a National Guard *mobile* was immediately formed, on the pretext that their services might be required to march to the frontier. This was to consist of 24 battalions of 1058 men each, and the

pay of each private was fixed at 30 sous per day.

A quarrel, however, took place between the National Guards and the Government which at first threatened to be serious, but ended in strengthening the hands of the latter. The grenadier and light infantry companies of that body consisted of men of more substance and station than the rest of the force; and, as the *élite* of the corps, they were regarded with feelings of jealousy and dislike by their comrades. In the spirit of Republican equality the Minister of the Interior issued an order for the dissolution of these companies, and the fusion of them with the others. This measure gave great offence to the disbanded corps, and on the 15th of March a large body of them proceeded without arms to the Hôtel de Ville, and demanded a recall of the obnoxious decree. The Government stood firm, and the National Guards retired, threatening to return on the morrow with arms in their hands to compel compliance with their wishes. The populace, however, warmly sympathized with the act of the Minister; and next morning they assembled in vast crowds in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and in all the avenues leading to it, fully determined to resist by force any attempt on the part of the discontented National Guards to overawe the Provisional Government. When these troops appeared in the course of the day, and insisted upon marching to the Hôtel de Ville, the multitude who occupied the quays and streets leading to the Place de Grêve would not allow them to pass, and the demonstration was so imposing that the National Guards did not venture to force a passage. Throughout the whole day, and until late at night, the armed populace kept possession of the streets, and did not separate until they were fully assured that no further attempt would be made by the dissatisfied companies of the National Guard. Thus the people of Paris were again victorious in the presence of organized battalions of troops, and, though on this occasion they rallied to support the existing Government, the display served as a proof how completely they were masters of the destinies of France.

Orders were given to resume the public works which were in progress at the outbreak of the Revolution; and decrees full of cajolery and flattery to the working classes were issued from the prolific mint of the Provisional Government. One of them ran as follows:—

"From Wednesday March 1, important works will be organized on different points. All workmen who wish to take part in them should apply to one of the mayors of Paris, who will receive their applications, and direct them without delay to the different work-yards.

"*Workmen of Paris,*—

"You wish to live honourably by labour; all the efforts of the Provisional Government will, you may rely on it, be directed to assist you in the accomplishment of that wish. The Republic has a right to expect, and it does expect, from the patriotism of all its citizens, that the example it gives may be followed. In that manner the extent of the works may be increased. Let labour, therefore, everywhere resume its wonted activity. Workmen, after victory, labour is a fine example which you have to give to the world, and you will give it."

Another was still more explicit and magnificent in its promises.

" Considering that the Revolution made by the people ought to be made *for* them;

" That it is time to put an end to the long and iniquitous sufferings of workmen;

" That the labour question is one of supreme importance;

" That there is no other more high or more worthy of the consideration of a Republican Government;

" That it belongs to France to study ardently, and to resolve a problem submitted at present to all the industrial nations of Europe;

" The Provisional Government of the Republic decrees a permanent commission, which shall be named *Commission de Gouvernement pour les Travailleurs*, is about to be nominated, with the express and special mission of occupying themselves with their lot.

" To show how much importance the Provisional Government of the Republic attaches to the solution of this great problem, it nominates President of the Commission of Government for Workmen one of its members, M. Louis Blanc, and for Vice-President another of its members, M. Albert, workman (*ouvrier* *).

" Workmen will be invited to form part of the committee.

" The seat of the committee will be at the Palace of the Luxembourg."

These doctrines were of course highly acceptable to the labouring classes, and they determined to give them practical effect. Large bodies proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, and demanded that the period of labour should be reduced to ten hours a day; a minimum rate of wages established; and the system of employing middlemen abolished. And one of the first acts of the new Commission was to decree that,

" Considering that the intention of the Provisional Government, such as it appears from the very terms of the decree, has been to spare the strength of the operatives, and to leave a portion of their time for their intelligence;

" The duration of effective labour in Paris and in the suburbs is fixed at ten hours, for all professions."

In order to find occupation for the dangerous class of unemployed workmen, national workshops called *ateliers* were opened by the Government, where two francs a day were paid to those who were engaged; and, as it was impossible to employ all, who applied in crowds for admission, one franc a day was in the mean time doled out to those to whom work could not immediately be given. This, however, produced a very evil effect. The operatives preferred the smaller pay and idleness to higher wages and work, and their minds had become so unsettled by the events in which they had played such a prominent part, that they were disinclined to return to habits of steady industry. This produced a remonstrance from Marie, the Minister of Public Works, who thus addressed the *ouvriers* of Paris.

" *Citizens,*—

" You demanded that the terms on which you labour should be ameliorated, and your demands

* This term *ouvrier* was ostentatiously affixed in all the proclamations to M. Albert's name. He was, however, not an artizan, but a *ci-devant* manufacturer. The object of the addition is sufficiently obvious.

were satisfied. All intermediaries between the master and operative have been removed by common accord, and the period of the day's work has been fixed at ten hours. Nevertheless, for some days past the great workshops opened by the state or by manufacturers, whom the difficulty of circumstances and the financial crisis have not a moment discouraged, have again been abandoned, or are menaced with being so. Citizens, you are men of industry, and you are proud of your condition—and you are right, for industry is the true source of happiness, for man, for his family, and for all society, for in that alone consists true independence and true liberty. Return, then, to your workshops, resume that active and laborious life which is an honour to you, and a subject of hope for the country."

From the commencement of the Revolution the greatest hostility had everywhere been displayed by the populace against the English workmen employed on the railroads, and in the different manufacturing establishments, and the consequence was that their masters were everywhere obliged to dismiss them. In many places they had to fly for their lives, and returned to England wholly destitute. At a later period, after the mischief was done, and few, if any, foreign *employés* were left in France, the Government summoned up courage to declare that it would protect them, and M. Marrast thus addressed a deputation which prayed for their immediate dismissal.

"The Republic desires liberty for all, fraternity between all men, and an alliance between all nations. If, unfortunately, Republican France, which ought to have more liberal ideas, should give the example of sending away foreigners for the simple reason that they are foreigners, we should, besides a shameful violation of our principles, be exposed to reprisals on the part of foreign countries. Do you know how many workmen we have in England? There are 22,000; in Spain there are 19,500; at Montevideo, 12,000. If you dismiss foreigners, you do injury to your brethren abroad; and the Government would fail in its most rigorous duty, that of protecting Frenchmen wherever they may be, who would curse the imprudence of the Government if they were victims."

It was calculated that the amount of ready money at the disposal of the State was 890,000,000*f.*, of which 835,000,000*f.*, were deposited in the Bank of France, and 55,000,000*f.* in the Treasury.

One of the first cares of the new Government was to provide for the due payment of the taxes; and it published a decree, in which, after promising a revision of the system of taxation and removal of obnoxious imposts, it declared that "the French Republic, although it is the successor of a Government of prodigality and corruption, accepts and wishes to fulfil all engagements and remain faithful to all contracts.

"That, in the midst of transient difficulties inseparable to every great commotion, it would be highly imprudent to diminish the resources of the Treasury.

"That it would thereby incur the risk of suspending or compromising the most important services, and be less able to think of making provisions against events France and Europe may witness.

"From these considerations the Provisional Government decrees:—

"Article 1. All the taxes, without exception, shall continue to be collected as before.

"Article 2. Good citizens are requested in the name of patriotism not to delay the payment of their taxes.

"Article 3. The Provisional Government pledges itself to the National Assembly for a budget, in which the newspaper stamp tax, the active duties, the duties on salt, as well as a law to modify materially the system of indirect taxation, shall appear."

Provision was also made for the exigencies of trade, and it was decreed that all commercial bills, falling due between the 22nd of February and the 2nd of March inclusive, should have ten additional days given them to run, and that all protests and recourses on guarantees should be prorogued for ten days. A Discount Office was also established, under the title of "Dotation for Small Traders." The consequences of the shock to public credit, however, began soon to manifest themselves, and several failures of banking and mercantile houses added much to the embarrassment of affairs. Amongst these one of the most conspicuous was the fall of the banking firm of Grouin and Co. (successors to the firm of Lafitte and Co.), in whose hands great numbers of the Parisian tradesmen had deposits.

It soon became necessary to appeal to the patriotism of the people in a way which puts that principle to the severest proof; for the Provisional Government passed a decree, in which, after stating that "the Republic, in order to accomplish great events, will not have need of the money which the Monarchy absorbed to make such a miserable use of it, it demanded of all tax-payers to pay the amount of one year's tax in advance, to enable it to relieve all persons in distress, to restore activity to all transactions, and to diffuse the advantages of credit amongst all those who augment the national wealth by their labour."

But the necessity of gratifying the people by the remission of obnoxious taxes seemed likely to create much pecuniary embarrassment, and, when it was proposed by his colleagues to abolish the stamp-duty upon newspapers, M. Goudchaux, the Minister of Finance, firmly resisted it. Finding, however, that his opposition was unavailing, he determined to resign his office, and he was succeeded by M. Garnier Pagès.

One of the first acts of the new Minister was to publish a very voluminous report on the financial condition of the Republic, in which he professed to tell "the entire truth, without hatred, without fear, but likewise without dissimulation." The following are some extracts from this important document.

"On the 1st of January, 1841, the capital of the Public Debt, the Government stock belonging to the Sinking Fund being deducted, was 4,267,315,402*f.* On the 1st of January, 1848, it amounted to 5,179,644,730*f.*

"The budgets followed the progression of the debt.

"The entire of the credits placed at the disposal of the fallen Government to the year 1847 amounts to 1,712,979,639*f.*, 62*c.* Notwithstanding the successive increase of the receipts, the budgets presented each year a considerable deficit. The expenses from 1840 to 1847

inclusively, exceeded the receipts by 604,525,000*f.* The deficit calculated for the year 1848 is 48,000,000*f.*, without counting the additional chapter of the supplementary and extraordinary credits, which will raise the total amount of the budgets, to the charge of the last Administration, to 652,000,000*f.*

"The public works, heedlessly undertaken simultaneously at all points of the territory, to satisfy or to encourage electoral corruption, and not with that reserve which prudence so imperiously commanded, have raised the credits to 1,081,000,000*f.* From this sum are to be deducted the sums reimbursed by the companies, amounting to 160,000,000*f.*; the last loan, 82,000,000*f.*, making together 242,000,000*f.*, and leaving a balance of 839,000,000*f.* Out of this sum 435,000*f.* has been expended out of the resources of the floating debt, and 404,000,000*f.* still remain to be expended on the completion of the works.

"The floating debt increased in proportions not less considerable. At the commencement of 1831 it reached an amount of about 250,000,000*f.* At the date of the 26th of February last, it exceeded 670,000,000*f.*, to which is to be added the Government stock belonging to the savings' banks, 202,000,000*f.*, making altogether 872,000,000*f.* Under such a system the position of the central office of the Treasury could not often be brilliant. During the 268 last days of its existence the fallen Government expended more than 294,800,000*f.* beyond its ordinary resources, or 1,100,000*f.* per day. In order to defray these expenses, the Government of the ex-King drew from three sources, produced by Royal bonds, a loan, and the savings' banks.

"With regard to the latter, the Government of the ex-King rendered it impossible that it could maintain its engagements with the creditors of the savings' banks. The pledge demandable at pleasure was no longer free in their hands. When I assumed the direction of the finances of the State, on the afternoon of the 7th of March, the property of the depositors was placed as follows:—

"In the Treasury at 4 per cent., 65,703,620*f.*, 40*c.*; in 5 per cent. Government stock, 34,106,130*f.*, 25*c.*; in Government 4 per cent. stock; 202,316,175*f.*; in 3 per cent. Government stock 34,084,447*f.*, 92*c.*; in shares of the four canals, 14,059,120*f.*; in shares of the canals 4,818,218*f.*, 75*c.*, making altogether 355,087,717*f.*, 32*c.*"

M. Garnier Pagès then announced his intention to propose, "1. That all deposits of 100*f.* and less shall be repaid in full in cash. 2. That the deposits from 100*f.* to 1000*f.* shall be repaid as follows:—viz., 100*f.* in cash, one half of the surplus in Treasury bonds at four months' date, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and the other in 5 per cent. Government stock at par. 3. That those accounts which exceed 1000*f.* shall be repaid as follows:—viz., 1000*f.* in cash, one half of the surplus in Treasury bonds, at six months' date, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and the remaining half in 5 per cent. stock at par."

The general measures for retrieving the position of the Exchequer, which the Finance Minister proposed to adopt, were the following:—1. A reduction in the number of *employés* under Government.—2. A sale of the crown diamonds, and a conversion into

coin of the silver plate and ingots found at the Tuileries, and in the other royal residences "allocated to the fallen dynasty by the law of 1832, regulating the civil list."—3. A disposal of the woods, lands, and property of the crown, comprised in the ancient Civil List; but the report stated, that "It is understood that the domain called 'private' is not comprised in this measure, and that it remains provisionally under sequestration, for the disposal of the National Assembly."—4. A better administration of the revenues of the state-forests.—5. A loan. The late Government was authorized to raise a loan of 350,000,000*f.*, of which 250,000,000*f.* were subscribed on the 10th of November last, and of this the Treasury had received 82,000,000*f.* There remained therefore to be raised 100,000,000*f.*, and this loan was to be contracted for under the title of the National Loan. In exchange for their "offerings," the citizens were to receive each a coupon of 5 per cent. Government stock at par, even though that stock should rise above par, before the subscription list was filled. The last stipulation might be made with great safety, for there was little chance of a rise in the value of the public stock in the face of such a revolution as was then convulsing France. M. Garnier Pagès concluded his report by taking a hopeful view of the state of the finances.

"As to the general situation of the Republic under a financial point of view, I imagine that it no longer shows anything alarming. The national debt, deduction being made of the Rentes which belong to the sinking fund, amounts to 5,200,000,000*f.* If any one inquires what that mass of capital has produced, the mind stops short, disconcerted, before the enormous disproportion of the means with the results. But if the country itself is regarded, the aspect of what it can do reassures. The English debt amounts to 20 *milliards*. It rests on the manufacturing and commercial subjection of the world, —a variable and fragile basis. Ours is only five *milliards*, and it has for its basis all the public and private property of France,—an immoveable basis, and every day stronger. A few years of a Republican Government, of a prudent, firm, and loyal administration, and the credit of France will not have any equal. What is certain, what I affirm with all the force of an enlightened and loyal conviction, is, that if the Orleans dynasty had reigned some time longer, bankruptcy was inevitable. Yes, citizens, let us proclaim it with pride and delight; to all the titles which recommend the Republic to the love of France, and to the respect of the world, this must be added,—the Republic has saved France from bankruptcy!"

A just test of the degree of confidence felt in the state of public affairs is supplied in modern times, by the position of the funds and banking establishments. In Paris a panic seized the depositors with the Bank of France, and the run upon it was so extensive, that the applicants were obliged to place themselves *en queue*, and had the greatest difficulty in presenting themselves at the counter.

M. D'Argout, the governor, immediately addressed an urgent letter to the Minister of Finance, in which he stated that—"In the interval between the 26th of February and the afternoon of the 14th of March, the cash in hand

diminished from 140,000,000*f.* to 70,000,000*f.* This morning a panic declared itself. The holders of notes flocked in crowds to the Bank. Additional pay clerks were appointed to accelerate the service. More than 10,000,000*f.* were paid in cash. There remains this afternoon only 59,000,000*f.* in the Paris chest. The crowd will be more considerable to-morrow; and, in the course of a few days, the Bank will be entirely exhausted of its specie." To put a stop to this, which must have resulted in the bankruptcy of the establishment, the Provisional Government, on the 15th of March, issued a decree, whereby the notes of the Bank of France were made a legal tender, and the Bank was dispensed from the obligation of paying its notes in specie. It was also provided that in no case the issue of the Bank and its branch banks should exceed 350,000,000*f.*, and, in order to facilitate the circulation, it was authorized to issue small notes, of no lower denomination than 100*f.* An additional per centage was also laid upon the assessed taxes by the following decree:—

"There shall be raised temporarily, and for the year 1848, 45 centimes additional on the entire of the four direct contributions of that year.

"The centimes bearing on the contribution levied off landed property shall be at the charge of the proprietors alone, notwithstanding any stipulation to the contrary contained in any lease or convention."

This was followed at a later period by an order which ordained the suspension of cash payments by the banks of Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Nantes, Lille, Marseilles, Havre, Toulouse, and Orleans, and made their notes a legal tender within the boundaries of their respective departments; and their issues were limited by a maximum in each case.

In order more effectually to recruit the falling revenue of the State, and get possession of ready money for immediate exigencies, the Provisional Government conceived the project of taking into their own hands the management of the different railroads in France. The first experiment was made upon the Paris and Orleans and Centre lines, and the pretext assigned for this arbitrary measure was, that the Companies of those two railroads did not possess sufficient authority to insure the regular communications. It therefore ordained that the Paris and Orleans and Centre Railroads should be sequestered, and should be administered and worked under the direction of the Minister of Public Works. On the 12th of April M. Garnier Pagès, the Minister of Finance, received by appointment a deputation from the different Railway Companies, and, after detailing the reasons which induced him to make the proposition, one of which he said was the necessity of finding work for the unemployed labourers, he said that it was the intention of the Government to purchase the railways, and suggested a discussion as to the most equitable mode of accomplishing this. He detailed several plans for this purpose; one of which was the conversion of the shares at the actual price of the day, and payable in money. Another, the same principle of conversion, but payable in *Rentes*, at the same actual price. A third, the conversion of the shares into *Rentes*, each taken at the average market price

during the six months preceding the 15th of February. The proposal, however, caused great dissatisfaction, and it was found to be so impracticable that it was for the time abandoned.

As a specimen of the views put forward and advocated by those who professed to regenerate the framework of society, by the adoption of new relations between workmen and their employers, we give the following outline of the plan for the organization of labour, which M. Louis Blanc laid before the Commission which sat at the Palace of the Luxembourg; and which he proposed to submit to the consideration of the National Assembly.

The Government was to take possession, on its own account, of all establishments about to suspend their works; the present proprietors preserving their rights, to be converted into bonds bearing interest, secured on the establishments, and reimbursable in money either by way of annuity or by a sinking fund. The persons employed in these establishments, and of which the State was to be the *gérant*, to be put on a new footing. The workpeople to form an association; to elect the directors of the works, and themselves fix the amount of the wages, or the share that labour is entitled to in the profits. The share being determined in a general manner, the collective wages to be distributed among the workmen individually, by the Council of Travailleurs, according to proportions open to discussion, but which the Government Commission thought ought to be in equal parts. The produce, after deduction of the wages, to be formed into a general fund, to be divided into four parts—

1. A quarter for the sinking fund of the capital belonging to the proprietor with whom the State made the bargain.

2. A quarter for the establishment of a fund, to be set aside for the support of old men, the sick, wounded, and infirm.

3. A quarter to be divided among the workmen by way of bonus.

4. A quarter for the formation of a reserve fund.

Besides this, M. Louis Blanc declared that it would be necessary to unite workshops belonging to the same branch of industry; to unite all the workshops of different branches of industry, but placed in the same condition; and to guarantee the interests of the consumer as regarded the quality and the lowest possible price of the produce.

"The plan is, that a Council of Administration should be placed at the head of all the *atéliers*, in whose hands would be united the guidance of all the industries, in the same way that the direction of each particular industry would be placed in the hands of an engineer. The State would arrive at the realization of this plan by successive measures. No one is to have violence done to him. The State intends to establish a model, by the side of which the private associations and the present economical system may live."

As a practical commentary upon these doctrines, we may mention that the conductors of the Paris omnibuses assembled, and ordered all the vehicles, without exception, to stop running: they sent them off their stands, forcibly stopped

them in the streets, and compelled the passengers to evacuate them, and carried away the wooden houses (*bureaux de controle*) erected on the Boulevards. They thus forced the public to submit to a higher rate of fares.

The case was taken into consideration by the conclave at the Luxembourg, and M. Louis Blanc fixed the salaries of the drivers and conductors of omnibuses at 3*f.* 50*c.* per day. He also considerably reduced the amount of the fines to which they were liable, and decided that their proceeds should in future specially belong to the conductors and drivers, and form a fund for the benefit of the sick and wounded, their widows and families.

Hitherto all had gone on smoothly, but there was an undercurrent of discontent at work which was destined to convulse the capital, and endanger the existence of the Republic as it had been accepted by the nation. There was a dangerous class of men called *Communistes* or *Socialists*, in whose eyes the possession of property was a crime, and whose untiring object it was, and still is, to overthrow all existing institutions, and establish the dominion of an unchecked and unbridled democracy in its wildest and most licentious form. This party had been gradually growing in numbers and strength, and to them the Revolution seemed to be only half accomplished, while the rights of property were respected, and a curb was placed upon disorder. Those of their most prominent leaders were MM. Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, and the former had convoked a meeting of his associates in the Champs Elysées for the 16th of April, without specifying the object for which they were summoned. The Government, however, took the alarm, and on that day the *rappel* was beaten throughout Paris, and the streets were filled with upwards of 200,000 National Guards. The meeting convened by M. Blanqui was held, and, after some violent speeches, the crowd, about 5000 in number, resolved to march to the Hôtel de Ville, and demand the dismissal of the more moderate Members of the Provisional Government.

When they arrived at the *Pont Neuf*, they found the bridge occupied by troops, and cries of "A bas les Communistes!" "A bas Blanqui!" rent the air. Finding that the attempt to proceed was vain, and that if they ventured to provoke a collision they must be overpowered and destroyed, they at last disbanded and dispersed.

In the afternoon numerous deputations waited on the Provisional Government to congratulate it on its escape, and testify their adhesion. In reply to one of these from the National Guard, M. Lamartine said:—

"This day was announced to the Provisional Government as a day of danger to the Republic; we were sure beforehand that it would be a day of triumph for the country and for its children. I know by a recent trial, and I can see it by the visage of many amongst you, and by the intrepid and moderate energy which fills the heart of the armed citizens of the capital, that we, that France, will not want any other guard, any other army, than this civil, voluntary, spontaneous army, which has been formed of itself, not at the first tap of the drum, for you were

armed before the call to arm was beaten, but which is formed of itself at the first rumour of danger for the country and for public order."

He admitted that attempts had been made to sow division in the Provisional Government; but he said,—

"If some differences of opinion, as is natural to expect in the great councils of a country, are to be seen in the Administration, unity exists in the patriotism, in the same love for the Republic, in the same devotedness which animates them towards Paris and France. This union is the symbol of that of all the citizens. Permit me to offer you, not in my own name, but in that of the unanimity of my colleagues, the deep-felt thanks, not of the Provisional Government, but of the whole of France, for whom this would have been a day of calamity and of civil war if the Government had been divided; and which, thanks to your energy, will be for her the day of the definitive and pacific triumph of our new institutions, which we wish to hand over entire and inviolate to the National Assembly, which will be the supreme unity of the country."

The 23rd and 24th of April were occupied by the elections of Representatives to sit in the National Assembly. The result was looked forward to with much interest; as in the composition of that body would depend the future character of the Republic. Future events showed that the effect of universal suffrage in France on this occasion was to return a much more Conservative and moderate body than could have been hoped for. But the truth is, that the nation was terrified at the doctrines of the Communists and Red Republicans, as they were called from their adopting as their symbol a red flag, the use of which M. Lamartine, as we have seen, so eloquently denounced, when the attempt was made to substitute it for the *tricolor*. The candidates, therefore, who were known not to be men of extreme views had most favour, and the issue of the electoral struggle was satisfactory. The great contest was in the department of the Seine, which determined who were to be the representatives of Paris; and it was hailed as a most cheering proof of the state of feeling throughout France, that M. de Lamartine's name appeared at the head of the poll in the capital, and in eight other places he was also amongst those who were returned. The following is the list of successful candidates for that department, together with the number of votes given to each. As the first return of representatives of the capital, and an index of popular opinion, it is we think a most interesting document.

1.	M. de Lamartine, member of the Provisional Government	259,800
2.	Dupont (de l'Eure), idem .	245,083
3.	François Arago, idem . .	243,640
4.	Garnier-Pagès, idem . .	240,820
5.	Marrast, idem	222,166
6.	Marie, idem	225,776
7.	Crémieux, idem	210,699
8.	Beranger, chansonier . .	204,271
9.	Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction	195,608
10.	Bethmont, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce .	189,252
11.	Duvivier, General Commandant of the Garde Mobile	182,175
12.	Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, former Deputy	165,156
13.	Vavin, former Deputy . .	151,103
14.	Cavaignac, Governor-General of Algiers . . .	144,187
15.	Berger, formerly Deputy .	126,660
16.	Pagnerre, Secretary-Gene-	

	ral of the Provincial Government	136,117
17.	Buchez, Adjunct to the Mayor of Paris . . .	135,678
18.	Cormenin, President of the Council of State . . .	135,050
19.	Corbon, ouvrier, and rédacteur en chef of the *Atélier* paper	135,043
20.	Caussidière, Prefect of Police	133,775
21.	Albert, member of the Provisional Government . .	133,041
22.	Wolowski, Professor at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers	132,333
23.	Peupin, ouvrier horlogier .	131,969
24.	Ledru Rollin, member of the Provisional Government	131,587
25.	J. P. Schmith, ouvrier . .	124,383
26.	Flocon, member of the Provisional Government .	121,865
27.	Louis Blanc, idem . . .	121,140
28.	Recurt, Adjunct to the Mayor of Paris	118,075
29.	Agricol Perdiguier, ouvrier menuisier	117,290
30.	Jules Bastide, Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs .	110,228
31.	Coquerel, Protestant clergyman	109,934
32.	Garnon, former Deputy .	106,747
33.	Guinard, Colonel of the Artillery of the National Guard	106,262
34.	Abbé Lamennais . . .	104,871

Amongst the unsuccessful candidates were the following:—MM. Goudchaux, Courtais, Barbès, Victor Hugo, Raspail, Arago, Le Roux, D'Alton Shée, Ney de la Moskowa, Eugène Sue, Dupetit Thouars, and Emile de Girardin.

M. Thiers was a candidate for the department *des Bouches du Rhone*, but was defeated. Amongst the returns for the provinces were the names of M. Dupin, M. de Tocqueville, M. Berryer, M. Leon Faucher, M. Mauguin, M. Billault, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, the Bishop of Quimper, and the Bishop of Orleans.

The disappointment felt by the lower orders of the populace when they found that their favourite candidates in some places had not been successful occasioned serious riots; and at Amiens, Rochefort, Limoges, Rouen, and other towns disturbances took place, which were only quelled by armed force. At Rouen barricades were erected, and some severe fighting took place. The National Guards, and especially the guards *mobiles*, vigorously exerted themselves to restore order and put down the mob. It was clear, however, that there were already two parties in direct opposition and collision with each other, the Moderates and the Red Republicans; and we shall soon see that the strength between them was destined to terminate in an appeal to physical force in Paris, and deluge the capital in blood.

As a specimen of the opinions of the extreme democrats we give the following placard, which was signed by some of their leaders, and amongst others by Barbès, of whom we have already given some account, and posted everywhere on the walls of the streets of Paris on the 1st of May, but torn down by the order of the Provisional Government. It was headed—

"'*Société des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.*'

"This Society has for its object—first, to defend the rights of the people, the exercise of which has been restored to them by the Revolution of February; secondly, to draw from this Revolution all its social consequences. As its point of departure, the Society takes the declaration of the rights of man as laid down in 1793 by Robespierre. It ensues that, in a political point of view, the Republic, one and indivisible, comprehends

the inalienable laws of the people. In a social point of view, the old constitution is abolished; and that which is called to replace it must rest on equality and fraternity, the fundamental principles of the new social compact. Consequently, the social revolution, now at its commencement, places itself between the Parias and the Privileged of the ancient state of society. To the first it says—Be united, but calm; for in this lies your strength. Your number is such that it must suffice to manifest your will, and make you obtain all you desire. It is also such that you cannot desire anything but what is just. Your voice and your will are the voice and the will of God. To the others it says—The old social form has disappeared. The reign of privilege and *exploitation* is past. In the point of view of the ancient social form, if the privileges with which you were invested were acquired in a legal manner, do not avail yourselves of them: these laws were your own work; the immense majority of your brethren were strangers to them, and, therefore, are not bound to respect them. Rally, then, together, for you have need of the pardon of those whom you have so long sacrificed. If, in spite of this promise of pardon, you persist in remaining isolated in order to defend the old social form, you will find in the vanguard, on the day of conflict, our sections organized; and your brethren will no longer hold towards you the language of pardon, but that of justice."

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of the National Assembly on the 4th of May—Address by M. Dupont (de l'Eure)—Oath of Allegiance abolished—Proclamation of the Republic in presence of the People—Election of Officers of the Assembly—Policy of Provisional Government detailed in Speech of M. de Lamartine—Election of Members of Executive Committee—Nomination of Ministers—Formation of Clubs in Paris—The Assembly invaded by the Mob—Scene of Confusion in the Chamber—M. Hubert declares that the National Assembly is dissolved—Suppression of the Insurrection—Conduct of General Courtais and M. Louis Blanc—Defence made by M. Caussidière of his Conduct—Address by Executive Committee—Appointment of Committee to draw up Plan of Constitution—Disturbances at Lyons—Decree of perpetual Banishment pronounced against the ex-Royal Family—Impeachment of M. Louis Blanc—Election of Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte as Deputy—Discussion on this subject in the Assembly—The Prince declines to take his Seat—Proof of Conservative Feeling in the Assembly—Attack on the Ministry in the Assembly—Speech of General Cavaignac—Defence of the Executive Committee by M. De Lamartine—Debate respecting Prince Louis Napoleon—Plan of the Constitution—The National Ateliers*—Body of Provincial Workmen ordered to quit Paris—Commencement of Disturbances—The* Générale *beaten—Barricades and Insurrection—Desperate Combat in the Streets of Paris—Resignation of the Executive Committee—General Cavaignac invested with supreme Authority—Successes of the Military—Destructive use of Artillery—Death of the Archbishop of Paris—Termination of the Struggle—General Cavaignac appointed President of the Council—His Cabinet—Report of Committee on the Insurrection—Leave given to the Attorney-General to prosecute MM. Ledru Rollin and Caussidière—General Cavaignac and the National Workshops—Project of the Constitution—Speech of M. Thiers on the Second Article relating to Property and Labour—Louis Napoleon takes his Seat as Deputy for the Department of the Moselle—His first Speech—Important Debate on the Twentieth Article, confining the Legislative Power to one Assembly—Speeches of MM. Lamartine, Odillon Barrot, and Dupin—Majority in favour of a single Chamber—Discussion on various Articles of the Constitution—The Election of the President submitted to the Votes of the*

People—Republicanism on the wane—Final adoption and Proclamation of the Constitution—Charges brought against General Cavaignac by M. Barthelemy St. Hilare—His triumphant Defence—Election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic—His Address to the Assembly—Formation of a Cabinet—Reflections on the rise and fall of popular Favourites in France.

ON the 4th of May the National Assembly commenced its sitting in a temporary wooden building erected for the purpose, at the back of and communicating with the existing Chamber of Deputies, and adapted to hold about 1700 persons. When the Members of the Provisional Government had arrived and taken their seats, M. Puraveau, the "*doyen d'age*," who occupied the chair, called upon M. Dupont (de l'Eure) to address the Assembly. He obeyed the summons, and read the following speech:—

"Citizen Representatives of the People:—The Provisional Government comes to bow before the nation, and render a signal homage to the supreme power with which you are invested.

"Elect of the people, we welcome you to this great capital, where your presence excites a sentiment of happiness and hope that will not be deceived.

"Depositories of the national sovereignty, you are about to found new institutions upon the broad basis of Democracy, and to give to France the only constitution that can suit her—a Republican constitution. [Here the whole assembly rose, and with right hands raised, cried "Vive la République!"] But after having proclaimed the great political law which is about definitely to organize the country, you, like us, Citizen Representatives, will proceed to regulate the possible and efficacious action of the Government in the relations which the necessities of labour establish among all the citizens, and which ought to have for its base the sacred laws of justice and fraternity.

"In fine, the moment has arrived for the Provisional Government to resign into your hands the unlimited power with which the Revolution had invested it. You know that, with regard to ourselves, this dictatorship was a moral power exercised in the midst of the difficult circumstances we have passed through.

"Faithful to our origin and to our personal convictions, we have not hesitated to proclaim the infant Republic of February.

"To-day we shall inaugurate the labours of the National Assembly with the cry which ought always to salute it, 'Vive la République.'"

This address was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The first business transacted was a verification of the returns, the whole Assembly being divided into eighteen *bureaux* or committees for the purpose.

By and by M. Ollivier rose and proposed, that after the admission of every Member, he should mount the tribune, and there, in the presence of the Assembly, take the oath of allegiance to the Republic; but he was interrupted by numbers crying, "The oath is abolished!" "By whom?" asked M. Ollivier. "By the Provisional Government." "What!" continued M. Ollivier, "do you place

the power of the Provisional Government above that of the National Assembly?" (*Cries*, "The oath is abolished, and for ever!")

M. Crémieux, the Minister of Justice, then rose and said, that the oath of allegiance had been the occasion of so much scandal during the last 60 years, and had excited such universal indignation, that the Provisional Government had thought proper to abolish it. "The oath of every true Republican," added the Minister, "is in his heart, and not on his lips."

The Assembly received that declaration of the Minister with great applause, and immediately ratified the measure adopted by the Provisional Government, amidst cries of "Vive la République!" and "Vive le Gouvernement Provisoire!"

M. Berger afterwards ascended the tribune, and said—Citizens, in the name of the deputies of the Seine, I propose to the National Assembly the solemn proclamation of the Republic. Citizens, let France, let the whole world know that the Republic, solemnly proclaimed with enthusiasm, is and will remain the form of the government of this country. Let us never forget this great day. In the name of the country, let men of all opinions no longer form but one family, that this day may be truly the *fête* of concord and of fraternity.

M. Clement Thomas — I demand that the proclamation which has just been proposed should be made in the name of all the Representatives. If we had been consulted beforehand we should all have approved of it; it should therefore be done in the name of the National Assembly.

M. Berger.—I am happy in seeing the Members of the National Assembly wish to unite themselves to the Representatives of the Seine.

M. Ducoux.—I unreservedly applaud the feeling which has dictated the proclamation; and no one more than myself was more anxious to proclaim the Republic one and indivisible; but permit me to observe that it is not in an incidental manner that so important an act should be accomplished. The Republic will be great and durable enough for us to be able to proclaim it at a solemn moment; let the incident which has just taken place be therefore regarded as an expression of a movement which we could not contain; but I demand that the democratic and fraternal Republic should be hereafter proclaimed with all the solemnity befitting such an important act.

M. Barbès.—We have only to proclaim the Republic after the people. Let us all cry "Long live the Republic—one, indivisible, and social!"

M. Trelat.—The Republic is a fact which has been preparing for many long years, a necessary, a scientific (!) fact. The proof of its necessity is, that it is proclaimed in this Chamber, adjoining the other where it was combated two months since. The greatest proof is, that even those who then protested against it do so no longer. If there are any citizens here who think of another form of government—("No, no!" "Vive la République!") The Republic, therefore, is like the sun—blind is he who does not see it.

A Voice.—Let us all proclaim the Republic.

General Courtais.—I come in the name of the people of Paris.

I request the Members of the Provisional Government to come out on the peristyle of the building, and the representatives of the people to follow them, in order to proclaim the Republic.

The Assembly then rose in a body and proceeded to do homage to the wishes of the sovereign people, who, with the National Guards in full uniform, were impatiently waiting to witness the spectacle.

The Members of the Provisional Government stood on the top of the flight of steps facing the Pont de la Concorde, and the other Deputies occupied the steps immediately below them, while in front the National Guards filled the space between them and the river. A tremendous shout was soon raised for the "colours of the army," and they were brought forward amidst the thunder of cannon and the cheers of the multitude, and unfurled to the breeze. The Republic was then proclaimed, and, in the presence of 200,000 citizens, solemnly accepted by the National Assembly. To testify its hearty adoption of the principles of the Revolution, the following proclamation was posted on the walls.

"The National Assembly, the faithful interpreter of the sentiments of the people, by whom it has been elected, previous to commencing its labours—

"Declares, in the name of the French people, and in the face of the entire world, that the Republic, proclaimed on the 24th of February, 1848, is, and shall remain, the form of the Government of France.

"The Republic desired by France has adopted the motto, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.'

"In the name of the country, the National Assembly entreats Frenchmen of every political party to forget former feuds, and to form in future but one family. The day on which the representatives of the people met is for all the citizens the feast of concord and fraternity. *Vive la République!*"

The next day was devoted to the election of officers of the Assembly. It was determined that the chair of President should be held for only a month at a time, and M. Buchez had the honour of being chosen the first occupier of it, by 383 votes.

The six Vice-Presidents chosen were—M. Recurt, who obtained 633 votes; General Cavaignac, 575; M. Corbon, 397; M. Guinard, 378; M. Cormenin, 319; and M. Senard, 318.

The six Secretaries—MM. Pepuin, 365; Robert, 333; Degeorges, 325; Felix Pyat, 322; Lacrosse, 287; and Emily Pean, 252.

The three Questors—M. Degousée, 439 votes; M. Bureaux de Pusy, 338; and General Negrier, 290.

The Members of the Provisional Government afterwards gave an account of the acts done by them in their respective departments; but first a general statement of the principles which had guided them in their policy was read by M. de Lamartine. The following are some extracts from this oration, the delivery of which excited great enthusiasm in the Assembly.

"The Throne being overturned, and the Dynasty having departed into exile, the Provisional Government simply recorded that Republic which was proclaimed by the voice of the entire people. The first task of the Government was

the restoration of order in Paris. The co-operation of the citizens made this a task of less merit than otherwise it would have been: each citizen became at the same time the soldier of peace and the volunteer magistrate of order. The magnanimous aspect of the people, their heroism and generosity, inspired the idea of the first decree published in the name of the Republic—that which abolished the punishment of death for political offences. Europe saw that the spirit of God was over the crowd, and learnt to hope that a revolution so magnanimous in its inauguration would be pure and sacred in its success.

"Regards were turned in succession to the departments of France, the Army, the Colonies, Algeria, and the nations of Europe. As to the last, Europe waited undecided the first word of the Republic. This first word was the abolition, *de facto* and *de jure*, of the reactionary treaties of 1815; liberty restored to our foreign policy; the declaration of peace for territories—of sympathy for nations—of justice, good faith, and moderation for governments. France by that manifesto disarmed her ambition, but did not disarm her ideas; she let her principle of action shine forth fully. Her war went no farther. The special report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs will show you what this system of open diplomacy has produced for France, and what it will in all likelihood still produce for France. The Minister of War energetically re-established the shaken discipline of the Army; a Council of Defence was formed; four armies of observation were established—in the North, on the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and the Navy was despatched to display the flag of the Republic to our brethren on the Italian shores.

"But in proclaiming a Republic France proclaimed a principle—the principle of equality by right, and fraternity by institutions. The revolution ought to be organized for the profit of the people. To suppress the servile name of '*proletaire*,' and elevate the working man; to elevate and enrich these without degrading or injuring others; to preserve property, and render it more fruitful, by multiplying it, and dividing it amongst a greater number; to distribute taxes in such a way as to cause the heaviest weight to fall on the strongest; to create by the State the work which should happen to fail by the fact of capital being intimidated, so that not a workman in France should remain without bread; in fine, to examine with the workmen themselves the practical and true phenomena of association, and the theories, still problematical, of the various systems, in order to discover the true application,—such were the ideas of the Provisional Government in all its decrees.

"In France, then, that Republic has been established which the Governments of Europe declared could only be so on the conditions of foreign and civil war, anarchy, prisons, and the scaffold: it is shown to be compatible with peace to all Europe and order at home, with individual liberty, and even with gentleness, mildness and purity of morals, in a people to whom hatred is a torture and concord a national instinct. Forty-five days have been passed through, with no executive authority over the people but that moral one

which they themselves were pleased to acknowledge: the people consented to be governed by persuasive words, by counsels, and by generous inspirations. Throughout that time of crisis, cessation of work, and misery—of political agitation and social anguish—property was unviolated, and life unmenaced by the people: nor has a single proscription or imprisonment, or a single drop of blood shed by the Government, cast a shade of sadness on the past. The Members of the Provisional Government may descend from their stations and re-mix with the people without any one being able to ask, 'As citizens, what have been your deeds?'"

In conclusion, M. de Lamartine said—"Our only ambition is to re-enter the ranks of good citizens. May the history of our beloved country inscribe with indulgence, below, far below, the great deeds which France has accomplished, the recital of the three past months during which we have crossed an abyss between a crushed Monarchy and a Republic starting up in its place. And, instead of the obscure and forgotten names of the men who had devoted themselves to the public welfare, may history inscribe on her pages only two names—the name of the People who have preserved all, and the name of the great God who has poured his blessings on the foundations of the Republic."

In giving an account of the labours of his department, M. Louis Blanc said, "The two fundamental ideas of our work—whether it concerns commerce or agriculture, or the banks or the establishments of customs—the two fundamental ideas are, association and disinterested intervention, the pacific and tutelary intervention of the State. We do not pretend that the State should become the only *industriel* of the kingdom; but we wish it to be understood that the State has a great duty to fulfil in what regards those who suffer. What we wish is, that the State should be the guardian of credit, giving credit not only to the rich but to the poor.

"Association is a noble and beautiful thing; not because it will displace riches, but because it will make them universal, by making them fruitful; and because it will raise the level of the people and humanity."

The Assembly afterwards passed an almost unanimous vote, that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the country. The only Members who dissented were the notorious M. Barbès and two others.

On the 8th of May, a Committee was formed by choosing one member from each bureau, for the purpose of drawing up a report upon the form of Interior Government, which ought to succeed the Provisional Government; and next day it presented its proposal, that the Assembly should appoint nine Ministers with portfolio, and one without portfolio, to act as President. This had been adopted by a majority of 14 to 4 in the Committee, in preference to a plan for allowing the National Assembly to appoint an Executive Council, who should have the nomination of the Ministers. A debate arose upon the question in the Assembly, and the result was that it adopted the latter proposition by a majority of 26. The numbers being, for the intervention of an Executive Committee, 411:—for the appointment of Ministers by the Assembly direct, 385.

On the following day, the election of Members of the Executive Committee took place. M. Du pont (de l'Eure) stated, that owing to his great age he could not possibly act as one of them even if he were chosen, an announcement which seemed to be received with great regret by the Assembly. A ballot then commenced, and the result was that the following Members were elected, (the total number of votes being 794.)

Arago	725
Garnier Pagès . . .	715
Marie	702
Lamartine	643
Ledru Rollin . . .	458

M. Wollowski then ascended the tribune, and proposed that the Assembly should invite the Executive Committee to take into consideration the prayer of the Polish delegates, in which they demanded the assurance of France to restore their nation to independence.

A Committee was afterwards appointed to propose a plan for the internal regulation of the mode of conducting the business of the Assembly, and they proposed the following resolutions, which, after some discussion, were adopted.

"No stranger is to enter, under any pretext, the hall of the Assembly. Persons admitted into the public galleries shall remain seated, uncovered, and silent. Any individual giving marks of approbation or disapprobation is to be immediately excluded by the officers of the House, and should they disturb the deliberations they are to be tried by the competent authorities. The President will watch over the internal and external security of the National Assembly, and, to that effect, he will have a right to require the assistance of the armed force, and of all officers, commanders, and functionaries, who shall obey his order, under the penalties stipulated in the 234th article of the Penal Code. The President may delegate his power to the questors, or one of them."

On the 11th, the following Ministry was appointed to take charge of the various departments of the public service.

Crémieux .	Justice.
Bastide .	Foreign Affairs.
Charras .	War.
Casy . .	Marine.
Recurt . .	Interior.
Carnot . .	Public Institution.
Trélat . .	Public Works.
Flocon . .	Commerce.
Bethmont .	Religion.
Duclerc .	Finance.
Marrast .	Mayor of Paris.
Caussidière	Prefect of Paris.

On the 13th, some further regulations were determined upon, the principal of which was, "the National Assembly shall be divided into 16 committees, each composed of 60 members, viz.—1, a Committee of Justice; 2, Public Worship; 3, Foreign Affairs; 4, Public Instruction; 5, Interior; 6, Departmental and Communal Administration; 7, Commerce and Industry; 8, Agriculture and Credit relating to Property; 9, Marine; 10, War; 11, Algeria; 12, Colonies; 13, Finance; 14, Public Works; 15, Civil and Criminal Legislation; and 16, of Labour."

But significant systems of discontent out of doors now began to appear. Imitating the example of the Terrorists under the first Revolution of 1789, clubs were actively at work, inflaming the minds and passions of the populace, and erecting that *imperium in imperio* which is so fatal to the existence of tranquillity. A great feast of fraternity was in prepara-

tion, at which all the citizens of Paris were invited to attend, but, on the 11th of May, there appeared on the walls of the city a placard, in which, after quoting verbatim the proclamation of the Provisional Government, dated 25th of February, in which it "undertook to guarantee labour to all citizens," it announced that "The promises made on the barricades not having been fulfilled, and the National Assembly having refused, in its sitting on the 10th of May, to constitute a Ministry of Labour, the delegates of the Luxembourg decline to assist at the *fête* called *De la Concorde.*"

We have mentioned the proposition made by M. Wollowski with regard to Poland, because that subject was seized upon as the pretext for a scene of tumultuous violence, which, at one time, threatened to overthrow the Government, and deliver Paris into the hands of the extreme democrats. On the 15th of May, M. Wollowski had again ascended the tribune for the purpose of speaking on the question of Poland, when loud cries were heard outside the Chambers, and shortly afterwards a body of men rushed into the galleries, carrying banners in their hands, and shouting *Vive la Pologne!* An immense number of workmen had, after marching along the Boulevards, approached in a dense mass the Pont de la Concorde. Here was stationed a small detachment of National Guards, who were quite inadequate to resist the passage of the crowd, which pressed forward and disarmed them, unscrewing without opposition the bayonets from off their muskets. They then rapidly advanced towards the hall of the Assembly, in front of which, and in the court-yard, was drawn up a body of about 1000 troops of the Garde Mobile, but these did not offer the least resistance, and the people then rushed into the galleries as above mentioned.

A great sensation was as might be expected produced in the Assembly, which was increased by the declaration of M. Degoisée, who mounted the tribune and said, that, contrary to the express orders of the questors, General Courtais, the Commander-in-chief of the National Guards, had directed the soldiers of the Garde Mobile, on duty at the Chamber, to take off their bayonets and sheathe them in their scabbards.

A scene of disorder now ensued somewhat similar to that which occurred at the last sitting of the Chamber of Deputies when the Monarchy was overthrown. M. Barbès rushed to the tribune, but was by main force prevented by some of the Members from addressing the Assembly. The President put on his hat, and the Members of the Executive Committee left the hall. At this moment a shot was fired on the outside, which produced a temporary pause; but the mob soon burst in through the doors and filled the interior of the building.

Shortly afterwards M. Buchez, the President, re-entered the hall, accompanied by the Prefect of Police and the Members of the Executive Committee. M. Barbès requested the people to be silent, in order that the Assembly might hear the petition which a man standing near him held in his hand. No attention, however, was paid to his suggestion, and the petition was read amidst the ut-

most tumult. General Courtais, MM. Raspail, Blanqui, Barbès, and men dressed in blouses and in their shirts, occupied the tribune, all vociferating together. M. Louis Blanc then appeared by the side of the President, and was hailed with loud cheers by the mob. Silence being restored, M. Louis Blanc requested the people to be silent, in order that the petition might be read and freely discussed by the National Assembly. The right of petition should be sacred, and the people should prove itself calm in its force and moderation. The petition was again read by a delegate of the clubs, who concluded by demanding that the Assembly should decree *instanter* that a friendly request should be addressed to the Northern Powers to re-establish old Poland, and that a French army be held ready to cross the Rhine and march to Poland, should the *ultimatum* be rejected.

The President next rose and observed, that the Assembly had heard their petition, and that if they wished it to deliberate upon it, they should retire. M. Barbès joined in the recommendation. One of the presidents of the clubs here rose, and asked leave to explain the petition. This he did at some length, and afterwards M. Ledru Rollin ascended the tribune; but when he called upon the people to withdraw in order to enable the Assembly to deliberate, a tremendous uproar arose. M. Barbès elevated his voice to the highest pitch, and was heard to exclaim, "a fixed tax of a milliard shall be levied on the rich to carry on war for Poland." This was received with vociferous cheering; and not long afterwards, M. Hubert rose and cried out, "Citizens, I proclaim in the name of the sovereign people of France, that the National Assembly is dissolved."

But the beating of the *rappel* was now heard, and the columns of the National Guards were marching in imposing force towards the hall. A shout was raised of "A l'Hôtel de Ville!" and most of the leaders of the clubs attended by their followers left the Assembly. The National Guards entered the building, and by main force expelled all who were not representatives of the people, upon which the sitting was re-commenced, and the Assembly declared itself to be *en permanence*.

In the meantime, M. Barbès, with Albert, Thoré, and other leaders of the mob, arrived at the Hôtel de Ville. The guard was unable to prevent the entrance of the crowd which accompanied them. The iron gates were forced, and the people entered. A Provisional Government was proclaimed, consisting of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, Caussidière, Sobrier, Hubert, Thoré, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, Raspail, and Blanqui. The name of M. Flocon was rejected. That of Ledru Rollin was objected to, but at last received. M. Barbès wrote out a list of the new Provisional Government, and threw it out of the window to the people; but it was seized and torn to pieces by the few National Guards who were present. At last M. Lamartine arrived about six o'clock, accompanied by a strong body of National Guards, who occupied all the passages leading to the Hôtel de Ville, and, forcing their way into the building, arrested M. Barbès, M. Albert, and their colleagues, in the room

where they were organizing their new government and preparing proclamations to the people.

The timely assistance afforded by the National Guard was due to the active measures taken by MM. Garnier Pages and Arago, who, as Members of the Executive Committee, were engaged at the Palace of the Luxembourg, and, whenever they learnt that the hall of the Assembly had been invaded by the populace, they issued orders to the troops to march instantly to the rescue. After the mob had been compelled to withdraw, M. Clement Thomas said that, during the tumult, the President of the National Assembly had placed him provisionally in command of the National Guard in order to protect the capital from anarchy, and that he now begged to resign the authority with which he had been temporarily invested. M. Garnier Pagès, however, immediately rose and proposed the following decree, which was adopted by acclamation:—

"In the name of the French people and of the National Assembly, the Executive Committee declares that Citizen Clement Thomas is nominated Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of Paris."

Against General Courtais, as having betrayed his trust, the strongest feeling of indignation was expressed. He wished to address the Chamber, and having exclaimed, "In the name of the people order the National Guard to withdraw," one of that body cried out, "General of the National Guard, you are a general no longer. You are a traitor. I degrade you!" At these words he pulled off his epaulettes, while another wrenched from him his sword, upon which he had laid his hand. An instant after, he was driven from the Assembly with cries of "Down with the traitor!"

When M. Louis Blanc entered the Chamber with his clothes torn, he was met with contemptuous shouts, as he was suspected of being privy to the attempted insurrection, and on his exclaiming, "I swear to you on my honour that I had nothing to do with the scenes of this day, and that I even expressed my disapprobation," he was driven by derisive cries from the tribune. The Assembly afterwards adjourned.

The counter-revolution was thus promptly and effectually suppressed, and in a wonderfully short space of time quiet was restored to the capital. MM. Barbès, Blanqui, Albert, Sobrier, and Raspail, the leaders of the movement, were thrown into prison in the Castle of Vincennes, and the National Guards, together with some regiments of the line, which now began to make their appearance in Paris, held themselves ready to act at a moment's notice to prevent any fresh outbreak.

On the following day, when the Assembly met, the President attempted to explain a part of his conduct which had caused great indignation. He had written to the officer in command of the National Guards to prevent the *rappel* from being beaten. This he said he had done in order not to excite still more the anger of the people! Upon which the Members almost unanimously exclaimed, "You were wrong." M. Garnier Pagès then spoke, and stated that the Executive Committee had intrusted the command of the National Guard to Colonel Thomas, and of the army in Paris to General Bedeau,

and that "the brave and glorious army with which the Members of the Committee had fraternized" had been called to Paris.

We may here mention that General Cavaignac was about this time appointed Minister of War.

M. Boujeau afterwards attacked M. Caussidière, the Prefect of Paris, for having illegally organized a Republican Guard, some of whom he said he saw heading the mob during the preceding day. M. Caussidière, in his defence, said that nobody deplored the scenes of the preceding day more sincerely than he. Nominated by the combatants of the barricades, he had maintained the peace of the city during two months and a half. In less than three days all the streets had been repaired, and the circulation restored. Six days after the Revolution, the price of bread had diminished, in consequence of the measures he had adopted. He had established an effectual police, and was aware of every movement of the enemies of the Republic. His object had been to maintain a balance between parties. A combination among the journeymen bakers, 5000 in number, had nearly deprived Paris of bread, and it was through his interference that the catastrophe had been obviated. Alarmed at the machinations of Citizen Blanqui, whom he regarded as one of the greatest enemies of the Republican party, he had applied for a warrant to arrest him; *which had been refused.* He might have executed the warrant at six o'clock on the previous morning, and thus obviated the deplorable scenes of that day.

With reference to the refusal to grant a warrant for the arrest of Blanqui, M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice, said that the reason of this was a fear lest too great an importance should seem to be attached to that individual, and that, as the Provisional Government were then on the point of resigning their powers, they did not like to adopt any rigorous measures. After some further desultory speeches, the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

One of the significant symptoms of the tenure on which the newly created government held the reins of power was the fulsome tone of flattery which it felt itself constrained to adopt in its addresses to the people. Thus, after the insurrection had been quelled, a proclamation appeared, issued by the members of the Executive Committee, in which they said: "Citizens, the Assembly, disturbed for a moment, has resumed its labours. It sits in the midst of you, always great, always strong, always ready to assure the triumph of the Republic and to realize the just hopes which the revolution has raised in the minds of the operatives.

"This day crime has been vanquished.

"The National Guard, the Garde Mobile, all the forces in Paris and in the neighbourhood, have driven before them the insane conspirators who conceived their plots against liberty under the name of Poland.

"Citizens, your victory has been holy, for the blood of your brothers has not been shed. Remain prepared, remain armed to defend, as you have shown yourself so competent to do, the Republic against anarchy."

On the 17th of May, the Minister of Finance presented to the Assembly a *projet du loi*, relative to the purchase of railways

by the State. He divided them into two categories, and, with regard to the first, made the following proposition:—

"The value of those different lines shall be fixed, according to the average price of their respective shares on the Paris Bourse during the six months that preceded the revolution of the 24th of February, (from the 24th of August, 1847, to the 24th of February, 1848). In exchange for the shares the holders shall receive coupons of *rentes* five per cent., price for price, according to the average price of the Paris Bourse during the six months above mentioned."

With regard to the second, the Minister was to be authorized to treat with each company separately. The shareholders of these companies were to have the power at a general meeting to accept, by a majority of votes, the conditions proposed by the Minister of Finance, and thus contract for the universality of their shareholders.

"A sum of *rentes* equal to the estimated value of the railroads redeemed shall be inscribed on the Grand Book of the Public Debt, and the State, assuming the place of the companies, shall reimburse their obligations and loans on the terms stipulated with the lenders."

A sub-committee was afterwards appointed to draw up a report on the proposed measure.

On the following day, the Assembly appointed by ballot a Committee, consisting of 18 Members, to accomplish the important task of drawing up the plan of a Constitution. The following names were chosen:—MM. Cormenin, Armand Marrast, Lamennais, Vivien, Tocqueville, Dufaure, Martin (of Strasburg), Voirhaye, Coquerel (Protestant Minister), Corbon, Tourret (de l'Allier), Gustave de Beaumont, Dupin, Vaulabelle, Odillon Barrot, Pagès (de l'Ariège), Dornès, and Considerant.

On Sunday, the 21st of May, a grand *fête de concorde* took place at Paris, which passed off without the slightest attempt at disturbance. The people seemed to be in the best possible humour, and to have buried in oblivion the events of the preceding week. In the meantime, however, some deplorable scenes were acted at Lyons, where bands of ruffians, calling themselves *voraces*, made themselves for a time masters of the city, and caused the utmost alarm. Barricades were erected and the red flag hoisted. In consequence of this, the Croix-Rousse, where the insurgents had established their head-quarters, was declared to be in a state of siege, and the National Guards were obliged to act with energy and firmness to put down the insurrection. This, however, they succeeded in doing, and tranquillity was restored.

We now turn to the proceedings of the National Assembly. Our limits of course prevent us from giving anything like a detailed account of the debates which there took place; nor indeed were they of sufficient interest to justify a lengthened narrative. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the more prominent and important topics of discussion.

On the 24th of May, M. Dornés, the reporter of the Committee to which the question of preparing a Bill relative to the Orleans family had been referred, stated that

they proposed that the Assembly should adopt the following decree:—

"The National Assembly decrees that the entrance of the French territory, denied to the Bourbons of the elder branch by the law of the 10th of April, 1832, shall be likewise denied to Louis Philippe and his family."

On the 26th, a debate took place upon this question, and the result was that a decree for the perpetual banishment of Louis Philippe and his family was carried by a majority of 695 to 63. Amongst those who voted in the affirmative, was M. Duvergier de Hauranne, who had been a minister under the ex-King.

At the sitting on the 31st, the President announced to the Assembly, that M. Portalis, the Procureur-General of the Court of Appeal of Paris, demanded permission to prosecute M. Louis Blanc, on the ground that he was seriously implicated in the lawless proceedings which had taken place on the 15th of May. M. Louis Blanc then ascended the tribune, and said that he did not come forward to defend himself as a man, but as a representative of the people, and a member of that Government which had inaugurated the era of the Republic by proclaiming justice and clemency, and the abolition of capital punishments. He little expected that such would be the recompense reserved to him for wishing to establish a great and glorious Republic free from all excesses. He entreated his colleagues to abstain from all acts tending to recall the reign of terror, for such arms might at a future day be turned against themselves. He then indignantly repelled the charge of having violated the principle of the national sovereignty, which he had advocated all his life, and considered the greatest of crimes. The President, he maintained, had authorized him to speak to the people, and at the moment Hubert pronounced the dissolution of the Assembly he was at his seat, engaged in writing those words:—"In the name of the people and of your own sovereignty, I entreat you to retire."

The Assembly, after a short discussion, decided that the question of impeachment should be referred to a Committee to be appointed by the different bureaux, and one was immediately nominated for that purpose.

On the 2nd of June, M. Jules Favre, the reporter of the Committee, stated that they had determined, by a majority of 15 to 3, to propose to the Assembly that a prosecution should be instituted against M. Louis Blanc. The following day was appointed for the discussion to take place on this recommendation, when, after a stormy debate, in which it turned out that M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice, had in a previous communication with the law officers agreed to the impeachment, although he now opposed it, the Assembly divided upon the question, when there appeared

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All the Ministers, with one exception, M. Bastide, voted in the

majority, and as M. Crémieux's conduct exposed him to the charge of inconsistency, for which he was able to give no satisfactory account, he afterwards resigned his post, and was succeeded by M. Bethmont. At the same time M. Portalis, the Procureur-General, resigned office, and was replaced by M. Martin (of Strasburg).

On the 5th of June M. Buchez quitted the President's chair, which he had occupied for one month, the period limited by the rules of the Assembly, and M. Senard was elected as his successor.

About this time an incident occurred which occasioned some perplexity to the Chamber, and was regarded as an inauspicious omen of fresh troubles. Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, who after his escape from the fortress of Ham, as has been related in a preceding volume, had resided in England, came over to Paris when the Republic was proclaimed, but, acting upon the advice of the Provisional Government, quietly retired from France. He was now elected as a member of the National Assembly by no less than four constituencies, and much difference of opinion prevailed as to the course which ought to be adopted towards him.

A vehement and angry discussion took place in the Assembly, in the course of which M. de Lamartine, alluding to the charge against him of having acted in unison with MM. Blanqui and Barbès, said—"If I have conspired with those men, it was when they had not been unmasked. I conspired with them as the lightning-conductor conspires with the thunderstorm. I for a long time withstood those men." This was applauded by several voices, which exclaimed, "That is true."

M. Pierre Buonaparte and M. Napoleon Buonaparte declared that they were afflicted at what had taken place; and that they would be found in the first ranks of the defenders of the Republic—to give their blood and their lives in its preservation. But they appealed to reason, and said it was a terrible moment to propose a proscription resolved on beforehand, and in a time of reflection. It would henceforward be enough for any wretches to use a name criminally, and its bearer would be compromised. The Empire was a chimera: who wished for it? it could never be revived.

Next day the question of the exclusion of Louis Napoleon was again brought forward by M. Jules Favre, on the report of the decision of one of the bureaux, to the effect that he ought to be admitted to take his seat as member for the department of the Lower Charente. A warm debate followed, in which M. Louis Blanc declared himself in favour of the admission of Louis Napoleon; and M. Ledru Rollin opposed it. He said, "Is the Assembly ignorant of events? A judicial investigation has just commenced, and it has been discovered that money has been distributed, and the house from which that money has come is known; wine has also been distributed; cries of 'Vive Napoléon!' have resounded in our ears, and the walls have been covered with seditious placards. Within four days three Napoleonist journals were established, preparing the way for the candidateship of Louis Napoleon as President. If the National Assembly thinks that no measures should be taken in the face of such facts, let it declare its opinion: the Executive Committee does its

duty, let the National Assembly do theirs."

In the result it was decided by a great majority of the Assembly, the votes being taken by members rising and sitting in their places, that Louis Napoleon should be admitted to take his seat as a representative of the people.

Almost immediately afterwards the President of the Assembly received a letter from Louis Napoleon, dated London, June 14, in which he said—"I was about to set off in order to appear at my post, when I learnt that my election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors. I repudiate all the suspicions of which I have been the object; for I seek not for power. *If the people impose duties on me, I shall know how to fulfil them*; but I disavow all those who have made use of my name to excite disturbance. The name which I bear is above all a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory; and, rather than be the subject of disorder and of anarchy, I should prefer remaining in exile."

The reading of this letter caused the greatest excitement in the Chamber, which interpreted the passage marked in italics as a significant hint to the nation that the author was ready to co-operate in an attempt to found a Buonaparte dynasty. An angry debate ensued, which was adjourned to the following day, when the cause of disquiet was unexpectedly removed by the reading of a second letter from Louis Napoleon, which was placed in the hands of the President during the sitting of the Assembly, and which contained the following passages:—

"I desire order and the maintenance of a Republic, wise, grand, and intelligent; and, since involuntarily I favour disorder, I beg leave, though not without deep regret, to place my resignation in your hands.

"Tranquillity, I trust, will now be restored, and enable me to return to France as the humblest of citizens, but also as one of the most devoted to the repose and prosperity of his country."

A proof of the anxious desire felt by the representatives of France to put an end to popular disturbances was afforded by the large majority which voted in favour of a bill for preventing tumultuous assemblages in the public streets. It was brought forward on the 7th of June, and was, after an animated discussion, carried by a majority of 478 to 82. The first two articles provided that,—

"All assemblage of armed individuals in the public streets is prohibited, as well as all assemblages of unarmed men calculated to disturb public tranquillity."

"An armed assemblage constitutes a crime, if it does not disperse at the first summons. It only constitutes an offence, if, at the first summons, it disperses without resistance."

And after detailing the nature of the punishment to be inflicted, according to the degree and character of the offence, the Bill enacted that "in all cases the delinquents shall be deprived of their civil rights."

It was evident that out of doors a party was formed whose intention it was to use the name of Napoleon as a pretext for disturbance, and the thoughtless multitude were ready to adopt the cry as the watchword of change from the existing state of things, of which they had already begun to

be impatient. The conduct of the Government with reference to the question of the impeachment of M. Louis Blanc had given great offence to the Moderate party. They had exhibited a want of firmness and a disposition to truckle to the extreme democrats, which had shaken confidence in their policy. A meeting of 400 members of the *Modérés* was held in the Salle des Conferences on the 10th of June, and it was then resolved that an active opposition should be organized in the Assembly. On the following day M. Léon Faucher, in the first *bureau*, attacked the Ministry, and proposed that the grant of 100,000*f.* per month for its expenses should be refused, but that the salaries of the Executive Committee should be allowed. He said,—"France needs a Government. It will not return to its industries without order, security, and confidence; for which she has in vain waited for four months. France, which *will* be governed, when it no longer feels the hand of a government will throw itself into the arms of a dictator. This dictator I see already in the distance. A name has been pronounced and adopted in the elections—a name which is a talisman against which we cannot too much struggle for liberty, allied to order. I will, if I can, save the Republic. I therefore refuse this grant."

Afterwards, in the Assembly, in the midst of an uninteresting debate, M. Heckeren ascended the tribune, and with marks of great excitement exclaimed,—"Letters which have been received from Troyes state that, at the moment when a regiment of the line was entering that town, the National Guard went out to welcome the new comers, and that, when the National Guard cried out, 'Vive la République,' the Regiment replied, 'Vive Napoléon Louis.'"

This statement occasioned much agitation in the Chamber; but General Cavaignac, the Minister of War, declared that, as no such report had been communicated to the Government, he believed it to be false and calumnious; and he added—

"Since an opportunity offers itself, I will speak my mind. I have no intention of directing an accusation against any of my fellow-citizens, nor have I the right to question the innocence of the man whose name is so unfortunately put forward in this way: but I cannot help delivering over to public execration whoever shall lay a sacrilegious hand on the public liberties."

The whole Assembly here rose, with cries of "Vive la République!" When the enthusiasm had subsided, General Cavaignac proceeded: "Honour and glory to the citizen faithful to his duties, who devotes his blood, fortune, talent, and intellectual faculties, to the happiness and service of his country; but shame and woe to him who would dare to speculate on the difficulties of the times, and the sufferings of his native land, and who would turn a glorious name to the account of his personal ambition!"

Subsequent events, as we shall see, invested the opinions of this officer with great importance.

This occurred on Saturday, the 15th, and on the following Monday there was much excitement exhibited in the streets of Paris, from a general belief that Louis Napoleon would make his entrance into the capital on that day. Were not the

versatile character of the Parisian populace so well known, it would be difficult to believe that the hero of the Strasburg *émeute*, the Boulogne invasion, and the tame eagle * could have excited any feeling of enthusiasm in France. The National Guards, however, paraded the streets, and, by their determined conduct, prevented any disturbance.

In the Assembly, M. Jerome Buonaparte rose, and said, with reference to the speech of General Cavaignac, that, although he was no partisan of his relation and friend Louis Napoleon, and disapproved of some parts of his past conduct, he claimed justice on his behalf. He gave a history of his proceedings on the first days of the Republic in March, and demanded that he should either be publicly denounced, or no longer accused of acting improperly. On the preceding night, hearing it was the intention of Government to introduce a measure of exclusion against M. Louis Napoleon, he had waited on the Minister of the Interior, and learnt from him explicitly that no such intention existed. He was now astonished to hear from Members of the Assembly that they were about to bring in such a measure.

M. Flocon admitted that it was intended to propose a decree to that effect, but put it to the Assembly whether it would then take the matter into consideration, or first decide the financial proposition of the Government. The Chamber determined to give precedence to the latter, and M. Duclerc, the Minister of Finance, made a statement of the position of the Treasury, in which he said that it was in an improving state. The deficit on the first of March was fourteen millions of francs; in April it was seventeen millions; in May it had only been eleven millions, with a promise of even a better month in June. The bank was to advance another loan of 150,000,000 francs; seventy-five millions in 1848, and seventy-five more in 1849. He proposed that 100,000 francs per month should be voted for the expenses of the Executive Committee.

In the course of the debate which followed, M. de Lamartine said, in answer to the attacks which were made upon the Government, that he denied that the Executive Committee was torn by divisions, or restricted by opinions from a free course of action. During the existence of the Provisional Government, formed as was that of the 24th of February, there were many anomalies, many errors, and many mysteries, which would one day be cleared up; but the Assembly could not be made acquainted with them all at once, and certain doubts and mistrust must necessarily remain for a time in the minds of many. He alluded to the results of the foreign policy which had been pursued. Without a struggle, or a single blow, France stood higher in the opinion of the world, and her influence was greater, than ever it was before or after the greatest victories she had gained. Europe judged the efforts of the Executive more generously than they were judged at home.

M. de Lamartine here sat down from fatigue, and the Assembly adjourned for a short time, and during the interval it happened

* See vol. lxxxii. p. 173.

that a pistol, in the pocket of an officer who was doing duty amongst the crowd assembled around the hall, accidentally went off, and in the feverish state of the public mind this trifling incident caused much confusion and alarm. The exaggerated importance attributed to it will be seen from the following remarks of M. de Lamartine when he resumed his speech.

"Gentlemen, a fatal circumstance occurred when I was addressing the Assembly. While I was speaking on the conditions of the re-establishment of order, several shots were fired, one at the commandant of the National Guard, another at an officer of the army, and a third at a National Guard; and this was done to the cry of 'Vive l'Empereur Napoléon!' This is the first drop of blood that has stained our revolution; and, if blood has now been shed, it has not been for liberty, but by military fanaticism, and in the name of an ambition sadly, if not voluntarily, mixed up with guilty manœuvres. In deploring with you this unfortunate collision, the Government has not to be blamed for not having been prepared for these sad eventualities. This very morning, an hour before the sitting of the Assembly, we had prepared a declaration, which events have compelled us to read to you immediately. When conspiracy is taken *in flagrante delicto*, with its hand dyed in French blood, the law should be voted by acclamation."

M. Larabit.—"Let us have no vote by acclamation."

M. de Lamartine then read aloud the decree provisionally made against Louis Napoleon. It alluded to his twice coming forward as a pretender; avowed fears that he might compromise the Republic; and concluded with a declaration that the Government should "cause the law of 1832 to be executed against Louis Napoleon Bonaparte until such time as the National Assembly shall decide otherwise."

Immediately upon this the whole Assembly rose in a body, and with the greatest enthusiasm, shouted, "Vive la République!" but M. Larabit added, in a loud voice—"Vive la République; but no proscriptions."

On the 19th of June, M. Armand Marrast, who had been appointed reporter of the committee to which had been confided the task of drawing up the plan of a constitution, ascended the tribune, and read the report which he and his colleagues had agreed to adopt. The following is a short *précis* of this important document:—

There was to be one President, to be elected by universal suffrage for a period of four years. Any person, being a French citizen, 30 years of age, and of good character, was to be eligible to the office. A Vice-President was to be elected by the National Assembly, which was to consist of 750 members, there being no other chamber. The Ministers to be nominated by the President, and dismissed according to his will and pleasure. A Council of State to be appointed out of the members of the Assembly, to consist of 40 persons at least, and chosen by the Assembly itself, the office of that body being to consider and draw up the laws which may be deemed by the Government advisable to bring in. The punishment of death was interdicted for political

offences. Slavery was abolished in all the French colonies; the press to be free, and every man to have a right to print, and cause to print, whatever he pleased, subject to such guarantees to the State as may be deemed necessary. All religions to be allowed in France, and the various ministers to be paid by the State. Public instruction to be free, but subject to the superintendence of the State. Substitutes to be interdicted in the army and navy. The national debt was declared sacred. Property was inviolable. Gratuitous education to be given to the working classes, so as to prepare them for their different callings. Algeria was declared an integral part of the French soil, and to be administered by laws peculiar to itself. The same to take place in the other French colonies. Trials to be public; the judges when once appointed to be permanent.

At the same sitting M. Falloux presented a report on the demand of 3,000,000*f.* for the national *ateliers*. The committee to which it had been referred had, he said, seen with pain that a former sum of three millions had been already expended on the day it was claimed. Such an infraction, justified by the Minister of Finance, by the exhibition of an order of the Executive Committee, was so contrary to all rules, that the committee trusted that it would never be repeated. It had also seen with regret that its first decree had not been executed, and that the census of the labourers employed in those establishments had not yet been received. The committee, nevertheless, recommended the grant of three millions required by the Minister of Public Works, but insisted that in future no credit should be demanded for the same purpose exceeding a million of francs.

M. Trélat, Minister of Public Works, said that many labourers had already been formed into brigades, and would leave in a few days for the canal of the Marne, the Upper Marne, the Upper Seine, and the Tours and Nantes Railroad. Their number was about 14,000. M. Trélat regretted the anxiety evinced by the committee of the Assembly to destroy these workshops. For his part he would never consent to it, nor would he adopt hasty measures when the interests of his fellow-creatures were at stake. He could understand the surprise of the Assembly at finding that the working of these establishments continued the same, notwithstanding all the activity and zeal he had displayed to reform the abuse.

This question of the removal of the workmen became the pretext for a terrible explosion, and revealed the existence of a dark and deep-seated conspiracy to deliver up the capital and France to all the horrors of anarchy, by establishing the triumph of the Red Republicans.

The masses of unemployed workmen in Paris, who must either support themselves on the pittance doled out in the *Ateliers Nationaux* or starve, were ripe for a revolt; and the specious doctrines of the Communists and Socialists, who were actively employed in disseminating them, found a ready reception with them, while they were in a state of idleness and hunger. During the few days before the eventful 23rd of June, the condition of the lower classes had

been the subject of frequent comment in the National Assembly. M. Victor Hugo, the well-known novelist, said with reference to the *ateliers*, that he admitted that those establishments had been at first a necessity, but it was now full time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience was to squander uselessly the resources of the country. What, he asked, had they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They had degraded the vigorous children of labour, deprived them of all taste for labour, and demoralized them to such a degree that they no longer blushed to beg in the streets. The Monarchy had its idlers; the Republic its vagabonds. He thought, however, that the enemies of the country would not succeed in converting the Parisian labourers, formerly so virtuous, into lazzaroni and janissaries, or prætorians of *émeute*, at the service of a dictatorship. M. Hugo then drew a gloomy picture of the financial and commercial situation of France, and, appealing to the Socialists, he summoned them in the name of humanity to cease to preach their anarchical doctrines. At the moment that Paris struggled in a paroxysm which was regarded by its neighbours as an agony, London, he said, rejoiced, and its industry and commerce had trebled. Those who excited the people to revolt were most culpable, for they created distrust, and obliged capital to fly. When they agitated Paris, they asserted the power, grandeur, wealth, prosperity, and preponderance of England. The misery of the rich constituted at no time the wealth of the poor. The Socialists should consider that civil war was a servile war; and he entreated them to suspend their declamations against family and property, the basis of all society.

M. Leon Faucher, complained of the little attention paid by the Government to the question of the national workshops, and of its allowing the numbers of indivduals employed in them to increase from 13,000 to 120,000. Misery, he maintained, was extending to all classes of society. Very soon not a single manufacture would be in operation in Paris; the shops would by degrees be closed, and the contagion soon reach the provinces. M. Faucher felt fully justified in stating that one half of Paris was relieved by the other half. It would be far preferable to destroy those national workshops altogether, and to employ the funds in distributing alms to the indigent.

In order to diminish the danger which threatened the peace of the metropolis, the Government determined to reduce the number of *ouvriers* who were receiving relief there, and on the 22nd of June an order was issued that 3000 of those who came from the provinces should quit Paris, and return to their respective homes. They were supplied with money, and tickets, to enable them to procure provisions and lodgings on the road. They left the capital in sullen discontent, but halted after they had passed the barriers, and a body of 400 of them returned, under a pretext of wishing to have an interview with the Executive Committee, at the palace of Luxembourg. A deputation of four was admitted to the presence of M. Marie, to whom they detailed their grievances. Some expressions of his were misinterpreted, and, on the return of the delegates to their comrades, they marched along the streets, shouting, "Down with the

Executive Commission!" "Down with the Assembly!" Their numbers rapidily increased, and different divisions of workmen poured through the streets converging on the Hôtel de Ville, where they assembled in a tumultuous crowd. No act of violence however yet took place, and they separated in the direction of the different Faubourgs, where the plan of insurrection was already fully organized. In the meantime the Government was not idle, and large bodies of troops were concentrated upon the different points where it was thought probable that attacks might be made. Some companies of the line and National Guards bivouacked in the Place de Grêve, and the Hall of the Assembly was filled with troops. Although noisy and disorderly crowds of workmen congregated in different parts until late in the evening, no collision happened, and the night was passed in uneasy expectation of the struggle which seemed inevitable on the morrow.

In the morning, the sound of the *rappel* was everywhere heard, but this was soon changed for the more ominous beat of the *générale*, and the National Guard appeared in great force in the streets. About 9 o'clock the insurgents began to erect barricades at the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin, and in those Faubourgs, as well in the notorious Faubourg St. Antoine, so famous in the history of Parisian disturbances. The conflict first commenced at the Porte St. Denis. Here a small party of National Guards was stopped by the barricade, and immediately attacked it; but the resistance was obstinate, and it was only after a severe struggle, in which the assailants were obliged twice to retreat, and some lives were lost, that the barricade was carried. A similar contest took place at the Porte St. Martin, with a like result, and many barricades were taken in the course of the day. The plan of the insurgents seemed to be to defend desperately these barricades as long as they were tenable, and then suddenly abandoning them to fall back upon other positions, fortified in the same rapid and extempore manner. But as soon as the post was taken by the troops, and they attempted to follow the rebels through the streets, they were received by a galling fire from the houses, which were prepared in a manner that proved how skilfully and deliberately the revolt had been concerted. They were pierced with loop-holes, and passages were cut through the party walls, so that as fast as one was taken the inmates retired to the next house, and there continued their unfaltering resistance. In fact, in some quarters the houses might be compared to a rabbit warren, full of holes and galleries, through which the National Guards had to pursue an invisible but deadly foe. Mattresses were placed against the windows, behind which marksmen were posted, who could thus take secure aim; and women were actively employed in casting bullets, supplying arms, and tending to the wounded. The Garde Mobile behaved admirably. Doubts of its fidelity were entertained, as its ranks were composed of the same class as the men against whom it was employed; but it displayed the most brilliant courage, and fought with determined zeal by the side of the troops of the line and the National Guards. In the course of the afternoon General Cavaignac, the Minister of War, was invested

with the command of the whole of the armed force at the disposal of the Government in Paris, and the roar of cannon was heard in the streets before nightfall, as it was found impossible to penetrate some of the barricades without artillery. Over all these formidable structures, behind which the insurgents had intrenched themselves, the red flag waved, and heaps of dead bodies lay by their side attesting the fierce nature of the strife which was raging.

But the following morning disclosed more fully the extent and formidable character of this bold attempt at revolution. Many of the barricades which had been levelled on the preceding day were erected again during the night, and taking the island in the Seine as a centre point, and bottom of the basin in which Paris lies, a formidable line of rude but strong fortifications had been thrown up on both sides, right and left, so as to embrace a very large portion of the capital. The following will give some idea of the extent of the operations:—The Porte St. Denis and Porte St. Martin had been taken and refortified; the whole of the district between them and the Temple; the Temple itself; the district Popincourt; and the whole of the Faubourg St. Antoine towards the river, making one great segment of a circle. Also the whole of the district lying between the two streets of St. Denis and St. Martin to the bridges; the bridges themselves; the Cité; the Rue de la Harpe, Rue St. Jacques, and all the Quartier St. Jacques; and the Faubourg St. Marceau. The insurgents had regular commandants and organized districts of command. The head-quarters of the North were in the Temple, those of the South in the Pantheon and Church of St. Sévérin; the command in chief was in the central point of the Cité, where the Hospital of the Hôtel Dieu was seized, and converted into the *bureau* of the leaders of the insurrection.

In the course of the morning the Executive Committee resigned their functions, and the National Assembly voted a decree, whereby Paris was declared to be in a state of siege, and all the Executive powers were delegated to General Cavaignac. Thus was the usual destiny of popular revolutions accomplished, and France saw itself once more under the sway of a military dictator. In the meantime immense numbers of Provincial National Guards had poured into Paris from Rouen, Amiens, Beauvais, Clermont, Poissy, Chaton, Carrière, Mendon, Senlis, Meaux, Melun, and other places; but the rebels had made themselves masters of four pieces of artillery on their way from Vincennes, and General Cavaignac issued the following notice:—

"If at noon the barricades are not removed, mortars and howitzers will be brought, by which shells will be thrown, which will explode behind the barricades and in the apartments of the houses occupied by the insurgents."

This threat, however, had no effect, and in the afternoon the roar of cannon announced that the combat was maintained with undiminished vigour. Many of the Members of the National Assembly distinguished themselves by the courage with which they approached the barricades, and, after in vain endeavouring to induce the misguided multitude to yield, fought gallantly with the troops.

During the day M. Bixio, a representative, was killed, and General Bédeaux, M. Clement Thomas, and M. Dornès were severely wounded. In the evening the President gave, in the National Assembly, an account of the proceedings of the day. He said:—"You are aware that the commands were divided into three: the plan adopted has been to send large forces on certain points, leaving others unattacked for the moment. In the Faubourg St. Jacques, where the insurgents had concentrated a great part of their forces, the barricades were forced; and that district is now completely or nearly disengaged. The Faubourg St. Morceau resisted a longer time; but General Bédeau at last obtained a like success, and carried the barricades of the Rue Mouffetard as far as the Jardin des Plantes. At the Hôtel de Ville General Duvivier has not as yet obtained all the success which he could have hoped for, owing to the difficulties of the quarter: he has, however, driven the insurgents far from the Hôtel de Ville, which is now disengaged. General Lamoricière has met the greatest difficulties; but the Faubourgs St. Denis, St, Martin, and Poissonnière, are cleared to the barriers, and the circulation has been re-established. A point remains on which nothing has been done—the Clos St. Lazare, where the insurgents have intrenched themselves in the Hospital Louis Philippe. General Lamoricière declares that to-morrow he will force it."

The morrow—Sunday—came, but brought no cessation of the conflict. It would be tedious to give minute details of the sanguinary strife which raged in the devoted city, where all the horrors and many of the ferocities of war were seen in this unnatural struggle. But the military forces made great progress during the day, and drove their opponents from most of their fastnesses. The attack commenced at an early hour against the Faubourgs du Temple, St. Antoine, St. Denis, and the streets du Tempe and St. Martin. The Rue du Temple was first cleared, but the insurgents who were driven from it intrenched themselves in the Faubourg of the same name, towards the Rue Saint-Maur, and joined their comrades in La Villette and La Chapelle. The left bank of the Seine came completely into the possession of the National Guard and of the troops of the line. Some attempts were made during the day to erect barricades on the left bank of the Seine, but they were instantly destroyed by the troops, who remained masters of every point. On the right bank the contest was prolonged, but several of the barricades in the Rue St. Antoine were carried, and the insurgents constantly lost ground. They intrenched themselves, however, on other points, and forced their way into several houses, from whence they fired on the troops. This occurred in the Place du Chatelet, the Quay of the Megisserie, and in several adjoining streets. Some battalions of the National Guards of the departments, which were marching on the Quay de la Megisserie, received several discharges, which caused them a severe loss. A similar occurrence took place at the Place du Chatelet, and in the small streets in the neighbourhood, where the insurgents endeavoured to form barricades without success. En-

gineers and firemen were employed to dislodge those intrenched in the houses, which were pierced in the rear or in the roof, a passage having been first effected through the adjoining houses. In the evening the President said that the troops of the Republic were in possession of the greater part of the strongholds of the insurgents; the Ninth Marie had been taken, and the other points towards the Faubourg St. Antoine, but at an immense loss of blood. Never had anything like it been seen in Paris. The Clos St. Lazare was in possession of the troops, and only a few dropping shots were now heard. All would that night he hoped be finished. The troops had behaved most admirably. The Eighth Marie, the last stronghold of the insurgents, was then being attacked.

The day had been signalized by the death of the Archbishop of Paris. This excellent Prelate was determined to try whether the insurgents would listen to his voice, and allow him to act as mediator between the combatants. He proceeded therefore, clad in his sacred vestments, and attended by his two grand Vicars, towards the Faubourg St. Antoine, but stopped at the foot of the column of the Bastile, where a strong barricade had been erected, and firing was actively going on. This ceased as soon as the Archbishop was recognised, and he bravely mounted the barricade and addressed the insurgents on the other side. His words seemed to produce some effect, when suddenly a drum-roll was heard, and a shot was fired. The contest was immediately renewed, and the venerable Archbishop was struck by a ball in the loins, and fell. The insurgents rushed forward, and, lifting him from the ground, carried him to a house within their barricade, where, after receiving extreme unction, he soon breathed his last. When told that he was in great danger, he said,—"Well, then, let God be praised, and may He accept the sacrifice which I again offer him for the salvation of this misguided people. May my death expiate the sins which I have committed during my episcopacy." General Négrier, also an officer of distinguished merit in the Algerine campaign, was killed during the day, and likewise General Brea and Damesure.

On Monday morning, the 26th, the operations of the rebels were confined chiefly to the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the east side of the Canal Martin and the Clos St. Lazare. This latter quarter seems to have been the most strongly barricaded, and to have been defended with the most obstinate determination. The following is the account of an eye-witness:—

"The barricades in advance of the barriers were as formidable as regular engineers could have constructed, and were built of paving-stones of a hundred-weight each, and blocks of building-stone cut for building a hospital, and weighing tons. The houses covering them were occupied. The toll-houses at the barriers were occupied, and the windows removed. The houses on the opposite side of the Boulevard were, moreover, in the possession of the rebels, and manned with marksmen. What formed, however, the strength of their position was the perforation of the wall of the city, which is twelve or fourteen feet high, at intervals of eight or ten yards, for a mile in length, with

several hundred loop-holes of about six inches diameter. During all Saturday and Sunday a constant and deadly fire was kept up from these loop-holes, on troops who could hardly see their opponents. The defenders ran from loop-hole to loop-hole with the agility of monkeys. They only left the cover of the high wall to seek ammunition, of which they had only a scanty and precarious supply."

General Lamoricière, who directed in person the operations of the troops, ordered cannon and mortars to be brought up, and after the heavy artillery had made a clear breach through the formidable barrier, and reduced many of the adjacent houses to a heap of ruins, the soldiers rushed in and put to the sword all whom they found with arms in their hands on the other side. The next point of attack was the Faubourg St. Antoine, which was surrounded by troops on all sides within the city, and it was thought that this focus and stronghold of revolutionary fury would only yield after a severe bombardment. The artillery was placed in position, and General Lamoricière was about to begin the cannonade, when General Cavaignac ordered that a summons should be sent to the infatuated inhabitants to surrender before opening the fire. A certain time was given, and when this had passed the attack began. Soon, however, an individual appeared with a flag of truce, and stated to General Lamoricière, on behalf of the insurgents, that they were willing to surrender on the terms proposed by General Cavaignac. Some delay and misunderstanding at first took place, and the combat was partially renewed; but a second negotiation was opened, and the Faubourg finally capitulated, and was, without any further resistance, taken possession of by the troops. About the hour of noon the following letter from Gen. Cavaignac announced to the National Assembly the final suppression of the insurrection :—

"*Citizen President,*—

"Thanks to the attitude of the National Assembly, and the devotion and courage of the National Guard and army, the revolt has been suppressed. The struggle has completely ceased in Paris. The moment I am assured that the powers confided to me by the National Assembly are no longer necessary for the salvation of the Republic, I will respectfully resign them into its hands."

General Cavaignac fulfilled his promise, and, when tranquillity was restored in the capital, he resigned his dictatorship. But his services were too important, and the necessity of his influence too urgent, to permit his retirement from power, and he was almost unanimously invested by the National Assembly with the office of President of the Council. Accordingly, on the 28th of June, he announced that, as supreme head of the Executive Power, he had formed the following Cabinet :—

M. Senard, Minister of the Interior.
M. Bastide, Minister for Foreign Affairs.
M. Goudchaux, of Finance.
M. Bethmont, of Justice.
General Lamoricière, of War.
M. Carnot, of Public Instruction.
M. Touret, of Agriculture and Commerce.
M. Recurt, of Public Works.
Admiral Leblanc, of Marine.

When M. Carnot's name was pronounced, an explosion of disapprobation arose in the hall, followed with exclamations of "Shame! shame!"

Shortly afterwards, at a subsequent sitting, General Cavaignac informed the Assembly that, Admiral Leblanc having refused to accept the Ministry of Marine, M. Bastide had been transferred to that department, and General Bedeau appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Early in August the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the insurrections that took place in the months of May and June was read in the National Assembly. It was a lengthy document, and the following is the substance of many of the most important passages:—

"The principal object of the manifestation of May was to dissolve the Assembly and establish a Committee of Public Safety: that crisis had more of a political than of a social character. The insurrection of June had nominally the object of establishing a Democratic and Social Republic; but in reality its object was pillage and murder. The causes of both movements were, however, analogous. Documents issued in the provinces by Government agents; machinations of influential members of clubs sent to the provinces with money taken from the funds of the Ministry of the Interior; and bulletins — prepared, singular to say, by a woman of eminent literary talent (George Sand), and methodically reduced by her to official shape—of most alarming tendency, addressed to the electors at the eve of the elections for the Assembly, had each its fatal effect. In addition, there existed profound dissensions on exterior policy in the Government itself. But in particular a most poisonous influence was exercised by the addresses and principles spoken and promulgated in the Luxembourg by M. Louis Blanc among the workmen there assembled.

"There is abundant proof that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organization of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. The cause of anarchy was never discouraged, though on that occasion, fortunately, conquered. It resisted the first checks given it, and resumed a greater strength. Indeed, new assistance came to its aid: anarchical speeches were sent in parcels, free of charge, to the departments; the fury of the Clubs was fomented, their organization assisted, and power increased; nocturnal meetings in the closet of the Ministry of the Interior were held, at which projects were formed for centralizing the Clubs and dominating the elections; and afterwards for annulling those elections which were hostile to the Government. The Club of Clubs, under M. Sobrier, accumulated 30,000 cartridges and hundreds of muskets; the Club of the Rights of Man, composed of 14,000 men in Paris and 20,000 in the provinces, established manufactories of arms, and prepared for war.

"The attempt of May was consummated, and on whom ought to fall its responsibility? The Executive power answers, that orders were given and disobeyed; and that no Government, perhaps, can be exempt from mistakes or from treason. The Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard says, that orders were given to the Fourth

Legion to assemble on the bridge, but that the President of the Assembly gave orders that they should only occupy the foot-pavements, and that, if the Garde Mobile offered no resistance, it was because General Tempoure, who commanded them, left his post that he might be a spectator of what was going on in the Assembly. On his side the General of Division replies that he removed the troops by the order of the Commander-in-Chief. Neither in the report nor in the papers of the Executive power is anything found which proves that general command was formally intrusted to any person.

"Between May and June a more favourable state of things had arisen. Troops were collected, laws to sustain order were passed, and the men in power were more vigilant: how, then, did new disasters ensue? The same spirit of insurrection still survived; the same organization in its support still existed; the same head remained in a station of power. It was the excitation of the Clubs, in the opinion of M. Arago, that caused the civil war of June. The same progress of preparation, but on a far more extensive scale, went on for the struggle; and yet the police remained apparently ignorant of all. The insurrection had its manufactories of powder and arms, its military organization, and its chiefs; and yet the police were passive. The insurrection broke out, and was a savage war carried on with poisoned balls. Many witnesses heard the insurgents discuss the absence of Caussidière, and complain that they knew not what to do without his orders; others saw him behind the barricades; and more heard him defend the insurrection. M. Proudhoun was also seen among the barricades by more than one of the Members of the Assembly; and his only explanation is, that he remained two hours in admiration of the sublime horror of the cannonade."

On the 25th of August MM. Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Caussidière, each made a long defence, in the National Assembly, of his conduct in connection with the two insurrections; but the result was that the Procureur-Général presented a formal demand for authority to prosecute the two latter persons as having been participators in the treasonable events of May the 15th and June the 23rd. The required permission was given, but Louis Blanc and Caussidière thought it prudent in the mean time to fly from France, and they both escaped and found refuge in England. The trial of the other parties implicated in the late disturbances had not taken place at the close of the present year, but the Government persisted in its determination to bring them eventually to justice.

On the 3rd of July an important statement was made in the Assembly respecting those fertile sources of disquietude and perplexity—The national workshops. General Cavaignac ascended the tribune, and said that those establishments presented a formidable organization. The idea of their institution was good and equitable; but, in the course of time, they had become menacing to liberty and the Republic. That fact was obvious before his accession to power, and measures were contemplated for suppressing them. Their organization was completely distinct, and escaped the surveil-

lance of the Administration, and the efforts made to effect their dissolution had proved unavailable. He (General Cavaignac) had paid the most serious attention to the matter, and *come to the resolution of suppressing them altogether.* Since the late insurrection he had interrogated several persons respecting the number of individuals who had participated in it, and the highest number he had heard mentioned by the most competent to know the truth did not exceed 50,000. Now, the effective number of operatives inscribed on the registers of the national workshops amounted to between 105,000 and 106,000, so that the combatants belonging to them were in a minority. This fact was proved by the arrests subsequently made. On being invested with full power by the National Assembly, he had not thought proper to suspend the payment of the sums awarded to the workshops, as many advised, for fear of increasing thereby the number of combatants, but after the collision he had not hesitated to suppress them, at the same time that he had ordered that relief should be granted to the operatives who stood in need of it. The General, in conclusion, stated that the Minister of Finance would lay before the Assembly a series of decrees, some of which were intended to restore confidence by showing the sincerity of the Government to fulfil all its engagements, and others to afford labour to the operative classes.

We now revert to subjects of a less exciting but almost equally important nature. In the month of June the Committee employed in drawing up a form of Constitution had presented their project to the Assembly. The leading features were these.

There was to be one President, to be selected by universal suffrage for a period of four years. Any person being a French citizen, thirty years of age, and of good character, to be eligible to the office. A Vice-President, to be elected by the National Assembly. The Assembly to consist of 750 Members, there being no other chamber. The Ministers to be nominated by the President, and dismissed according to his will and pleasure. A Council of State to be appointed out of the Members of the Assembly, to consist of forty persons at least, and chosen by the Assembly itself; that body to consider and draw up the laws which the Government might deem it advisable to bring in. The punishment of death interdicted for political offences. Slavery abolished in all the French colonies. The press to be free; and every man to print, and cause to be printed, whatever he pleased, subject to such guarantees to the State as might be deemed necessary. All religions to be allowed in France; and the various religious ministers to be paid by the State. Public instruction to be free, but subject to the superintendence of the State. Substitutes to be interdicted in the army and navy. The national debt declared sacred. Property inviolable. Gratuitous education to be given to the working classes, so as to prepare them for their different callings. Algeria declared an integral part of the French soil, but to be administered by laws peculiar to itself. The same to be the case with the other French colonies. Trials to be public;

and the judges, once appointed, to be permanent.

Subsequently, however, this *projet* underwent considerable revision, and on the 29th of August the amended plan was read from the tribune by M. Woirhaye to the National Assemby. It was in substance as follows: France, by adopting the Republican form of Government, was declared to have assumed, in the face of the world, the initiative of progress and civilization. The right to labour was suppressed, and replaced by an article providing that the State should procure labour to unemployed workmen, within the limits of its resources. Capital punishments were abolished for political offences. Slavery was not to exist in any part of the French dominions. The right of association and meeting was guaranteed. The censorship of the press would not be re-established. The election of representatives to have for its basis the population. Universal suffrage and secret ballot were maintained. The representatives were to be always re-eligible. The President to be a French citizen, 30 years of age, and he must not have lost, on any occasion, his quality of French citizen. He was to be elected for four years, by universal and direct suffrage, and by the absolute majority of the voters. The ballots to be immediately forwarded to the National Assembly, which was to decide on the validity of the election and proclaim the President. Should none of the candidates have obtained the absolute majority, the Assembly to choose the President among the five candidates highest on the list. The President was re-eligible after an interval of four years. He was to reside at the seat of the National Assembly, and to receive a salary of 600,000*f.* per annum. The Vice-President to be appointed for four years by the National Assembly, on the presentation of the President, during the month that follows his election. In the absence of President, he was to replace him and exercise his functions; but, in case of his decease or resignation, a new President must be elected within a month. The chapters relative to the Ministerial department, the Council of State, the internal administration, the judiciary power, had undergone no material alteration. Justice was to be rendered gratuitously, in the name of the French people, and all political offences to be tried by a Jury, who, in future, were to fix the amount of the fine or damages incurred by the offender. The Judges of the Court of Cassation, appointed by the National Assembly, of the Supreme Tribunal of Administration, and of the Court of Accounts, were to fill their functions for life. Justices of the peace who, in the first project, were to be elected by the citizens, in their respective districts, were now to be appointed by the President. Military substitutes were prohibited. The public force being essentially obedient, it was declared that no armed corps could deliberate. The territory of Algeria and the colonies was declared a French territory, to be ruled by special laws. The Legion of Honour was maintained, but its statutes to be revised and placed in harmony with the democratic and republican principle. The present National Assembly was to frame the organic laws, and the President of the Republic

to be elected immediately after the adoption of the Constitution.

Want of space precludes the possibility of our giving any detailed account of the long and tedious discussions which took place in the Assembly upon the various articles of this new Constitution. They commenced on the 2nd of July, and were extended over a period of four months, at the end of which the Constitution was finally adopted. Nor would it be very profitable to record the vapid generalities of speakers debating the first principles of Government in the nineteenth century, and attempting definitions of liberty, equality, and rights, which tend only to mislead, whenever an attempt is made to give them a practical application. We will, however, quote a few passages from a speech delivered by M. Thiers, in one of the Bureaux, at the outset of the discussion. It was upon the text of the 2nd Article.

"The Constitution guarantees to all citizens—liberty, equality, safety, instruction, labour, property, relief."

M Thiers said, "In principle I am much attached to what is simple and positive; I have therefore little taste for the vague and general declarations, always somewhat declamatory, by which the majority of French constitutions were preceded. The example of our ancient revolutionary assemblies affects me but slightly. Those assemblies have been conspicuous for patriotism and talent, but far less for political experience. I consider that it is of the greatest utility, in the midst of the subversive ideas now diffused abroad, to proclaim at the head of our constitution the twofold principle of property and family. But it has been thought impossible to avoid adding two other principles—the right of man to receive assistance, and his right to labour. I am of opinion that everything must be done for the people that it is possible to do without omitting or neglecting any available means; but I am also of opinion that it is inexpedient to promise more than can be performed. To promise what is impossible is to deceive the people, and to expose them to deceptions which they will afterwards revenge with their muskets. I see no great danger in proclaiming the right to receive assistance; for with well-extended and more widely developed establishments of beneficence—better endowed than those existing—this promise may to a certain extent be fulfilled. Besides, a society honours itself by entering into an absolute engagement to succour old age, disease, and all the infirmities which render labour impossible to man. But to proclaim the right of man to labour—is not this entering into an absolute engagement to furnish work to those who are unemployed, at all times and on all occasions? If this engagement can be fulfilled, I do not oppose it; but who here will venture to affirm the possibility? I have reflected much on what is now called the organization of labour, (a newly invented word for a thing by no means novel,) and I have deplored the imprudence with which questions were raised utterly incapable of solution. Can work always be insured to the operatives on these too frequent occasions? Is not the promise to do so entering into an engagement beforehand to renew the recent and disastrous experiment of the national

workshops? The draining of marshes is talked of; we hear of agricultural colonies, which might in moments of crisis furnish work to unemployed hands. But this is a sad resource that is offered to the idle operatives; for you can hardly make an offer to an operative weaver or an operative mechanic to go to the extremity of a strange province to plough the soil. The removal, the feebleness of their arms, their inexperience in tilling the ground, would render such a resource little less cruel than distress itself. At the same time, I must admit that, for my own part, I do not renounce the privilege of proposing means which would, to a certain extent, satisfy the double necessity of employing the hands reduced to inactivity in periods of industrial crises, and furnishing them with varied labours, adapted to the profession of each. Without turning either manufacturer or agriculturist, it is certain that the State is in want of linen, of cloth, of shoes, and of arms for the troops. It has to construct fortress-walls, artillery-carriages, and steam-engines. Now, by creating establishments conducted on the principle of working little in times of industrial prosperity and much in times of distress, it would not be impossible to provide for periods of stagnation. The State, as usual, would execute well, but very dearly. Nevertheless, I am in favour of making some experiments of the kind; for it would be well thus to reserve the works of the State, to offer them to the operatives when deprived of the resources of private industry. But, although I do not despair of the possibility of such a combination, can we on the strength of a dubious success venture to proclaim the right to labour? Must not a form of expression be found which, whilst implying the good-will of the Government to procure work for the unemployed labourers, would not, at all events, impose an engagement incapable of fulfilment? No doubt, earth-work may be offered to them, as recently; but either they work, and it is then a hard resource for those who have never handled the pick-axe, or they do not work, and the State is duped by a system which holds out a dangerous encouragement to idleness. Something very different from this must be found, that is evident; and I have made an attempt to do so. I even believe that some useful results may be attained. At the same time, as nothing certain can be offered, I think that the good-will of the State must be promised, but no engagement entered into. To enter inconsiderately into an engagement is an imprudence, a false principle —let us speak out—a falsehood flung in the face of the people."

The following official account of the state of Paris, contained in an address issued by M. Ducoux, the Prefect of Police, to the inhabitants of the capital on the 24th of August, will be found interesting:—

"*Citizens,*—

"Paris is at length delivered from all the rumours spread and exaggerated for some days past by men who, not daring to attack the Republic openly and by arms, try to ruin it traitorously and by distrust. In their impatience these propagators of panics went so far as to indicate the day and almost the hour at which France would incline herself before a new pre-

tender. This time there was recommenced, in the name of the Bourbon dynasty, the ignoble parade which was played in the first days of June for the advantage of an Imperial pretender. Fortunately, however, the comedians can no longer give a tragic *dénoûment* to their buffoonery. Cruel experience has opened the eyes of the least clear-sighted, and no one has hastened to fight for a King. Those who, fatally misled for a moment, armed themselves against their brethren, now understand that all insurrection has only profited, and would again turn to the profit, of the enemies of the Republic. The National Guard and the army, of which the inventors of bad news have dared to suspect the patriotism and fidelity, display by their attitude the reception which they would reserve to anarchists, whatever might be their flag. In a word, everybody desires order and the Republic, and the Government is determined to cause this necessity to be energetically respected. If, among the measures employed for this purpose, there are some which appear to encroach on liberty, good citizens will only accuse those whose incorrigible audacity necessitates these transitory measures, without which the Republic cannot be strengthened. The supply of the markets is equal to all wants and all provisions of ordinary consumption. The proportion in which loans and reimbursements have been made at the Mont de Piété during the last six days has undergone some variation. The loans have amounted to the sum of 255,667*f.*, and the reimbursements to 240,607*f.* The deposits made in the savings' bank on the 20th and 21st of August, by 262 depositors, 44 of whom were new, amounted to 23,781*f.* The amount of the demands of reimbursements, to the 20th of August, was 43,645*f.* An improvement, similar to that which we signalized in the movement of the port of the Canal St. Martin, has taken place on other points. The arrivals of the month of July exceeded those of June by 34,332 tons of different descriptions of merchandize. The workmen residing in lodging-houses are 31,480; 21,533 are occupied, 9887 are unoccupied. Up to the 8th of August we showed that in the course of the week 4394 persons had entered Paris; from the 8th to the 15th the number was 5974. In the last week the number has been 7494, so that there has been constant progress. Up to the 18th, from the date of the last return, 710 foreigners arrived at the hotels; at present there are 970; 745 only have left Paris. In the space of seven days 2660 passports have been delivered; in this number 727 were gratuitous, and 542 were accorded to strangers. On the 26th of August the number of ordinary accused in the prisons was 3273; that of the accused of June, 6444. From the 18th to the 27th of this month 10 suicides were committed. There was no attack against the person; that which I announced in my last address was unfounded; an investigation made since that period has shown that the Garde Mobile who was wounded, wrongly accused some person—he was himself the author, voluntarily or involuntarily, of his wound. There have been twelve robberies, and the number of simple robberies has averaged six per day. A sad event which occurred yesterday at the Rue des Dames, at Batignolles, has con-

firmed the danger which I pointed out in one of my proceeding reports, relative to fire-arms, of which use is made without discernment; a citizen was mortally wounded by a ball. The involuntary authors of this homicide are National Guards of the 1st Legion, who were firing at a mark in the Plaine de Monceaux. The severest measures have been ordered against similar offences, which tend to increase. The total number of deaths arising from the events of June was, up to yesterday, 1441. The sanitary state of the forts and prisons continues to be excellent; only two insurgents of June died from the 18th to the 27th, at the infirmary of St. Lazare."

In the middle of September, Prince Louis Napoleon was returned as deputy by no fewer than four departments—those of the Seine, the Moselle, the Youne, and the Orne. The votes in the department of the Seine, or in other words, Paris, were thus distributed:—For Napoleon Bonaparte, 116,014; Fould, a Jew banker, 80,193; Raspail, the Socialist, in Vincennes fortress, 67,852; Thoré and Cabet, two Communists, 65,650 and 65,460; Roger and Adam, Moderates, 64,057 and 55,904; Marshal Bugeaud, 49,411; Emile de Girardin, 28,108.

On the 27th of that month, a formal announcement was made in the Assembly that Louis Napoleon had been duly returned as Deputy for the department of the Moselle, and the President declared him to be one of the representatives of the people.

Shortly afterwards the Prince took his seat, and the first speech made by him in the Assembly was distinguished by its moderation and good sense. The important part which he afterwards played in the drama of French politics gives it peculiar interest. It was as follows:—

"*Citizen Representatives,*—

"It is impossible that I can keep silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I must express frankly, and at the earliest moment of my taking my seat amongst you, the real sentiments which animate, and which have ever animated me. After thirty-three years of proscription and exile, I am at last entitled to resume my rights as a citizen. The Republic has bestowed on me happiness; to the Republic I tender my oath of gratitude, my oath of devotion; and my generous countrymen, who have returned me to this place, may be assured that I will endeavour to justify their choice by exerting myself with you to maintain tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and the development of democratic institutions, which the people have the right to demand. For a long time I have been unable to consecrate to France anything but the meditations of exile and captivity. At last the career which you pursue is open to me. Receive me, then, my dear colleagues, into your ranks, with the same sense of affectionate confidence which I bring there. My conduct—always inspired by duty, always animated by respect for the law—my conduct will prove the falsehood of those who have attempted to blacken me for the purpose of still keeping me proscribed, and will demonstrate that no one is more firmly resolved than myself to establish and defend the Republic."

During the discussion which took place on one of the most im-

portant articles of the Constitution—the 20th—the terms of which were, "The French people delegates the Legislative power to to one Assembly," some interesting speeches were made; but we must confine ourselves to those de-delivered by M. Lamartine, M. Odillon Barrot and M. Dupin. The proposition of a single Chamber had been adopted by a majority of 14 to 1 in the Committee; but in the Assembly M. Duvergier de Hauranne proposed an amendment in favour of two Chambers.

M. Lamartine said, that he respected the intentions that had dictated the amendment of M. Duvergier de Hauranne. He had maturely studied the question; he had witnessed the misfortunes and catastrophes that had occurred under one Assembly, but he had also witnessed the same under a Government founded on two Chambers. The examples of Great Britain and America were not applicable. The two Assemblies existed there in consequence of the nature, antiquity, and interests of those two great nations. Had France an aristocracy like that of England? No. What was true beyond the Pyrenees, he would say, with Pascal, was not so on that side of the Pyrenees. In America the considerations that dictated the institution of the Senate were widely different from those which inspired this amendment in favour of a second Chamber. The Senate in America represented the federal principle, which was the basis of the union, and not democracy. The idea, in the present social order of France, of clothing a second democratical Chamber with aristocratical forms, was a dream, a chimera. It would be a dangerous reality, a peril, the resuscitation of an aristocracy in a democracy. M. Lamartine recommended his adversaries to re-examine the question and not indulge in considerations foreign to their country and times. They should remember that they were revolutionary statesmen, and divest themselves of all historical recollections, and of the fictions on which the Royal power recently existed. He then examined the relations that would exist between the Legislature and the President. The Constitution deprived the latter of the right of dissolving the Chambers. Now, if a difference arose between them, how could he reconcile it? It was evident that he would be powerless in presence of the difficulty. He then inquired how the elections of the senators should be regulated. Were they to be chosen for their fortune or age? Were they to be elected by the Council of the department or by the National Assembly? "Would you," exclaimed M. Lamartine, "be justified in saying to Franklin and Royer Collard, Your years do not admit of your sitting in the junior chamber; repair to the council of the ancients, to the Luxemburg, and leave this Assembly to its inexperience?" In conclusion, M. Lamartine contended that, in the present difficult circumstances, when society was menaced on all sides, it would be often necessary to recur to an immediate impromptu dictatorship. Who should be invested with that arbitrary power? Should it be confided to the two Assemblies, often at variance with each other; or to one of them, to the exclusion of the other? Should it be committed to the hands of one man? such a man would be forthcoming at the given time; realities, not

phantoms, should be chosen; the choice might rest between a Monk and a Bonaparte. All those considerations, and many others which he could explain, induced him to vote for a single Chamber.

M. Odillon Barrot thought that the line adopted by M. Lamartine, if realized, would be the most insane undertaking and the most fatal for democracy itself. What he proposed was to organize a revolutionary Government, a permanent convention. In order to found a constitution, a constituent assembly was necessary; unity was indispensable. Every power, effecting a revolution, demolishing an old edifice, should be single. But if the Assembly intended to establish a normal, regular, and permanent Government, not a Government of revolution and demolition, it should proceed otherwise. The Convention, assailed by foreign and domestic foes, did not establish by its side an independent executive power, but a power which it could send to the scaffold if it disobeyed its orders or proved unsuccessful. If the Assembly voted one Chamber, with a dependent Government, it would decree the Convention in all its omnipotence, without a moderating power, that is, an executive power, which it must inevitably absorb. The Republic had found the people prepared by the faults of the monarchy for the transition. Were the Republic to realize as much liberty and security as the country enjoyed under the Royal Government, he did not hesitate to say that it would give its preference to the former. What, then, was the cause of that uneasiness, that universal perturbation, that feeling in favour of a dictatorship? It rested in the opinion generally admitted that democracy could not moderate nor regularize itself. All democracies commenced by establishing the unity of the legislative power; but a cruel experience soon taught those who theoretically believed in its expediency, that a balance was necessary, and that a power, responsible to none, the most exorbitant power that can be devised, must fall if left uncontrolled. M. Odillon Barrot contended that the two Chambers could not be termed a servile copy of the Parliament of Great Britain and America, since there existed no aristocracy in France, and that France could never, from her geographical nature, be a federal republic. There was but one force in France, the democratical force; but it did not follow that that democracy should be abandoned to itself without seeking means of saving it from its own omnipotence. He thought that democracy could be tempered by democracy, and the great and main object of the Assembly should be to discover in democracy such a moderating element. The Council of State, instituted by the Constitution, could not serve as that moderating element. It wanted the sanction of experience; it was neither the Council of State of the empire nor of the two preceding reigns: it was a mere consulting council, to which the projects of decrees should be submitted previous to their presentation to the Assembly. M. Duvergier de Hauranne had been unjust towards the Members of the Committee in supposing that they had too hastily solved the question. He assured him that it had been seriously examined and discussed, and he almost felt justified in saying that it would have been decided under other circumstances, in a

different manner. He had laboured, during the last eighteen years, to consolidate the constitutional system under the monarchy, with the same sincerity he now wished to assist in consolidating the Republic. During those eighteen years he had struggled, without yielding to lassitude or discouragement, against a fatal error which led monarchy to its ruin, and that ruin was certain the moment a system, abhorred by the whole country, was personified in the Sovereign. He now wished to render the same service to the Republic. The pretenders were not to be feared. Democracy had no other enemy to combat but itself, and democracy would be saved the day it was organized and moderated. In conclusion, M. Odillon Barrot entreated the Assembly not to yield to a fatal inspiration, not to wait the cruel lesson of experience, but to introduce at once into the Constitution the salutary division of the legislative power.

M. Dupin said, that the majority of the committee agreed with the honourable gentleman who had just descended from the tribune in many of the excellent things which he had said, but it differed from him in his conclusion, as it was in favour of one Chamber only. M. Dupin went on to say that the majority wished to see a democratic but not social Republic established, and was, above all, anxious that effectual resistance should be made to those men who, after having imprudently promised away the property of others, now found some difficulty in carrying their plans into execution. The question to be considered was this; could constitutional resistance be more efficient on the part of two Chambers than on that of one? The majority considered that two Chambers would only produce differences, and impede the object in view. The moderating power which could be efficiently opposed to a single Chamber was the independent Executive power, elected, like the Chamber, by the nation. A double Chamber was only a reminiscence of which the time had gone by.

The discussion was then declared to be closed.

The President. — "Twenty Members have demanded the division."

The result was, that there appeared—

For the amendment .	289
Against it	530
Majority	241

The President. — "In consequence, the amendment is rejected, and the Assembly does not adopt the system of the two Chambers."

M. Boussi brought forward an amendment upon the 21st article, which fixed the number of representatives at 750; and he proposed that the number should be reduced to 600. This was opposed by M. Point, who moved that the election should be based on the population. He demanded that there should be one representative for every 60,000 souls, and that every fraction above 30,000 should entitle a department to return an additional Member.

M. Dufaure, in the name of the Committee, opposed both amendments. In 1790, when France had only a population of 24,000,000 of inhabitants, the legislative assembly, he said, consisted of 745 members. In Great Britain,

whose population did not exceed 24,000,000, the House of Commons was composed of 658 members. It was impossible, according to M. Dufaure, that France, with a population of 35,000,000, should have a representation inferior to what it was in 1791, and to that of England. He did not consider 750 members too many.

M. Isambert maintained the necessity of basing the election on the population.

The amendments of M. Boussi and M. Point were then successively put to the vote, and rejected, after which the 21st article was adopted.

The three important articles, 24, 25, and 26, were adopted almost without discussion. They were as follows:—

Art. 24. "The suffrage is direct and universal. The ballot is secret."

Art. 25. "All Frenchmen, 21 years of age, and enjoying their civil and political rights, are electors."

Art. 26. "All Frenchmen, 25 years of age, and enjoying their civil and political rights, shall be eligible, without any condition derived from the quota of taxation or domicile."

During the debate on art. 27, "The electoral law shall define the incapacities and incompatibilities resulting from the exercise of public functions," various amendments were proposed, amongst which was one by M. Boussi, the object of which was to exclude all public functionaries, whether receiving salaries or not, from sitting in the Assembly.

M. Fayet, Bishop of Orleans, observed, that the question under consideration was not new. The Convention, in a movement of enthusiasm, banished all public functionaries from its ranks, but two years afterwards it repealed the decree. Some of the most energetic members of the late opposition were, he said, public functionaries, and he could not conceive the objection to their presence in the Assembly, which had now become the real sovereign of the country.

All the amendments to this article were subsequently referred to the Committee.

The decision of the Assembly on the important question, whether the President should be chosen by an appeal to the nation, or by the Assembly, was expressed by the result of the votes, when the following amendment, moved by M. Leblond, was put.

"The President of the Republic is named by the National Assembly, by secret ballot, and by the absolute majority of suffrage."

M. Martin de Strasbourg had spoken in favour of the election of the President by the National Assembly, when M. Dufaure rose to reply to him in the name of the majority of the committee. He said that the question of the election of the President by the Legislative Assembly, or by universal suffrage, had been often discussed in the Committee on the Constitution, before and after the events of the 15th of May and of June, and that the majority had always been of opinion that it should be left to universal suffrage. It had invariably thought that the social power, in order to fulfil its duties towards the country, should put into practice the social principles decreed in the preamble of the fundamental law. The Legislature and the President were two powers eminently distinct, and he could

not conceive that two things absolutely different should be confounded, and that so much should have been said of the weight and balance of power. Had the Assembly established two Chambers, possessed of equal rights and appointed to do the same thing, a marked opposition between them might be apprehended; but the executive and legislative powers had different attributes—to frame and execute laws, to deliberate and act, were evidently two distinct things. Those who advocated the principles of unity should have accepted the amendment of M. Grevy, who proposed the appointment of a mere President of the Council by the Assembly; for there unity certainly existed, if it was to be found anywhere. M. Dufaure apprehended no collision between the two powers. "You have," he said, "on one side the power charged with framing the laws, and on the other a power charged with executing them. How can any collision arise between them, unless the power charged with framing the laws should presume to execute them, and *vice versâ?* Out of those two hypotheses I can see no other cause of collision." "The same danger," continued M. Dufaure, "would exist if the President were to be elected by the Assembly. It is not probable that he would be returned by acclamation; and in that case he would have against him the minority who supported his rival. That minority would not renounce its opposition, because the President was named. If it remained a minority, well and good; but if some of those who elected him should join that minority, and constitute a majority against him, what course would he have to adopt in order to preserve his post? He must either become subservient to the Legislative Assembly, or, like every weak Government, recur to violence." M. Martin de Strasbourg had just said that there was no instance of the nomination of the President of a Republic by universal suffrage. This was true, but he (M. Dufaure) could adduce an instance of the election of a President by a Legislative Assembly. That election was followed by four years the most sterile in talent, virtue, and great achievements recorded by history during the last 60 years. That power, weak at its origin, subsequently became violent. On the 18th Fructidor, it joined a portion of the legislative body to transport the other to the pestilential marshes of Sinnamary. A year afterwards it annulled the elections of 48 departments, who had returned deputies hostile to its policy. On the 30th Floreal, it was itself decimated, and on the 18th Brumaire the country, tired of that Government, applauded the attempt committed against its representatives, and threw itself into the arms of despotism. M. Dufaure, in conclusion, observed, that there was not a constitution in the world that offered infallible guarantees against the attacks of human passions, and that the Committee, after mature deliberation, had proposed the election of the President by the country, as the most simple and direct mode, and the most conformable to the principles of Government which the nation intended to constitute.

Upon a division on the 7th of October, the following numbers appeared—

Number of voters . .	813
Absolute majority . .	407

For the amendment . 211
Against it 602

The result, therefore, was, that by a majority of 391 it was determined to submit the election of the President of the Republic to the nation at large. This was, in fact, tantamount to declaring that Louis Napoleon should be that President; for it was well known that with the great mass of the population his was the favourite name. It certainly does seem inconsistent and difficult of explanation, that an Assembly, which, if it had itself chosen between the two candidates, would undoubtedly have elected Cavaignac, should have voluntarily adopted a course, the effect of which was to ensure success to his opponent.

A marked indication in the change of political feeling in the Assembly had been just exhibited in the election of Presidents and Secretaries of the different *bureaux*. In the preceding month these officers had all been chosen from among the decided Republicans; but in the beginning of October, out of the fifteen selected, only three were distinguished by their attachment to that cause: namely, M. Dupont (de l'Eure), M. Arago, and M. Laudrin, the two latter of whom had vigorously opposed the doctrines of the Socialists and Communists. The rest, including M. Thiers, were all men whose regret at the downfal of the monarchy was a fact which they hardly took pains to conceal. This was significant of the discrepancy that prevailed between the external symbols and real tendencies of national feeling

The question of the adoption of the Constitution was, on the 4th of November, finally put, and carried by an overwhelming majority of 737 to 30 votes. There still, however, remained the completion of a code of what were called "organic laws," the discussion of which served to prolong the existence of the Assembly beyond the close of the present year. Amongst the dissentients were the Ultra-Republicans, MM. Pierre Leroux, Proudhon, and Felix Pyat, and the Legitimists, MM. Bensit Berryer, de Puysequr, de la Rochejaquelein, and de Sesmaisons; also M. de Montalembert and Victor Hugo. Six members of the Mountain refused to vote at all, and drew up a paper justifying their policy.

On the evening of the same day, 101 cannon-shots announced to the inhabitants of Paris that the Constitution had been voted by the Assembly. This at first caused some alarm, for the sound of artillery in the streets was associated with the memory of the frightful scenes of which the city had so often during this year been the theatre. When, however, the cause was made known, the populace quietly dispersed without any manifestations of feeling on the occasion.

The proclamation of the new Constitution took place on Sunday, the 12th of November, amidst the roar of cannon and the display of military pomp. The weather, however, was cold and gloomy, and a heavy fall of snow tended to damp whatever enthusiasm might otherwise have been felt by the people. The chief *cynosure* of all the eyes was General Cavaignac; and perhaps the interest which he inspired was heightened by the conviction that his star was near its setting, and that the power which he had wielded with such firmness and success was soon about to pass into other hands.

An interesting discussion took

place in the National Assembly, on the 25th of November, on which day M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire brought forward several specific charges against General Cavaignac for his conduct during the insurrection in the month of June. He accused him of direct disobedience of the Executive Committee's orders, both in respect to the number of troops he was required to bring into Paris before the outbreak, and in respect to his conduct in the course of the battle; with pursuing such measures as allowed the rebels to gain great strength before they were regularly attacked, and so increasing the loss of lives on each sides in the struggle; and with adopting these measures, and also with using political intrigue, as a means to secure the ends of personal ambition.

General Cavaignac defended himself in a masterly and effective speech of three hours' duration, in which he went through the charges *seriatim*, and conclusively answered them all. At the close of his address he said, "Is it possible that I, or any man in his senses, would for his own ambition risk the lives of so many of his countrymen, the ruin of a great city, and the destruction of the National Assembly? No, it is impossible. All these calumnies must have an end. I am ready to discuss them when you please—now, to-morrow, at any time; and, when at last an end has been come to, it is no longer the pleadings of an advocate that will be witnessed, but the acts of a soldier."

After several other Members had spoken, M. Dupont (de l'Eure) rose, and said:—

"Nothing but the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed could have determined me to appear in the tribune. I am profoundly afflicted at the differences that I have witnessed this day amongst us, and which cannot, if persisted in, but do injury to the Republic. But, after the luminous explanations given by the President of the Council, bearing as they do such a character of loyalty, they ought to carry conviction into every mind. They have carried conviction to mine, and I hope you will share in my feeling."

He then moved a resolution, that "The National Assembly, persisting in its decree of the 28th June last, declaring 'that General Cavaignac, chief of the Executive Power, had deserved well of his country,' passes to the order of the day."

Twenty members, however, called for a division, and a ballot was taken, when the resolution was affirmed by 503 votes to 34. The result was hailed with loud shouts of acclamation, and cries of "*Vive la République!*"

The whole of France was now busied in preparing for the contest for the Presidency, and the result of this great appeal to Universal Suffrage was the election of Prince Louis Napoleon, on the 10th of December, by an enormous majority. The votes, as announced in the report of the Electoral Committee of the National Assembly, were as follows:—

Louis Napoleon	5,434,226
Cavaignac	1,448,107
Ledru Rollin	370,119
Raspail	36,900
Lamartine	17,910
Changarnier	4,790
Votes lost	12,600*

* Messieurs Ducos, Richard, and Arnaud de l'Ariége, the Secretaries of the Committee appointed to examine the votes for the election of the President,

The Prince was proclaimed President of the French Republic, in the National Assembly, on the 20th of December. After the report had been read General Cavaignac rose and said—

"I come here to inform you, that I have just received the collective resignation of the Ministry. I have also to state, that I now remit into your hands my office of President of the Council, which you were pleased to confide to me. The Assembly will comprehend much better than I can express, the gratitude that I feel for the support and kindness that were testified to me during the whole period that I exercised the power committed to my hands." This short address was received with loud and enthusiastic applause, and M. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, then made the following declaration:—

"In the name of the French People: Whereas Citizen Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, born in Paris, possesses all the qualifications of eligibility required by the 44th article of the Constitution; whereas the ballot gave him the absolute majority of suffrages for the Presidency: by virtue of the powers conferred on the Assembly by the 47th and 48th articles of the Constitution, I proclaim him President of the French Republic from this day until the second Sunday of May 1852; and I now invite him to ascend the tribune and take the oath required by the Constitution."

Prince Louis Napoleon immediately ascended the tribune, and, when the oath had been read to him, raised his hand, and said, "I swear." He afterwards delivered a brief speech which was most favourably received, and which was marked by a tone of conciliation and frankness well calculated to inspire confidence. In it he said:

"The majority which I have obtained not only fills me with gratitude, but also gives to the new Government the moral force without which there is no authority. With peace and order, our country can raise itself again, can heal its wounds, bring back those men who have been led astray, and calm their passions.

"Animated by this spirit of conciliation, I shall call around me men honourable, capable, and devoted to their country; assured that, maugre the diversities of political origin, they will agree in emulating your endeavours for the

afterwards addressed the following statement to the *Moniteur*:—

"Numerous errors have found their way into the publication of the report of the Committee of the thirty members of the National Assembly charged with examining the returns for the election of the President of the Republic. As Secretaries of that Committee, we communicate to you the definitive and official results of the election which took place on 10th December 1848."

Number of voters in the eighty-six Departments, not including Algeria, the returns of which have not yet arrived	7,49,471
Number of suffrages really expressed	7,426,252
The majority of the suffrages expressed	3,713,127
Louis Napoleon Bonaparte obtained	5,534,520
General Eugène Cavaignac	1,448,302
Ledru-Rollin	371,431
Raspail	36,964
Lamartine	17,914
General Changarnier	4,687
Sundry votes	12,434
Number equal to the suffrages expressed	7,426,252
Blank or unconstitutional tickets	23,219
Number equal to that of the voters	7,449,471

fulfilment of the constitution, the perfecting of the laws, and the glory of the Republic. . . . .

"We have, Citizen Representatives, a great mission to fulfil—it is to found a Republic in the interest of all, and a government just and firm, which shall be animated by a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or Utopian. Let us be men of our country, not men of a party; and, by the help of God, we shall be able at least to do some good, if we are not able to do great things."

The Prince then left the Chamber, and was escorted by a squadron of dragoons to the Palace Elysée National (formerly Elysée Bourbon) which had been assigned as the residence of the President. In the course of the evening a list of the new Ministry appeared in the *Moniteur*, and contained the following names:—

M. Odillon Barrot, President of the Council and Minister of Justice.
M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Foreign Affairs.
M. Léon de Maleville, Interior.
M. Hippolyte Passy, Finances.
M. Léon Faucher, Public Works.
M. Bixio, Commerce.
General Rulhières, War.
M. De Tracy, Marine.

At the same time, by a decree of the President, Marshal Bugeaud was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Alps.

On the 26th of December M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, made a speech in the Assembly, in which he announced the principles by which he and his colleagues intended to be guided.

"Citizen Representatives,—You heard a few days since the speech of the President of the Republic. The ideas contained in that manifesto are also ours. We take the same engagement before the National Assembly and before France. You will not expect from us an *exposé* of the situation of the Republic; an *exposé* which must necessarily be incomplete, from the short time that has elapsed since we came into office. What we owe you is an explanation as to the principles which have presided over the formation of the Cabinet, and as to the line of conduct which it proposes to follow. As you are well aware, our political origins are various. At the present time, Ministries can no longer grow out solely from the struggle of opinions or from the exclusive triumph of a party. The election of December the 10th has just manifested in society an accord, a spirit of union, to which the Government must respond. When all men who love their country unite in such a sentiment, there would be neither patriotism nor wisdom in a Government that should resist such a great and salutary impulse. The state of things which we now point out rules our policy. What the country wishes for is order, moral and material order; order in the streets, in the workshops, in the administration, and in the public mind. The Republican Government will not be definitively strengthened until the day when revolutionary agitations shall be put an end to. In energetically constituting the public force, the Government wished to put material order out of danger. We considered that energy in such a case was foresight; we wished to discourage even an idea of disorder. We propose to ourselves to spare the country those terrible necessities

of repression before which, when the moment arrives, the Government cannot draw back, but which are always a painful sacrifice for humanity and for the country. After the agitations which we have just gone through, and which have shaken society to its foundation, security is the paramount wish of all. It is necessary that calm should be restored to the public mind, that society should have confidence in the future, and that every one should think of the morrow. This confidence will increase labour, and with labour the real sources of riches will be reopened. Favourable symptoms assure us that our previsions on this subject are already more than vain hopes, and begin to be realized. Agriculture, industry, and commerce have severely suffered, and the fortune of the State has not received less serious attacks. In this universal crisis, the collective power, which alone remained standing, was compelled to come to the assistance of individual misfortune, and supply the vacancy left by want of labour. The force of circumstances has perhaps carried the State out of its natural part; and in all cases that intervention has already imposed the heaviest burdens on the Treasury. The public finances are at this time deeply engaged. The National Assembly has comprehended that it was time to return into the paths of enlightened foresight and strict economy. The Cabinet devotes itself to that great and difficult task, without exaggerated fears and without dangerous illusions. Assuredly we do not think that the hand of the State can be withdrawn from every point to which it has held out its assistance; but we believe that it must only undertake in proportion to its strength—that it must not do everything, and, for a stronger reason, not all at the same time. We call to our aid the spirit of association and individual strength. We think that the impulse of the State should, wherever it is possible, be substituted for direct execution by the State. Our society has contracted the deplorable habit of relying on the Government for the cures which, in other nations, proceed from individual activity. Hence that seeking after places and grants which corrupted and eventually ruined the Monarchy, and from which it is necessary to preserve the Government of the Republic, by simplifying the machinery of the administration, and by substituting rules for arbitrary acts in the disposal of places. We shall not forget, Citizen Representatives, that, to give precepts with any degree of authority, the Government must before all set good examples. As to the relations of France with Foreign Powers, we have no necessity to inform the Assembly what are its present complications. We find negotiations opened on all points. That state of things imposes on us a reserve which the Assembly will comprehend; for we are fully decided not to promise that which we believe we are not sure to be able to realize, and not lightly or rashly to engage the word of France. We shall seek, wherever they are possible, to obtain pacific solutions, because they are for the interest of France as well as for that of Europe; there is no necessity for us to say that the national honour will hold the first place in the attention of the Government. Citizen Representa-

tives, we propose to ourselves above all to raise up and consolidate authority in France. But let it be well known that we do not intend to make the necessity of order an absolute obstacle against the tendencies of modern society. Order is not for us the end—it is only the means. We see in it the essential condition of all liberty and of all progress. The complete re-establishment of security can, we are deeply convinced, alone permit the Republic to give the rein to grand conceptions, to generous ideas, to the development of general prosperity and of political manners. We do not wish to fail in any one of these interests. The election of December the 10th has placed immense strength in the hands of the Government. Our task, Citizen Representatives, it is to prevent that strength from proving abortive, or from being led astray; and to accomplish it we rely on your patriotic cooperation."

Our next volume will contain an account of the mode in which the President and his Ministry acquitted themselves of the arduous task imposed upon them, and how far they succeeded in giving stability to the new institutions, and restoring confidence in France.

In concluding our narrative of the events in that country during the year now under review, it will be instructive to notice the rapid rise and equally rapid fall of popular favourites there. Since the revolution of February three names have stood prominently forward; but, in the case of two of them, "their sun has gone down while it was yet day," and they no longer occupy any important place in the public regard. Lamartine, Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon have been the successive idols of the hour, and each has been borne aloft upon the waves of the "fierce democracy," which was by the revolution called into sudden and portentous existence. It is impossible to deny that Lamartine did the State good service during the first wild outburst of insurrection. He displayed admirable courage when, at the Hôtel de Ville, he refused, at the risk of his life, to recognise the symbol or adopt the watchword of the extreme democrats. To his commanding eloquence and unyielding firmness then, we think that his country is indebted for an escape from the worst horrors of revolution, and had he persevered in the same manly course there is no reason to doubt that he might have retained power for a much longer period. But he wanted confidence in the strength of his own principles, and mistook the real sentiments of his countrymen. He fancied that it was necessary to conciliate the favour of the Red Republicans, and did not dare to come to a rupture with Ledru Rollin, who was one of the leaders of the extreme section of the revolutionists. He, therefore, vacillated in his policy, and at times seemed almost to identify himself with the opinions of his dangerous colleague. This caused, in the minds of all moderate men in France, the utmost alarm, and, after the events of May had thrown suspicion upon his motives and views, his influence rapidly sank. No party, in fact, could trust him. The nation recoiled from the abyss of Socialism, and sought safety in the sword of the republican soldier, Cavaignac. But, as the mass of the people became more and more conservative,

they felt that he was too sincerely a republican for them. They were almost weary of their great experiment before it had been fairly tried; and it may be truly said that the only offence of Cavaignac was that he was determined to give it a fair trial. He was, therefore, thrown aside as the champion of a system already in disrepute, and the name of Napoleon, with its splendid traditions of empire and glory, acted like a talisman in favour of the pretensions of a man whose only claim upon the votes of his countrymen was, that he was the nephew of a military despot.

CHAPTER X.

SPAIN.—*Reconstruction of the Spanish Ministry—Announcement of the Queen Mother's Marriage with Munoz in* 1833*—Impeachment of S. Salamanca in the Congress—His Defence—Espartero arrives at Madrid—Quarrel between Lord Palmerston and the Spanish Ministry—Dismissal of Sir H. L. Bulwer from Madrid—Military Disturbance in the Capital—Carlist Insurrection, headed by Cabrera.*

PORTUGAL.—*Formation of a New Ministry under the Duc de Saldanha—The Queen's Speech on the Opening of the Cortes—Modification of the Cabinet—Closing of the Session of the Cortes.*

SARDINIA.—*New Constitution promulgated to his Subjects by the King, Charles Albert.*

ITALY.—War in Lombardy.—*Disturbances at Milan in beginning of January—Address of Marshal Radetsky to the Austrian Troops—Effects of the French Revolution in Italy—Commencement of the Struggle at Milan—Combat between the Populace and the Austrian Garrison—Milan abandoned by Marshal Radetzky—Proclamation by Provisional Government—The King of Sardinia leads the Piedmontese Troops into Lombardy—Revolution at Venice—Strength of the Piedmontese force—Radetzky retires upon Verona—Austrian lines forced along the Mincio—Supineness of the Papal Troops under General Durando—Junction effected by General Nugent with Marshal Radetsky—Severe Engagement between the Austrians and Italians before Verona—Charles Albert besieges Peschiera—Its ultimate capture—Partial successes of the Piedmontese Army—Vicenza surrenders to Radetzky—Padua and Palma Nuova taken by the Austrians—Mantua invested by the King of Sardinia—The Piedmontese lines forced by General Aspre—Various Contests between the two Armies—Victory of the Austrians at Somma Campagna—Charles Albert retreats towards Milan—Pursuit by the Austrians—Milan abandoned by the Sardinian Army—Capitulation of Milan—Armistice agreed upon.*

SPAIN.—On the 25th of December, last year, a change took place in the composition of the Spanish Ministry, which was thus reconstructed:—

General Narvaez, President of the Council, without any department.

Gen. Figueras, Minister of War.

M. Manuel Beltran de Lys, Minister of Finance.

M. Sartorius, of the Interior.

M. Arrazola, of Justice.

M. Bravo Murillo, of Public Instruction.

M. Roca de Togores, of Marine.

On the 28th, a somewhat remarkable announcement appeared

in the *Diario Official de Avisos*. It was as follows:—

"On this day (the 28th of December), at half-past 7 o'clock in the morning, in the year 1833, Donna Maria Christina de Bourbon was married to Don Fernando Munoz."

The death of Ferdinand took place on the 29th of September that same year, so that, within three months from that date, the Royal widow consoled herself, according to her own statement, with a husband, although the public were kept in profound ignorance of the fact for upwards of fifteen years.

At the sitting of the Congress, on the 4th of January, the following charges against Señor Salamanca were brought forward by Seijas Lonzano: they were four in number:—

First, that of having, under the pretext of encouraging public works, authorized the bank of San Fernando to advance money on the shares of the Aranjuez Railway, under a Government guarantee for the repayment in case of nonpayment by the shareholders, Salamanca himself being the principal shareholder; secondly, of having remitted to certain traders the penalties they had incurred by having taken contraband goods from the Custom-house at Alicante, and introduced them into Madrid by means of permits fraudulently obtained; thirdly, of having ordered an illegal conversion into Three per Cent. Stock of arrears due to the Royal household; fourthly, of having converted into the same stock certain claims of an individual named Buschental, no value having been given by Buschental, Salamanca knowing the fraudulent nature of the transaction. Lonzano stated that, in 1844, Buschental took a contract to furnish a loan for building steam-vessels. He agreed to pay into the Treasury 10,000,000 reals in metal, 10,000,000 in uncapitalized coupons, and the rest in good bills and other negotiable paper. Instead of this, Buschental delivered a number of promissory notes (*pagarés*) at various dates, for which he "fraudulently" obtained a receipt declaring that he had paid the values agreed upon. The matter was investigated, and Buschental was called on to pay the cash and coupons according to the agreement. He persisted, however, in refusing to comply with the order. In 1845 he presented the bills for conversion; but the Government refused them then, and again when presented by other persons for the same purpose. A Junta appointed to inquire into the matter reported, that the values actually delivered by Buschental amounted to 11,656,000 reals, while he had received 17,890,000.

Señor Salamanca, in reply to the charges, said that they were brought from party motives, and that his enemies were bent on destroying him. When he entered office, he was rich; when he left it, poor; the charge of corruption would not therefore hold. His sole object in the affair of the Aranjuez Railway was to benefit the country. The guarantee given by Government was merely nominal. There was no chance of default on the part of the shareholders; but, if they did not pay, the railroad became the property of the Government. He became a principal proprietor of shares through the exertions he made to expedite the work. Instead of meriting blame, the transaction redounded to his honour. As to the Alicante affair, he had merely

applied the amnesty to offenders of a certain class, in compliance with a Royal order to that effect signed by the Minister of Commerce.

In answer to the third charge, he said, it was true that the law of February prohibited the conversion of arrears of pay or allowance, but not of advances and contracts. The arrears of the Royal Household came under the head of contracts. But he had not completed the conversion, for the matter was still pending in Congress.

To the fourth charge, he answered, that the affair occurred when one of his accusers was Prime Minister. The Ministry that followed disallowed the claim; but, in consequence of the contractor's having followed up his claims, it appeared that the validity of the contract was subsequently recognised. At a time when there was no chance of his ever becoming a Minister, part of the bills came to him in the regular course of his banking business, went from him, and again came into his hands. Since 1845, however, they had not been in his possession. When other parties applied for their conversion, the matter was referred to the Council of Ministers, and the conversion was decided on at a time when he was not present. For the truth of this statement he appealed to his former colleague, Benavides.

In this statement Salamanca was supported by Señor Benavides and Señor Escosura. Pidal reiterated the charges, and alluded to a "rumour" further inculpating the late Minister. Escosura called upon him to state it explicitly. Pidal declined to do so, unless he were called upon by Salamanca himself. Salamanca immediately challenged him to speak openly; and then, on the authority of many "well-informed persons whom he knew," Pidal stated that, of fifty millions paid to the Royal Household, twenty-five had entered the pockets of Salamanca, though he had afterwards returned the amount.

Señor Salamanca denounced this new charge as a base and groundless calumny. He said he abandoned his defence against the accusation from that moment, and called for a solemn judgment upon his conduct, that he might be led to the scaffold if he merited it, or Pidal as a calumniator. This was said with extreme emotion, and was followed by applause from many of the Deputies and the public in the galleries. The President for some time in vain tried to restore order; but, at last, Salamanca recommenced, when he suddenly staggered, and after muttering a few words about "calumniator, vile calumny," he fell to the ground, and swooned away. He was carried out of the Chambers, still muttering the words "calumniator, calumny," and the debate was adjourned.

On the 7th of January, Espartero arrived in Madrid, and was received by the populace with the most joyful enthusiasm. He took the oaths and his seat in the Senate on the 13th.

On the 10th, a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies was appointed to manage the impeachment of Salamanca. The result, however, was favourable to the accused, for out of the seven members chosen five were opposed to the impeachment, and it therefore fell to the ground.

As though there were not already sufficient sources of disquietude and alarm, in respect of the chances

that England might find herself engaged in a continental war during the present year, Lord Palmerston thought fit to involve this country in an unseemly quarrel with Spain, which, though it only led to the cessation of diplomatic intercourse, was most ill-timed and unfortunate. For, by an act of meddling interference, he exposed himself to a sharp and well-merited rebuke from the Spanish Government, which certainly showed both spirit and dignity in resenting the affront which the British Minister seems to have thought it would quietly digest. It is no part of the duty of England to dictate a course of internal and domestic policy to foreign States; and it is perhaps a subject of congratulation that in this instance the attempt was treated as impertinent, and repelled with scorn. The lesson will perhaps be not without its use, though the result was somewhat humiliating to our national pride.

On the 16th of March Lord Palmerston wrote to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, our representative at Madrid, the following letter: —

"Sir,—I have to recommend you to advise the Spanish Government to adopt a legal and constitutional system. The recent downfal of the King of the French and of his family, and the expulsion of his Ministers, ought to indicate to the Spanish Court and Government the danger to which they expose themselves in endeavouring to govern a country in a manner opposed to the sentiments and opinions of the nation; and the catastrophe which has just occurred in France is sufficient to show that even a numerous and well-disciplined army offers only an insufficient defence to the Crown, when the system followed by it is not in harmony with the general system of the country. The Queen of Spain would act wisely in the present critical state of affairs, if she were to strengthen her Executive Government, by widening the bases on which the Administration reposes, and in calling to her councils some of the men in whom the Liberal party places confidence."

A copy of this officious epistle was communicated by Sir H. Bulwer to the Duc de Sotomayor, accompanied by some remarks of his own; and the Spanish Minister lost no time in replying in a strain of just severity.

After complaining that the substance of Lord Palmerston's note had already appeared in print in one of the Opposition journals before it had been made known to the Spanish Government, the Duc de Sotomayor thus proceeded: —

"At the date of 16th of March last, when Lord Palmerston sent you his despatch, the Spanish Cortes were sitting, the press was completely free, and the Government of Her Majesty had adopted a line of conduct full of kindness and conciliation, which its enemies and its adversaries themselves were compelled to admit. What motive could, therefore, induce the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Her Britannic Majesty to make himself the interpreter of the feelings and the opinions of this country, and that in an unfitting tone, when speaking of the Government of an independent nation, to recommend the adoption of legal and constitutional measures, as if such was not the conduct followed in Spain? to allow himself to advise it to modify the bases of the Administra-

tion, and to admit into the councils of the Crown men belonging to such or such a political opinion? Certainly the Minister of Her Britannic Majesty is not in such a work the best possible judge of the character and habits of Spain, where order and institutions are growing up, since foreigners take no active part in the management of public affairs, and have to support no determinate part. The present Cabinet, which has merited, and which still merits, the entire confidence of the Queen and the Cortes, and which since its accession to power has governed conformably to the constitution and to the laws —this Cabinet, I say, cannot see without the most extreme surprise the extraordinary pretension of Lord Palmerston, which leads him to interfere in this manner with the internal affairs of Spain, and to support himself on inexact and equivocal dates, and the qualification and appreciation of which cannot in any case come within his province. The Government would have much to say to completely justify its past and present conduct; but it does not consider itself called on to do it with regard to its Sovereign and the Cortes, and in no way at the instigation of a foreign influence, which in itself would be to commit an offence against the dignity of the Government and the independence of the nation. All the legal parties in Spain unanimously reject such a humiliating pretension; and the Spanish Government, in now doing it, is undoubtedly the legitimate representative of the general opinion of the country. What would Lord Palmerston, what would your Excellency yourself say, if the Spanish Government were to interfere and pass an opinion on the administrative acts of the British Cabinet, and recommend a modification in the *régime* of the State? or, if it were to advise it to adopt more efficacious or more liberal measures to alleviate the frightful condition of Ireland? What would he say if the representative of Her Catholic Majesty in London were to qualify so harshly as your Excellency has done the exceptional measures of repression which the English Government prepares against the aggression which threatens it in the midst of its own States? What would he say if the Spanish Government were to demand, in the name of humanity, more consideration and more justice on behalf of the unfortunate people of Asia? What, in fine, would he say, if we were to remind him that the late events on the continent gave a salutary lesson to all Governments without excepting Great Britain, and that consequently the administration of the State should be given up to the illustrious Peel, to the skilful man, who, after having conciliated the general opinion of his country, has known how to merit the sympathies and the esteem of all the Governments of Europe? He would say, what the Spanish Government has a right now to say, that he does not recognise the right of any Power to offer observations, which he rejects as offensive to the dignity of a free and independent nation. Animated by sentiments suitable to Spanish dignity and to every Government which respects itself, the Cabinet of Her Catholic Majesty cannot avoid protesting in the most energetic manner against the contents of the despatches of Lord Palmerston and of your Excellency; and, considering that it cannot retain them

without being wanting in dignity, it returns them inclosed, and at the same time declares that if your Excellency should at any other time, in your official communications on points of international rights, go beyond the bounds of your mission, and interfere in the particular and private affairs of the Spanish Government, I shall consider myself under the painful necessity of returning your despatches without further remark."

Some further correspondence took place, and the result was that on the 19th of May Sir Henry L. Bulwer received his passports, accompanied with a peremptory notice to quit the kingdom within forty-eight hours. Mr. Otway, the principal *attaché*, remained to transact the business of the Embassy. The ostensible reason assigned for the strong step of thus unceremoniously dismissing our representative at the Court of Madrid was, that Sir H. L. Bulwer had been secretly engaged in some plots which had been formed against the Government; but there is no doubt that the real cause was the offence he had given in acting as Lord Palmerston's mouth-piece, and volunteering to teach the Spanish Ministry the doctrine of constitutional government. The letter from the Duc de Sotomayor to Sir H. L. Bulwer, announcing his dismissal from the kingdom, contained the following passages:—

"Your conduct, in the execution of your important mission, has been reprobated by public opinion in England, censured by the British press, and condemned in the British Parliament. Her Catholic Majesty's Government cannot defend it when that of Her Britannic Majesty has not done so.

"In this state of things your remaining at Madrid is considered in this country, doubtlessly without foundation, as a proof of the weakness of the Government, and, if this opinion should gain strength, it might occasion some conflict, which it is indispensable to avoid at any cost.

"For these reasons, which the loyalty of the British people and its Government cannot otherwise than appreciate at their true value, Her Majesty's Government has resolved to put an end to all these fatal contingencies, by transmitting you your transports, and requesting you, within the term of forty-eight hours, or sooner if possible, to quit this capital, for circumstances are urgent, and there would be much to lament if this took place too late."

A cessation of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries was the result, and this lasted throughout the entire year.

On the morning of Sunday, the 7th of May, a formidable military disturbance occurred at Madrid, the object of which seems to have been to effect a change of Ministry. Six hundred men of the infantry regiment of España quitted their barracks under the command of their sergeants, and, with colours flying, marched to the Plasa-Mayor, where they occupied the line of houses forming the north side of the square, and where they were joined by a few citizens. General Narvaez, accompanied by the Captain-General of Madrid, and by Generals Figueras, Cordova, and Concha, proceeded to the scene of insurrection, and commanded an overwhelming force of infantry and artillery to fire upon the insurgents. After a sharp conflict, the latter, finding that they

were not supported, surrendered, with the exception of about one-third of them, who succeeded in escaping. A court-martial was immediately held, which in the course of the day condemned seventeen civilians and seventeen soldiers to be shot.

At the end of June a fresh Carlist insurrection broke out in Spain, which maintained its ground with varying and doubtful success throughout the rest of the year. It commenced in the Northern provinces, and was headed by Cabrera, Elio, Gomez, and others. The first of these chiefs issued a proclamation, in which he said:—

"An avaricious, false, and corrupt prince, taking advantage of our divisions, in concert with a degraded princess, made an object of speculation of the Catholic throne of the Alfonsos and the Ferdinands. A matrimonial combination was schemed in the darkness of night; and the consequence of this combination is, that the crown that surpasses in splendour every crown in the world may pass from the brow of women, who wear it without right, to that of a stranger, without consideration, value, or title. France, already ashamed of having at her head the author of so vile a plot, has expelled him from her soil: while we Spaniards, looked upon as a people so proud, keep amongst us at the summit of power the author of this plot, and all her accomplices, more than ever ready to profit by the fruit of their vile bargain."

He then proceeded to summon all Spaniards to the flag of Carlos Louis de Bourbon, and invited them to join him in the same valleys and fields that witnessed his and their former exploits.

Cabrera was able throughout the rest of the year to keep up a desultory warfare, and in some engagements gained considerable advantages over the Government troops sent to oppose him. No event, however, of decisive importance occurred, and the state of the rest of Europe was too critical to admit of much interest being felt in the operations of the Carlist chief.

PORTUGAL.—The affairs of Portugal this year, from their almost stagnant tranquillity, present a happy contrast to those of most of the other continental States, and the annalist has nothing to record of more interest than is contained in the vague generalities of a Royal Speech. At the close of last year the Ministry resigned, and a new one was constituted, having for its President the Duc de Saldanha.

His colleagues were, for the Interior, Bernardo Gorgao Henriquez.

Finance,—Joaquim José Falcao.

Marine,—Agostino Albano de Silveira Pinto.

Justice, — Joaquim José de Queiros.

At the opening of the Cortes, on the 2nd of January, the Queen addressed the Peers and Deputies of the Portuguese nation as follows:—

"With the greatest satisfaction I see you to-day reunited around my Throne, to occupy yourselves with the important measures which the interests of our country claim from the legislative body.

"After the violent political troubles which for the last two years had shaken the country, your reunion in this place is a secure proof that divine Providence deigns still to think of this brave and faithful nation.

"Public and private calamities, a necessary effect of civil wars, have for a long period afflicted all classes of the State, and have injured or ruined establishments of every kind. I confide in your wisdom and patriotism that you will at once occupy yourself with the necessary steps for ameliorating such evils.

"The Governments of Spain, England, and France concluded with my Government a convention, which was signed in London on the 21st of May last year, for the purpose of putting an end to the civil war.

"As all Parliamentry labours were interrupted for a time, extraordinary measures were necessarily adopted by the several Ministers. My Government will give a full account of all those measures, in order that they may be duly examined by the legislative corps.

"During the critical situation in which the kingdom was placed, the guarantees secured by article 145 of the Constitutional Charter were necessarily suspended; my Ministers will explain to you the use that was made of that suspension, in order that you may deliberate upon it in such manner, most convenient and just to you, as you may desire.

"I have much satisfaction in announcing that the Most High has deigned to favour my family, and blessed me with two Princes—the Infantes Dom Fernando and Dom Augusto.

"I continue to receive from the allied Sovereigns the most positive assurances of friendship. Especally it is fitting that I should mention to you, that, in consequence of the late unhappy events, I received from the Sovereigns of Spain, England, and France, such powerful assistance as aided in the more speedy termination of the war which desolated the country.

"By the respective Ministers will be presented the state of the public revenue and a budget of the receipt and expenses for the coming economic year, with the estimates necessary to provide for the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the State.

"I trust you will examine this important subject with the care which it demands, and that you will enable my Government to comply with the obligations which weigh upon it.

"Most cordially do I congratulate you on the termination of the public disturbances which for so long a time have so profoundly afflicted the country. I entertain the most lively desire that the horizon of our country will announce the splendour of a new era, and that we shall again have peace, order, and the union of the Portuguese family. May your lights, your zeal, and your patriotism, provide wise and useful measures. This is the important object which the nation confides to you, and such are the inmost and warmest wishes of my soul."

At the end of March a modification of the Cabinet took place, which was reconstructed as follows:—

Home Department,—The Duc de Saldanha, President of the Council.
Foreign Affairs,—M. Gomes de Castro.
Justice,—M. Joao Elias.
Finance,—M. Falçao.
War,—Baron de Franços.
Marine,—Baron de Ourem.

The Cortes was closed by the

Queen in person on the 15th of August, and she thus alluded to the fortunate exemption of Portugal from the revolutionary storms which were convulsing the other Continental nations:—

"In the midst of the extraordinary political occurrences which have taken place in Europe during your Parliamentary functions, I feel the greatest satisfaction in informing you that public tranquillity has not been, in the slightest degree, disturbed in this country, nor has my Government been under the necessity of recurring to extraordinary measures, or to the infringement of any of the constitutional forms—thanks to the good sense of the people and to your efficacious co-operation."

SARDINIA.—On the 8th of February the King of Sardinia promulgated a new constitution to his subjects, which consisted of fourteen articles, prefaced by some significant allusions to the state of Italy. The style of the Royal grantor was thus described.

"Charles Albert, by the grace of God King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, Duke of Savoy, Genoa, Montferrato, &c., Prince of Piedmont and Oneglia, Marquis of Italy, &c., Count of Moriana, Geneva, Nice, &c., Baron of Vaud and Fancigny, Lord of Vercelli," &c.

After a short preamble the document proceeded as follows:—

"Now, therefore, that the times are ripe for greater things, and, in the midst of the changes which have occurred in Italy, we hesitate no longer to give our people the most solemn proof that we are able to give of the faith which we continue to repose in their devotion and discretion.

"Prepared in tranquillity, the political institutions which will form the completion of the reforms which we have already effected are being matured in our council, and will consolidate the benefit in a manner conformable with the state of the country.

"But for the present we have much pleasure in declaring that, with the advice and approval of our Ministers and the principal advisers of our Crown, we have resolved and determined to adopt the following bases of a fundamental statute for the establishment in our states of a complete system of representative Government.

"Art. 1. The Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion is the sole religion of the state.

"The other forms of public worship at present existing are tolerated in conformity with the laws.

"Art. 2. The person of the Sovereign is sacred and inviolable. His ministers are responsible.

"Art. 3. To the King alone appertains the executive power. He is the supreme head of the State. He commands all the forces, both naval and military; declares war, concludes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; nominates to all offices, and gives all the necessary orders for the execution of the laws without suspending or dispensing with the observance thereof.

"Art. 4. The King alone sanctions and promulgates the laws.

"Art. 5. All justice emanates from the King, and is administered in his name. He may grant mercy and commute punishment.

"Art. 6. The legislative power will be collectively exercised by the King and by two Chambers.

"Art. 7. The first of these

Chambers will be composed of Members nominated by the King for life; the second will be elective, on the basis of the census to be determined.

"Art. 8. The proposal of laws will appertain to the King and to each of the Chambers, but with the distinct understanding that all laws imposing taxes must originate in the elective Chamber.

"Art. 9. The King convokes the two Chambers annually, prorogues their sessions, and may dissolve the elective one; but in this case he will convoke a new assembly at the expiration of four months.

"Art. 10. No tax may be imposed or levied if not assented to by the Chambers and sanctioned by the King.

"Art. 11. The press will be free, but subject to repressive laws.

"Art. 12. Individual liberty will be guaranteed.

"Art. 13. The judges, with the exception of those of *mandamento*, will be irremovable, after having exercised their functions for a certain space of time, to be hereafter determined.

"Art. 14. We reserve to ourselves the power of establishing a district militia (*una milizia comunale*), composed of persons who may pay a rate, which will be fixed upon hereafter. This militia will be placed under the command of the administrative authority, and in dependence on the Minister of the Interior.

"The King will have the power of suspending or dissolving it in places where he may deem it opportune so to do."

The history of Sardinia during the rest of the year is inseparably connected with that of the occurrences that took place in Lombardy, to which we must now turn our attention.

ITALY.—*War in Lombardy.* We mentioned in our last volume that, in order to injure the revenue of Austria, the disaffected inhabitants of Lombardy, and especially of Milan, had resolved to give up the use of tobacco, and, in consequence of this, smoking was discountenanced by them as much as possible. Ludicrous as it may seem, cigars thus assumed a political importance, and became a test of the feelings of the population. At the beginning of the present year, the Austrian authorities resolved to bring the tobacco question to a more decisive issue; and early on the morning of the 3rd of January a supply of cigars was furnished to the soldiers in barracks at Milan, in order that they might smoke them in the streets. This gave great offence to the populace, and, as might be expected, in the course of the day frequent collisions took place between them and the military. The latter drew their swords, and used them with fatal effect, so that a great number of persons were carried to the hospitals severely wounded, and some of them afterwards died. At Pavia also a quarrel about cigar-smoking resulted in a fatal struggle between the students and the soldiers, and the feeling of exasperation became such that it was evident that opportunity alone was wanting to convert it into a general revolt.

On the 15th of January Marshal Radetzky, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian forces in Italy, issued, from Milan, a general order to his troops, which plainly told them to prepare for

the struggle that was approaching. He said: "The efforts of fanatics and a false spirit of innovation will be shivered against your courage and fidelity like glass striking against a rock. My hand still firmly holds this sword, that during sixty-five years I have carried with honour upon so many fields of battle. I still know how to use it, to protect the peace of a country, only lately so happy, and which a furious faction threatens to precipitate into incalculable misery."

Early in February a letter was made public, addressed by the Emperor to Archduke Rainer, the Viceroy of Lombardy, in which he said that he had already done for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom all that the Viceroy had deemed necessary to satisfy the wants and wishes of the different provinces, and that he was not disposed to make any further concessions. He added, that he relied upon the courage and loyalty of his troops if scenes again occurred similar to those which had recently taken place at Milan.

The news of the French Revolution acted like an electric shock upon Italy, and the time seemed now to have arrived when the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom would rise and make a bold attempt to throw off the Austrian yoke. No events, however, of importance immediately took place—and it was not until the state of affairs at Vienna, an account of which will be found in a subsequent part of our volume, had thrown the Austrian government into difficulty and confusion, that a blow for what was called Italian independence was struck. The struggle commenced at Milan, where, notwithstanding the old hereditary connection between that territory and the House of Austria, the feeling of hatred against the latter was the most intense.

Before, however, proceeding to open hostilities, the Milanese demanded—1, The suppression of the old police, and the establishment of a new corps, under the orders of the Municipality; 2, The abolition of the laws regarding state offences, and the immediate liberation of the political prisoners; 3, A provisional regency of the kingdom; 4, Liberty of the press; 5, The convocation of the district councils for the purpose of electing a National Assembly; 6, The institution of a Civic Guard under the orders of the Municipality.

A crowd assembled before the Government House, and, becoming tumultuous, the soldiers on duty fired a blank volley. A boy, only sixteen years of age, then drew out a pistol, and shouting *Viva l'Italia*, discharged it at the troops. The mob rushed forward and overpowered the guard; the Vice-Governor O'Donnell was made prisoner, and the tricolour flag was hoisted on the palace of the Government. This happened on the 17th of March.

On the following day, the sound of the tocsin pealed from all the churches, and barricades, those formidable signals of modern insurrection, were everywhere raised in the streets. Next day (Sunday the 19th) firing commenced, and was kept up on both sides with great spirit. The following day, the Austrian cannon swept several streets, but the Milanese, although without arms, got the advantage on many points, and fought everywhere with great courage. The city being threatened with a bombardment, the French Consul called together the other consuls, and requested them to sign a protest, which he sent to Marshal Radetzky in the even-

ing. During this time the people had taken possession of the palace of the Viceroy and of the cathedral, on the top of which floated an immense Italian tricoloured flag. The offices of the Director-General of the Police had also fallen into the hands of the people, who pillaged them from top to bottom. The family of the Director-General, Torresano, and Count Bolza, who was most unpopular at Milan, having been found in that hotel, were conveyed as hostages to the Palazzo Borromeo. The only place which remained in the possession of the troops was the hotel of the military Commandant-General, before which all the efforts of the people failed, in face of a terrible cannonade. In the course of the night of the 22nd that hotel was evacuated, and the troops remained masters of only the gates of the city. On the morning of the 23rd, the people, seconded by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, attacked the gates, but a formidable artillery repulsed for a time all their efforts. Nevertheless, the walls were scaled by emissaries, who informed the Milanese that Pavia and Brescia were in open insurrection, and that the Archduke, the son of the Viceroy, had been taken prisoner. By means of small balloons, which were sent up from the battlements, and which fell into the fields, proclamations were spread inviting the populace of the neighbourhood of Milan to take arms and to come to the aid of the city. The proclamations also advised the public to destroy all the bridges on the roads to Verona, Mantua, and other points, in order to prevent the arrival of reinforcements of artillery, which it was probable that Marshal Radetzky would demand. They exhorted all the communes of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom to insurrection and to the formation of National Guards.

During the early part of the 23rd, the combat was sustained with vigour at the Tosa and Romana gates. The cannon thundered on that side, and on the side of the citadel. But in a short time the Tosa gate and the gate of Como were taken by the armed peasants, who had just arrived from Lecco. The citadel was soon afterwards evacuated, and the Austrian troops retired in two columns on Verona and Mantua.

Marshal Radetzky announced the cause of this reverse in the following brief proclamation :—

"*Soldiers,*—

"The treachery of our allies, the fury of an enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions oblige me to abandon this city of Milan, for the purpose of taking position on another line, from which, at your head, I can return to victory."

The Marshal retired to Crema, where he determined to concentrate his force and establish a new base of operations and resources. On the 26th he published an order of the day, in which he stated, "The severest discipline shall be maintained, but whoever is caught with arms in his hands shall be handed over to a military commission, and if convicted of rebellion shall be immediately shot." At the same time the Provisional Government at Milan issued an energetic proclamation calling upon all Italians to join in the contest that had commenced. They said :—

"*Fellow Citizens,*—

"We have conquered. We have compelled the enemy to fly, oppressed by his own shame as much

as by our valour; but scattered in our fields—wandering like wild beasts—united in bands of plunderers, he prolongs for us all the horrors of war without affording any of its sublime emotions. This makes it easily to be understood that the arms we have taken up—that we still hold—can never be laid down as long as one of his band shall be hid under the cover of the Alps. We have sworn, we swear it again, with the generous Prince who flies with the common impulse to associate himself with our glory—all Italy swears it, and so it shall be!

"To arms then, to arms, to secure the fruits of our glorious revolution—to fight the last battle of independence and the Italian Union.

"A moveable army shall be at once organized. Theodore Lechi is named General-in-Chief of all the force of the Provisional Government. A soldier of long standing in the old army of Italy, he will join the glorious traditions of the Napoleon military epoch to the new honours which the Italian army now prepares in the great war of liberty."

The King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, had already determined to take part in the struggle, and advance with his troops into the Milanese territory. In a proclamation which he issued on the 23rd of March he said:—"For the purpose of more fully showing by exterior signs the sentiments of Italian unity, we wish that our troops should enter the territory of Lombardy and Venice, bearing the arms of Savoy above the Italian tricoloured flag."

This assumption, however, of superiority on the part of the Savoy auxiliaries was unpalatable to the Milanese, and throughout the campaign that followed there was a want of that cordial co-operation which could alone have given the insurgents the slightest chance of success against the armies of Austria.

Venice was not slow in following the example of revolution set by Milan, and a Provisional Government was immediately formed, which, on the 26th of March, thus announced to the Lombards its co-operation:—

"We hailed with infinite joy the account of the emancipation of our generous sister of Lombardy.

"On the very day when you shook off the Austrian yoke, a Provisional Government of the Venetian Republic was proclaimed here, under the glorious banner of St. Mark.

"We are influenced by no local prejudice—we are, above all, Italians, and the insignia of St. Mark figures on the tricoloured banner.

"We are united to you, Lombards, not only by the tie of affection, but also by a community of misfortunes and hopes.

"When the hallowed soil of the country shall have ceased to be sullied by the feet of the foreign oppressor, we shall join you in discussing the form of government most conducive to our common glory."

The Piedmontese force at the commencement of the campaign consisted of two *corps d'armée* and a reserve. The Duke of Savoy, the eldest son of the King, Charles Albert, was at the head of the latter. The left, or first *corps d'armée*, was commanded by General Sonna, and the right by General Bava. Each corps was separated into two divisions—those of the left being intrusted to Generals

Broglia and Pesser, and those of the right to Generals Ferreri and Biscaretti. The centre was composed of the 2nd and 3rd divisions, under the command of Generals Broglia and Ferreri. Each *corps d'armée* consisted of about 20,000 men, and the reserve of about the same number, so that the total force of the army might be estimated at 60,000 men. The artillery, commanded by the King's second son, the Duke of Genoa, consisted of 100 field pieces, 16-pounders, and 24 pieces of flying artillery, 8-pounders. The cavalry, under General Visconti, amounted to 3600 men, divided into six regiments of 600 each.

It is not our intention to narrate in detail the events of the campaign that followed. They possess little interest, and we have not space to devote to the obscure conflicts which took place from time to time without any effect upon the ultimate result of the war. The object of Marshal Radetzky clearly was to retire upon Verona, and there wait the arrival of reinforcements, in order that he might at a convenient opportunity give the enemy battle, and regain the ground which he had apparently abandoned. The event showed the justness of his calculations, and the wisdom of his policy.

On the 8th of April, the army of Charles Albert forced the Austrian lines on the Mincio in three places, and, crossing the Adige, at Pontone, took up a position to the north of Verona. This might have led to important results, for Marshal Radetzky was thus cut off from the valley of the Trent, and the Piedmontese army lay between him and General Nugent, who was advancing to his support with a strong body of troops. But Charles Albert had other difficulties to contend against, arising from the supineness or cowardice of his own allies. The Papal auxiliaries were under the command of General Durando, who occupied Ferrara with the ostensible object of merely protecting the Roman territory, for the Pope had refused to sanction any aggressive movement against the Austrians. These troops, however, became mutinous, and compelled their General to lead them across the Po, in order that they might take part in the struggle. From the position they occupied, the duty devolved upon them of preventing the junction of Nugent and Radetzky; but General Durando obstinately refused to risk an engagement, and retired before the Austrian columns, until, on the 22nd of April, the latter joined their comrades at Verona, and brought to Marshal Radetzky an accession of strength to the extent of 15,000 men. General Durando then led his troops to Vicenza, where he shut himself up, and remained inactive.

On the 6th of May, a severe engagement took place between the Austrians and Piedmontese before the walls of Verona. The contest lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until five in the evening, and was gallantly sustained on both sides. It commenced by an attack on the position of the Austrians on the Rideau, and on their left wing at St. Lucia. In his despatch to the Minister of War, at Vienna, Marshal Radetzky said:

"The enemy opened the engagement with a heavy cannonade in the direction of St. Massimo, Crocebianca, and Chievo, and made a feint of attacking them. They directed all their force against St. Lucia, which was defended only

by the weak brigade Strasoldo. The conflict lasted altogether fully eight hours. The brigade fought with the courage of lions. Never have I heard so well sustained a fire as that which the enemy opened at this point. Only one short pause intervened during the engagement, in which time the enemy attacked St. Massimo, and made continual demonstrations against my centre and right wing, consisting of the brigades Gyulai, Lichtenstein, and Taxis, but was here forced to retire.

"At last the brigade Strasoldo was obliged to evacuate St. Lucia, after a renewed assault from the enemy. It retired, however, only to a short distance, and I sent some reserve troops to its assistance . . . .

"The enemy offered a most determined resistance. The troops forced their way within a short distance of the place, and even the enemy, but could only advance slowly.

"I now sent to the town for the grenadier battalion Weiler and a battalion E. H. Sigmund. The enemy did not, however, wait for a renewal of the attack, and finally evacuated St. Lucia, having also retired on the whole line."

The Marshal added :—

"In conclusion, I must call the attention of the War Ministry to one remarkable fact, viz.—that the Papal Swiss troops were at the head of the hostile force which attacked St. Lucia, which stands in singular contradiction to the friendly assurances of his Holiness."

In the official account of the battle issued on the Piedmontese side, a very different version of the affair was given; and it was made to appear that the object of the attack was merely "to make a *reconnaissance* to feel the true force and spirit of the enemy;" and that, this being accomplished, orders were given to the troops to reoccupy their former positions. The bulletin stated that—

"The King did not wish at first that the troops should retire, and he did not return himself to headquarters at Somma Campagna till he saw all the wounded taken care of, and transported to that place and neighbouring village of Fenelone. The return of the troops was conducted with the same order as the advance, notwithstanding that the enemy, seeing us retire, again occupied San Lucia, and endeavoured to annoy us by an unceasing fire; but that did not last long, as the Duke of Savoy, at the head of the brigade of Cunco, hurried to meet him, drove him again from the village, compelled him to retire towards Verona, even beyond the point to which he had been driven in the first instance."

The fact, however, was, that after the engagement Charles Albert and the Piedmontese army retired to its position on the hills overlooking the plain of Verona, from Bussolengo, on the Upper Adige, to Vallegio, on the Mincio. It is supposed that the attack was made in the expectation that it would be assisted by a movement within the city; but nothing of the kind took place, and the general feeling was, that the movement had been unnecessary and profitless.

The next important enterprise attempted by the King of Sardinia was the siege of the city and fortress of Peschiera, before which he appeared on the 18th of May. Its position gives it the key of an extensive district, for it intercepts

the road between Brescia and Verona by Lonato, and affords an excellent base for operations either against Verona or along the valley of the Adige. The attack was commenced by artillery, and the Piedmontese troops, under General Bès, having formed trenches during the night, opened a heavy fire from four batteries. The place, however, was not taken until the 30th of the month, after a long-continued cannonade, and when the provisions were almost entirely exhausted.

On the previous day (May 29th), Marshal Radetzky, who had been concentrating his troops at Mantua, made a simultaneous attack on the two extremes of the Tuscan and Neapolitan line, stretching from a point in advance of Goito on the Mincio to Gozzoldo. The object was to turn the flank resting on the river, and by crossing the river and ascending its right bank derange the siege operations against Peschiera. The Austrians succeeded in their attack, and General Bava was forced to retreat with his left to Goito, but he did so in good order. His right was defeated completely, and nearly disorganized. Next day, Charles Albert came up from Vallegio, and the engagement was renewed. The Austrians, after a day's fighting, were dislodged from Goito (the first houses of which they had entered), and driven along the right bank of the Mincio to the gates of Mantua.

The King of Sardinia was equally successful in his attack upon Rivoli, which he took after a sharp engagement, and had he been efficiently supported by the Italians, for whose cause he professed to fight, the issue of the campaign might have been very different. But it soon appeared that he had to maintain the struggle single-handed against the resources of the Austrian Empire. Whilst he was strengthening his position at Rivoli, Radetzky suddenly appeared with 30,000 men before Vicenza, where General Durando, with 14,000 or 15,000 Papal troops was quartered, and, after bombarding the town for eighteen hours, he compelled them to capitulate on the terms that they should forthwith recross the Po, and not take up arms against Austria for the space of three months. The old Marshal then hurried back with his troops to Verona, and entered it almost at the moment when the King of Sardinia, thinking the place was abandoned, was about to occupy it with the great bulk of his force.

In the latter part of June the Austrians captured both Padua and Palma Nuova, and their communications with Vienna, through the passes of the Tyrol, were now undisturbed by the presence of an enemy.

The line of the Piedmontese army at the beginning of July extended for about thirty miles, from Mantua on the right, to Rivoli on the left. The object of the King at this time seemed to be to collect his forces and invest Mantua, where his troops were gradually accumulated, and weeks were spent in a fruitless blockade of a place of impregnable strength, where they suffered not only from the cannon of the enemy, but the pestilential exhalations of the marshy swamp that lies on one side of the town.

On the 22nd of July, however, a sudden and unexpected attack was made on the Sardinian lines by General Aspre at Rivoli, and they were without difficulty forced. The yielding columns retreated upon Peschiera and Villafranca, and across the Mincio to Vallegio.

Before Charles Albert could effectually concentrate his forces, he was attacked at different points in the north and east, and the Austrians made a resolute attempt to cross the Mincio and cut off his retreat to Milan. On the 24th and 25th, the contest raged with varying success in the country that lies between the Adige and the Mincio; and it was evident that the Italian cause depended almost wholly on the bravery of the Sardinian troops, who were most inefficiently supported by their Italian auxiliaries, especially the Tuscan and Roman troops. On the 26th, the Sardinian force had partially retrieved its position, and after a gallant action at Somma Campagna, which lasted the whole day, the result was still doubtful, when the Austrian army was suddenly reinforced by a body of 20,000 men, drawn chiefly from the garrisons of the Venetian territory, and the King's right flank was turned, and the Austrians were completely victorious. This decided the struggle, for Charles Albert immediately commenced his retreat, and, on the morning of the 27th, prepared to recross the Mincio. He found, however, that the Austrians had been beforehand with him, and they were drawn up in strong force at Volta, on the other side of the river, so as directly to intercept the line of his retreat. It therefore became necessary to fight; and an engagement took place, the result of which was upon the whole favourable to the Italians, who were enabled to pass Volta and continue their retrograde march.

On the evening of the 27th, the whole of the Sardinian force, excepting the garrison that occupied Peschiera, had abandoned every post on the line of the Mincio, and the King passed the night at Asola. The rest of the campaign was a mere flight on the part of the Italians. The Austrians steadily advanced, and occupied, successively, Cremona, Pizzighetore, and Lodi, following close upon the heels of the retiring army. Charles Albert entered Milan with his fugitive troops on the 3rd of August, and at first seemed disposed to make a stand there, but he soon gave up this idea, and continued his retreat to his own territory.

The exact nature of the reasons which determined Charles Albert to abandon Milan without a struggle is not very accurately known; but the following account was published with every appearance of authenticity:—

"The King called the chiefs of the Committee of Public Safety which he had established, before him, and declared to them that, if his army alone were left to bear the burden of the war, Milan would soon be carried. A few hours after, these chiefs went and presented a proposal of capitulation to Radetzky, unknown to Charles Albert. The Austrian commander imposed conditions, and signed the capitulation subject to the ratification of the King. The Milanese then carried it to Charles Albert, who expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction, and affixed his signature, saying, 'I cannot defend you in spite of yourselves.' A large body of the Ultra-Republicans then came to complain to the King of the capitulation. 'What are you?' was his reply: 'The chiefs of your Government have capitulated without my knowledge. Come to an understanding amongst yourselves; let me know what the

majority of the Milanese require; if they wish it, we are ready to fight to the last extremity.' They demanded from the King a delay of twenty-four hours to collect signatures; at the expiration of which they brought him one hundred and fifty. The King told them, 'All is over; Milan is lost through your own fault.'"

The convention agreed upon by Radetzky provided that an armistice should exist for six weeks, and that the fortresses of Peschiera and Osappo, together with the city and territory of Venice, should be evacuated, the Piedmontese troops receiving a safe conduct through Lombardy to their own country.

On Sunday, the 6th of August, the Austrian army entered Milan almost at the same moment when the Sardinian troops quitted it on their road to Turin. Next day a proclamation appeared, signed by Marshal Radetzky, declaring the city of Milan and province of Lombardy in a state of siege, stating that all offences against good order would be tried by martial law, and nominating the Prince Schwartzenburg Military Governor of Milan. The greatest order prevailed, both on the part of the Austrian troops and the Milanese, and no offensive cries were uttered on either side.

On the 10th, the King, Charles Albert, issued a proclamation to the "People of the Kingdom," in which he gave the following account of the cause of his reverses:—

"The enemy increased; my army was almost alone in the struggle. The want of provisions forced us to abandon the positions we had conquered. . . . . With my army I had retired to the defence of Milan; but, harassed by long fatigues, it could not resist a new field-battle, for even the strength of the brave soldier has its limits. The interior defence of the town could not be sustained. Money, provisions, and ammunition were wanting. The courage of the citizens might perhaps have resisted for some days, but only to bury us under the ruins, not to conquer the enemy. A convention was begun by me; the Milanese followed it up and signed it. . . . The throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence; but Italy has not yet shown to the world that she can conquer alone. People of the kingdom! show yourselves strong in a first misfortune. Employ the free institutions that have arisen among you. . . . . Repose confidence in your King. The cause of Italian independence is not yet lost."

The result was that England and France resolved to offer a joint mediation between the Emperor and his revolted subjects, and couriers were despatched early in August to the head-quarters of the two armies.

An armistice, which continued during the rest of the year, was afterwards concluded upon the basis of the following convention, agreed to on the part of Marshal Radetzky and the King of Sardinia:—

"Art. 1. The line of demarcation between both armies shall be the frontier of their respective states.

"2. The fortress of Peschiera, Roeco d'Ango, and Osappo, shall be evacuated by the Sardinian and allied troops, and surrendered to those of His Imperial Majesty. The surrender of the place shall be made within three days of the ratification of this convention. In their place all the *matériel* of war belonging to Austria shall be given up. The troops marching out shall take with them all their *matériel*,

arms, ammunition, and clothing, and shall march by settled distances to the dominions of His Sardinian Majesty.

"3. The states of Modena, Parma, and the city of Placentia, with their territorial circles, shall be evacuated by the troops of His Sardinian Majesty within three days of the ratification of this convention.

"4. This convention extends equally to the city of Venice and the Venetian *terra firma*. The Sardinian military and naval forces shall evacute that city, ports, forts, &c., and return to the Sardinian states. The troops shall retire by land by a route and marches previously determined.

"5. Persons and property in the place above named are under the protection of the Imperial Government.

"6. This armistice is to have six weeks' duration, to give time for the negotiations for peace; it may be extended by common accord, and eight days' notice shall be given of the renewal of hostilities.

"7. Commissioners shall be named respectively for the more easy and satisfactory execution of the above articles."

CHAPTER XI.

ITALY, *continued.*—PAPAL STATES.—*New Organization of the Executive at Rome—The Pope promises a new Constitution to his Subjects—His unwillingness to engage in the War against Austria—New Ministry at Rome—Programme of its intended Policy—Assassination of Count Rossi, at Rome—State of the Capital at this Juncture—Formation of a Radical Ministry—Flight of the Pope from Rome—He takes Refuge in the Neapolitan Territory.*

NAPLES AND SICILY.—*Outbreak of Insurrection at Palermo—Conflict between the Populace and the Military—New Ministry appointed at Naples—The King promises a Constitution—Enthusiasm of the People—Insurrection at Messina—Disturbances at Naples—Sanguinary Conflict in the Streets—The King victorious—Downfal of the Bourbon Dynasty—Decrees by the Sicilian Chamber at Palermo—The Sicilian Throne offered to the Duke of Genoa, and declined by him—Expedition sent from Naples against the Sicilians—Bombardment and Capture of Messina—Energetic Measures of the Revolutionary Government at Palermo.*

DENMARK AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—*Death of Christian VIII., King of Denmark, and Succession of Frederick VII.—Plan of new Constitution promulgated—Narrative of Events leading to a Quarrel between the Crown of Denmark and the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein—Deputation sent from the Meeting of the States at Rendsburg to Copenhagen—The King's Reply—Explosion of the Revolution at Kiel—Strong Feeling in Denmark against the Separation of the Duchies—Proclamations by the King—The Prussian Troops cross the Holstein Frontier—Conduct of the German Assembly at Frankfort—Protest of the Danish Ambassador—The Danish Forces attacked by the Prussians—Schleswig and Flensbourg taken by the latter—General Von Wrangel invades Jutland—The Danish Army retires to Funen and Alsen—Interference of Sweden in the Struggle—The Prussian Troops withdrawn from Jutland—Blockade of the German Baltic Ports by the Danish Fleet—Note addressed by the Danish Government to Foreign Ministers—Termination of Hostilities by Armistice concluded at Malmö—Provisions of the Armistice—Speech of the King of Denmark at the opening of the Diet.*

NETHERLANDS.—*Appointment of Committee to revise Constitution.*

BELGIUM.—*Abortive Attempt of French Democrats to excite a Revolution—Speech of the King on opening of Session of the Chambers.*

ROME.—At the beginning of the year the Pope issued a new plan for the organization of the Executive at Rome, which was in future to consist of nine departments, — namely, Foreign

Affairs, Interior, Public Instruction, Grace, and Justice, Finance; Commerce, Fine Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture; Public Works, War and Police. The chiefs of those departments were to compose the Council of Ministers. State affairs were not to be brought before that Council until the Consulta had examined them, and given its opinion. Ministers were to be responsible for the acts of their respective administrations, and the subaltern officers likewise accountable for the execution of the orders they received. The important affairs of the State were not to be submitted to the approbation of the Sovereign until they had been discussed in the Council of Ministers. The Ministers were to appoint all public functionaries and officers, the Pope only reserving to himself the nomination of the Cardinals, Nuncios, &c. The Council of Ministers was to meet every week, under the presidency of the Secretary of State. The Secretary was to be a Cardinal, and his deputy a Prelate; but the other Ministers might be indifferently clergymen or laymen. Twenty-four Auditors were attached to the Council of Ministers—twelve clergymen, and twelve laymen.

On the 14th of March, His Holiness published a proclamation in which he announced the grant of a new Constitution to his subjects, stating that, as "our neighbours have decided that the people are already ripe for the benefits of a representative system of government, not merely *consultive*, but *deliberative*, we are unwilling to think less worthily of our own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude, not only towards our own humble person, for which we desire none, but towards the Church and this Apostolic See, the inviolable and supreme rights of which have been committed to our custody by Almighty God, and whose presence was and always will be to them a source of such benefit."

The Pope was naturally unwilling to engage in hostilities against Austria, one of the most powerful and devoted servants of the Papal See. He, therefore, resisted the demands of the people to send troops to join the army that was fighting in Lombardy for Italian independence. A body of Roman volunteers had, however, left the States of the Church, and formed part of the forces then actually in the field under the command of Charles Albert. One of these, Signor Caffi, an artist of some distinction, was found hanging on a tree near Verona with this written inscription appended to his corpse: "This is the way in which the Crusaders of Pius IX. are treated." The news of this exasperated the Roman populace to the highest degree, and with loud cries they called for a declaration of war. On the 29th of April the Pope addressed the Cardinals in conclave, and disavowed the act of the Papal troops in crossing the frontier, asserting that it had been done contrary to his commands. Next day the mob took possession of the Post Office, and thus gained access to some official correspondence which proved that the Cardinals were meditating flight. Tumultuous demonstrations took place; and at last, on the 1st of May, the Pope yielded to the popular will, and issued a declaration of war against Austria.

Early in May, a new Ministry, of an extremely liberal complexion, was appointed. It consisted of the following members:—

Ecclesiastical Affairs, — Cardinal Ciacchi.

President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs,—Count Marchetti.

Interior,—Count Mamiani.

Justice,—M. Pasquale de Rossi.

Finance,—M. Lunati.

War,—Prince d'Oria-Panfili.

Commerce,—The Duke de Riguano.

Police,—M. Giuseppe Galetti.

Almost immediately after entering upon office, they published a programme of their views and policy, in which they said: "The new Ministers whom His Holiness has deigned to call to the head of affairs profess the same sentiments of order, justice, liberty, and patriotism, as their predecessors. The present Ministry will hold especially dear the sacred cause of Italy and the triumph of right, to which all their attention will be applied, convinced that the first efforts of ardour must not be repressed, but, on the contrary, repeated, and incessantly increased, with indefatigable zeal—a zeal which will be extended to the pacific, but frank and progressive development of the new constitutional system.

"They will study the evils under which the people suffer, and the grievances of the working classes in particular, and will, with the concurrence of the two Councils, make every endeavour to cure the deep wounds of indigence, abasement, and ignorance. To Italy, and above all to Rome, the august seat of the Catholic religion, appertains the duty, and, we may almost say, the right not to yield to any other country in the world in progress or in the social and civil perfection; moreover, the localities, the history, the traditions, and the legitimate pride of the race inspire the Ministry with the not rash hope of possessing and initiating every one in these new social and political principles demanded from modern science by the impatience of the age. For the attainment of these great ends the confidence of the people, their obedience and respect for the laws, and the union and courage of all good citizens, are required."

On the 15th of November a horrible event occurred at Rome. Count Rossi, the Minister of the Interior, was assassinated as he was alighting from his carriage to enter the Chamber of Deputies. He was stabbed in the neck, and died almost instantaneously. The murderer mingled with the crowd, and no attempt was made to arrest him. The Assembly, on the steps of whose Chamber this dastardly act was committed, proceeded with the ordinary business of the day, and took no notice of the occurrence. In the afternoon a mob of persons paraded the streets with colours flying, singing songs in honour of the assassin. The authorities remained passive spectators of all that was going on, and next morning the Ministry resigned. The following account of the state of Rome at this juncture is taken from a despatch addressed by M. Harcourt, the French Ambassador there, to M. Bastide, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France. It will be found full of interest.

"It is difficult to assist at a more melancholy spectacle for the nation than that of which we have been

the ocular witnesses. Towards two o'clock (Nov. 16) an immense multitude proceeded to the Quirinal with a programme, known previously, and composed at the popular club—a programme which consisted in dismissing the Ministry, forming a new one, electing a constituent Assembly, and declaring war. There are 100 Swiss within the Quirinal who, with a few body guards, form the Pope's sole protection. When the Swiss saw this hostile manifestation, they closed the gates, and prepared to defend themselves. The Diplomatic Corps had time to enter the Palace, and to afford the Pope their moral support against any violence which might be offered to him. The multitude first threatened to force the gates, and, seeing that they were not opened for them, the people endeavoured to set fire to the principal gate. A few shots fired by the Swiss, together with their firm attitude, induced the aggressors to withdraw. Until then it was the population alone who acted. The attack did not last long, and the people began to disperse, when to our great astonishment we witnessed an unexpected sight. The Civic Guard, the Gendarmerie, the Line, and the Roman Legion, to the number of some thousands, in uniform, with a military band at their head, placed themselves in order of battle on the open space before the Quirinal, and joined the people who yet remained there, and commenced, like them, to fire at the windows of the Palace. Some balls penetrated into the apartments and killed a prelate who was in his chamber. As the Swiss continued to show a bold front, and the aggressors could not prevail, they brought cannon to force the gates of this unfortunate Pope, who is mildness itself, and who had only 100 Swiss to defend him. It is generally believed that there were but a few hundred intriguers who formed the plan of this conspiracy. There was not anybody with the Pope during the day but the Diplomatic Corps. The Pope during the entire period showed much coolness and courage; but it was impossible to resist; and, as he desired less than anybody to cause blood to be shed, he was consequently compelled to submit to his own troops, who besieged him in his own Palace." The result was that the unhappy Pontiff finally sent for the advocate Galtetti, to whom he announced that he consented to accept the following Ministry:—Mamiani, Foreign Affairs; Galtetti, the Interior; Lunati, Finance; Herbini, Commerce and Public Works; Campello, the War Department; Abbé Rosmini, Public Instruction, with the Presidency of the Council; Serini, Justice. And with respect to the other demands of the people the Pope submitted to the decision of the Chamber of Deputies. Amongst the killed was Cardinal Palma, the Pope's secretary, who was shot through the head.

In order to protect the person of the Pope from outrage, the French Ambassador took up his residence in the Palace of the Quirinal. The business of the Government was still carried on in the name of His Holiness, although he personally took no part in it, and refused to sanction any of the proceedings. On the 24th of November he disguised himself as a livery servant in attendance upon the Count de Spaur, the Bavarian Minister, and, mounting the box of that nobleman's carriage beside the coachman, was driven to his residence.

Here he took off the servant's dress, and equipped himself in the costume of the Bavarian Minister's chaplain. They then both entered the carriage, and, passports having been previously obtained, drove rapidly away from Rome, arriving on the following day at Gaeta, a town in the Neapolitan territory.

The flight of the Pope caused astonishment and alarm at Rome, and throughout the rest of the year the Revolutionary Government there gave no evidence of its possessing a single member who was competent to deal with the difficulties of its position, or construct a scheme of rational policy. No other events, however, of importance took place.

NAPLES AND SICILY.—For a long time the Sicilians had been in a state of discontent at the obstinate refusal of the King of Naples to grant various reforms which they demanded; and it was generally announced at the beginning of the present year, both in Sicily and at Naples, that, unless concessions were made by the Neapolitan Government, an insurrection would almost immediately take place. These threats and warnings were, however, neglected or despised, until the event showed that the determination of the people was much more serious than had been anticipated. On the eve of the insurrection the following proclamation was issued from Palermo to the inhabitants of Sicily:—

"Sicilians! the time for prayers is passed; pacific protestations, supplications, and demonstrations —all have remained ineffectual. Ferdinand has treated them all with contempt; and we, a people born freemen, and now loaded with chains and reduced to misery, shall we still delay to claim our legitimate rights? To arms! sons of Sicily: our united force will be invincible. At the break of day of January 12 shall be the signal for the glorious era of our universal regeneration. Palermo will receive with transport every Sicilian who shall come armed to sustain the common cause, and establish reformed institutions in conformity with the progress and will of Europe, of Italy, and of Pius IX. Union, order, obedience to chiefs, respect to property. Robbery is declared a crime of high treason against the country, and shall be punished as such. Whoever may be in want of resources shall be supplied at the common charge. Heaven will not fail to second our just undertaking. Sicilians, to arms!"

On the 12th of January, which was the King's birthday, the standard of revolt was unfurled at Palermo. The Royal troops made hardly any show of resistance, but abandoned the posts they held in the centre of the city, and retired into the barracks, the forts, and the palace. The insurgents presented themselves in the principal houses of the city to demand arms. On the morning of the 13th, the tocsin called the population to arms, and the firing commenced. An occasional discharge of artillery was heard in the direction of the palace. Detachments of fifteen or twenty persons, armed with fowling pieces, sabres, and cane swords, headed by well-dressed young men, traversed the streets, crying, "Viva Ferdinand II.! Viva the Constitution of 1812!" The insurrection then began to extend rapidly, and became very formidable. After a

series of encounters, more or less sanguinary, the authority of the Government ceased altogether to be recognised in the city; and, on the 15th, various committees were instituted, which the insurgents obeyed. 1, A Committee for the Defence of the City; 2, A Committee of Finance; 3, A Committee of Supplies; 4, A Committee of State Affairs.

The troops occupied the following positions at the commencement of the insurrection :—The Royal palace, inhabited by the lieutenant of the King, in Sicily; the fort of Castellamare, the barracks of the Pier, the prison situate between the pier and the city, the Palace of the Finances, on the square of the Navy, at the lower extremity of the street of Toledo; and the barracks adjoining the Royal palace. These troops were reinforced by 6000 men, conveyed on board a squadron of nine steamers, which arrived off Palermo on the 15th.

In the night of the 13th, shells and round shot were fired on the city by the fort of Castellamare, although only partial engagements had then taken place between the troops and the people. On the 15th, shells being still thrown into the city, the French Consul, M. Bresson, joined by the Consuls of Sardinia, Switzerland, the United States, Prussia, and Russia, repaired to the Palace to demand of the Duc de Majo a cessation of the bombardment. After a long discussion, the Duke promised a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours. After this interval had elapsed, the struggle recommenced, but for two or three days with no decisive result. Some negotiations were entered into between the Duc de Majo and the Marquis de Spedallotto, the prætor of the city, and the insurgents demanded the re-establishment of the former Sicilian Constitution of 1812, and the immediate convocation of the Sicilian Parliament at Palermo. The Duc de Majo, having no power to treat on this basis, communicated the demands to his Sovereign by a steamer, on the 19th. On the following day, the two frigates, which had previously left for Naples, returned to Palermo, bringing four decrees issued on the 18th. The first and fourth regulated the organization of the Consulta of State, whose powers were extended. The deputies of the provincial councils were to have a consulting voice in matters connected with the interests of their localities. The second ordinance abolished the promiscuous occupation of public offices by Neapolitans and Sicilians in both kingdoms. The fourth appointed Count d'Aquila Lieutenant-General of Sicily, and nominated as his assistants a Minister and Directors of Administrations.

But it was too late. The Sicilians would no longer be satisfied with such concessions; and their demands of a "Parliament at Palermo," and "the former Constitution," were persisted in as firmly as ever.

When the news of the insurrection at Palermo first reached Naples, the King seemed disposed to act with the utmost rigour, and crush the rebellion by force. But the determined conduct of the Sicilians alarmed the Ministry, and the popular feeling in Naples was so strongly in favour of the insurgents, that Del Caretto, the Minister who was known to be the chief adviser of violent measures, was compelled to take refuge on board of a war steamer in the port. This

led immediately to a change of Ministry; and a new one was formed, at the head of which was the Duc de Serra Capriola, who had been Ambassador of Naples at Paris. The other members of the Cabinet were the Prince de Torella, Prince Dentice, M. Bonanni, M. Cianciulli, M. Scovazzo, and M. Bozzeli. The last-named Minister had been Councillor of State under Murat, when he was King of Naples. He was very popular with his countrymen, and his appointment was hailed as a pledge of the King's sincerity in wishing to adopt a more liberal and constitutional policy for the future.

The Ministry declared that they could not retain office unless a Constitution were granted; and at last, as the aspect of affairs became every hour more serious, the King yielded, and on the 28th of January he signed a decree, by which he promised to concede to his subjects a Constitution. When this decree was discovered next morning posted on the walls, the inhabitants of the capital were in a tumult of delight; and the King, who rode through the streets amongst the people, was received with enthusiasm. Seeing in a group the young Duke of Albanetto, who had lately been imprisoned for his political opinions, the King addressed him, saying, "Calm your desires; you see I have done what I ought to do—do also *your* duty:" alluding to the tricolour, he continued, "Do not wear these colours, they will cause difficulties with other countries—they are not mine; I have my cockade, and it is not necessary to change it, because we have a Constitution."

Orders were sent on the same day to Palermo for the withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops, and on the 1st of February an amnesty for political offences was published.

The basis of the Constitution thus promised by the King was drawn up in the following terms:—

"The legislative power shall be exercised by us and by two Chambers—namely, a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. The members of the first Chamber shall be nominated by us; the deputies shall be nominated by electors on the basis of a property qualification which shall be fixed.

"The only dominating religion of the State shall be the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion, and no other form of worship shall be tolerated.

"The person of the King shall always be sacred, inviolable, and not subject to responsibility.

"The Ministers shall always be responsible for all the acts of the Government.

"The land and sea services shall always be dependent on the King.

"The national guard shall be organized in all the kingdom on a uniform mode, similar to that of the capital.

"The press shall be free, and only subject to a repressive law for all that may offend religion, morality, public order, the King, the Royal family, foreign Sovereigns and their families, as well as the honour and interests of private individuals."

But Sicily still remained in a state of insurrection, and the inhabitants were not disposed to be satisfied with any concessions less than those which they demanded at the beginning of the year. On the 29th of January a revolt broke out at Messina, and the city was immediately bombarded from the citadel and forts garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, and from a war

steamer in the harbour. At this juncture, an English frigate, commanded by Captain Codrington, lay off the town, and he exerted himself to moderate the violence of the struggle, and to persuade the combatants to await the issue of negotiations which were going on at Naples. The British Government had sent Lord Minto into Italy in a semi-official capacity, chiefly with the view of facilitating, if possible, the contemplated revival of diplomatic intercourse with the Papal See; and, as he happened to be at Naples, he made use of his influence in endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between Ferdinand and his revolted subjects in Sicily. His efforts were, however, vain, chiefly in consequence of the terms insisted upon by the latter, that none but Sicilian soldiers should be employed in the island. To this the King peremptorily refused to accede, and his Ministers declared that, if he yielded, he might as well abdicate his throne.

At Palermo, on the 4th of February, the batteries of the town began to play upon the castle, and for two hours and a half an incessant fire was kept up between them; but, during its continuance, an order arrived from the King commanding the troops to surrender the Castle, and the garrison capitulated on honourable terms.

On the 21st of February, the Messinese carried by storm Fort Real Basso, and the Royal troops were confined to the Citadel and Fort Salvador, from which was kept up at short intervals a fire of shot and shell upon the town. In the meantime, the insurgents busily employed themselves in constructing batteries of guns and mortars to act against the citadel and Fort Salvador; and on the 7th of March they were able to commence a cannonade with considerable effect. This was warmly replied to by the garrison; and it was calculated that on that day not fewer than 5000 projectiles were discharged. Mutual hostilities continued until the 2nd of May, when an armistice was agreed to between the combatants, which lasted until the middle of August.

On the 14th of May, the Deputies who had been returned to the Neapolitan Chamber met in the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, for the purpose of discussing the nature of the oath which ought to be taken with respect to the new Constitution. The King wished the latter to be adopted *in toto*, as he had promulgated it; but the Deputies insisted upon swearing fidelity to the King and the Constitution, "without prejudice to the changes which the Chamber might think proper to introduce into it." This caused a serious quarrel between Ferdinand and the Chamber, and, as neither party would give way, disturbances immediately arose. On the morning of the 15th barricades were erected in the streets, and the Royal palace was garrisoned by troops, while artillerymen stood by their guns with lighted matches in their hands. The King, however, declared that he would accede to the wishes of the Deputies, and called upon the National Guards to withdraw from the barricades, and remove them. The latter replied that they would not retire until the decree was actually issued, and during the negotiation, the musket of a National Guard having accidentally gone off, his comrades thought that the Swiss troops were attacking them, and they fired a volley, which was

immediately returned by the Swiss. A sanguinary conflict now ensued, which lasted for eight hours, and terminated in the complete defeat of the insurgents. It should be mentioned that the Lazzaroni joined the Royal troops, stimulated by the hope, and, as it was alleged, by the promise of plunder; and it may be easily imagined what scenes of horror ensued when these, the very dregs and refuse of the population of Naples, were fighting on the victorious side. At last the French Admiral, Baudin, who was with his squadron in the bay, interfered, and threatened that, unless the disorder was put an end to, he would land a force sufficient to prevent further violence and bloodshed. Upon this the troops ceased firing; but the King was already master of the flag. Martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard suppressed, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

On the 13th of April, the Sicilian Chamber met, under the presidency of the Marquis de Torrearsa. At the opening of the sitting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that Sicily was desirous to join the Italian League, and trusted that she would be able to defeat the intrigues of the King of Naples. M. Paternostro observed that Sicily was bound to shake off her King, and proposed accordingly to decree on that very day that Ferdinand of Bourbon and his dynasty had forfeited the throne of Sicily. M. Lafarina said that Sicily could only choose a Sovereign in the families of Tuscany or Savoy. But, he added, let us first think of ourselves—let us organize our own resources, and prove to all that we wish to be Italians. Futurity shall decide whether we are to be a constitutional state, under an Italian Prince, or a Republic, should Providence smile on Italy. After a few words from M. Perez, M. Interdonato exclaimed that the House should begin by proclaiming the downfal of Ferdinand and his dynasty, a Republican monarchy, and the government of an Italian Prince. The adoption of a decree to this effect was then carried amidst the most enthusiastic applause. It was as follows:—

"The Parliament declares—1. Ferdinand and his dynasty are for ever fallen from the throne of Sicily. 2. Sicily shall govern herself constitutionally, and call to the throne an Italian Prince, as soon as she shall have reformed her *statuto*.

"Done and resolved at Palermo, on the 13th of April.

"The President of the Chamber of Commons, MARQUIS OF TORREARSA.
The President of the Chamber of Peers, DUKE OF SIRRADEFALCO.
The President of the Kingdom, RUGGERO SETTIMO."

It was, however, not very easy to select a new King in the midst of the confusion and changes which were unsettling Italy. The majority of the Parliament were decidedly in favour of a constitutional monarchy as the form of Government, and their choice fell at last, on the 11th of July, upon the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. The young Prince had shown both courage and capacity in the campaign in Lombardy. The following are the terms of the decree whereby the Sicilian Parliament invited him to take possession of the throne:—

"Art. 1. The Duke of Genoa,

second son of the present King of Sardinia, and his posterity, are called to reign in Sicily, according to the constitutional statutes of the 10th of July, 1848.

"Art. 2. He will assume the name and title of Albert Amedée I., King of Sicily, in virtue of the constitution of the kingdom.

"Art. 3. He shall be invited to accept and take the oath required by the 40th article of the statutes."

Against this Act the King of Naples drew up a formal protest, declaring it "illegal, null, and of no effect;" and the Duke of Genoa had the prudence to decline the proffered crown. Ferdinand now equipped an expedition against his revolted subjects, and, on the 29th of August, a body of 14,000 soldiers sailed in two frigates and twenty steamers for Messina, where on their arrival they joined the royal troops already in the garrison. The city was then summoned to surrender, but refused; and on the 2nd of September a simultaneous attack was made upon it from the fire of the garrison, the Neapolitan fleet in the harbour, and a large force which had landed on the shore. The citizens fought with desperation; but the contest was too unequal, and after a bombardment of four days, during which a large portion of the city was reduced to ruins, they were compelled to surrender. The contest was marked by circumstances of atrocity on both sides, and acts of vindictive cruelty disgraced both the conquerors and the conquered.

The following account of the bombardment is taken from a letter addressed by Captain Robb, of H.M.S. *Gladiator*, to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet.

"The bombardment of the town was continued during the whole of the 3rd instant, and commenced again at daylight on the 4th, and was kept up without intermission on both sides until dusk. On the 5th the Sicilians did not commence firing, although their batteries had not suffered greatly; they appeared to be saving their ammunition; but in the afternoon the firing became general on both sides. At two P.M. the *Bulldog* arrived, and at four the French ship *Hercule*, the captain of which immediately put himself in communication with me and assured me of his assistance in endeavouring to stop bloodshed as much as possible. Two steamers with troops, and many boats in tow, landed about 2000 troops at the citadel.

At six P.M. Signor Piraino came on board with a deputation to beg me if possible to send the *Bulldog* to Palermo, which I declined to do until they assured me that it was for the purpose of consulting with the Parliament of Palermo on the actual state of affairs here, and to request conditions on what they were to urge if they should be required to surrender. I then desired Signor Piraino to write me a letter to that effect (copy inclosed), and, having acquainted the captain of the *Hercule* with my intention, the *Bulldog* left this for Palermo at nine o'clock, with a deputy for the aforesaid purpose.

"The bombardment continued the whole day, and a partial firing on both sides was kept up during the night. On the morning of the 6th the Neapolitan squadron, consisting of two frigates, one corvette, thirteen steamers, and nineteen gun-boats, with other boats in tow, came over from Reggio, and under their fire a landing of the troops

was effected. The firing from the citadel and Sicilian batteries and the Neapolitan squadron became general, and it was difficult to see the issue of the battle from the great smoke, as all the country at the south of the town appeared to be in flames. . . . .

. . . . "In the meantime, five A.M. (Sept. 7), the steam-vessels which had returned to Reggio on the previous morning, returned with fresh troops, the citadel and Salvatore opened their fire upon the town; the Sicilians had expended all their ammunition on the previous night, and not a single shot has been fired during this day, yet the bombardment of the town continued until ten o'clock, when the firing became slackened; but the city was in flames from one end to the other, and it is scarcely possible that a single house can have escaped this constant bombardment of five days and nights. In the afternoon the Neapolitan colours were hoisted on the heights behind the town; the few people who remained in the town fled from it, and were received on board any vessel that could be found, and were placed under the protection of the French and English ships. A French and English officer waited for a reply to the conditions until after dark. The firing had ceased. The town was burning in eleven different places, and the whole population of Messina had deserted it."

In the meantime the revolutionary Government at Palermo made the most vigorous preparations for resistance. The inhabitants hailed with joy the news of the arrival of the force destined to reduce them to submission, and illuminated the town, to mark their eagerness for the conflict. The National Guard was *mobilized*, and it was resolved that seven military camps should be formed at Milazzo, Taormina, Syracuse, Catania, Girgenti, Trapani, and Palermo. The peasants came in from all parts of the island, and throughout Sicily a spirit of enthusiastic opposition was roused, which promised to make the campaign of the Neapolitan troops a difficult and doubtful one.

DENMARK.—On the 20th of January, Christian VIII., King of Denmark, died after a severe illness, and his son, the Crown Prince, was immediately proclaimed King, as Frederick VII. One of his first acts was to promulgate the following plan of a new Constitution, which appeared on the 28th of January under the signature of the Ministers of State: Stemann, Orsted, Beutzen, Halm, Algreen, and Ussnig.

"For the purpose of putting in execution the plans projected by our beloved father Christian VIII., and which we had ourselves advised, and in our desire that this work shall co-operate in maintaining the independence of the different parts of the kingdom, as well as their union in a well-ordered whole, we have resolved to take into consideration the introduction of such a Constitution as will insure equally the inalienable rights of our Crown, guarantee the rights of our dear and faithful subjects in general, and secure the interests and privileges of the inhabitants. For these purposes we propose to establish Common States for our kingdom of Denmark and our duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, elected in equal number in our kingdom and our duchies, to assemble regularly at fixed periods, alter-

nately in our kingdom and our duchies. The rights which we intend attributing to these States will consist in decisive votes for the change of taxes and for the administering of the finances, as well as passing laws touching the common affairs of the kingdom and the duchies. We will also authorize the same States to present propositions relating to objects within their sphere of activity, immediately concerning the common interests of the kingdom and the duchies of our several provinces. By this Constitution of the States nothing is to be changed in the general ordinances of the 28th of May, 1831, or the 15th of May, 1834, respecting the organization of the provincial States in our kingdom of Denmark and our duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, or in the present relations of those duchies, or in those of our duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg with the Germanic Confederation, or in the Constitution of this latter duchy, or in the organization of the Althing of our island of Iceland. In fine, the law of the Constitution will protect equally the Danish and German languages in those districts of Schleswig where the languages coexist. Before giving to the new Constitution the force of law, we shall submit it to intelligent and experienced men enjoying the confidence of their countrymen. In order to give our dear subjects a proof of our great confidence in them, we shall leave the choice of the majority of these Delegates to the different categories of the Deputies sitting in the Assemblies of the provincial States by right of election, as well as to the clergy, prelates, and landed nobility in the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and to the consistories of the Universities of Copenhagen and Kiel. . . .

"The elections for the choice of these Delegates will take place in March next, in various towns which we shall name, as soon as each Member of the Assemblies of the Provincial States shall receive an order by a Royal rescript, Commissioners, appointed by us, presiding over the proceedings. When the elections shall have terminated, and the results have been made known to us, we will nominate, to be added to the Delegates, eight persons from our kingdom of Denmark, four from the duchy of Schleswig, and four from that of Holstein. The whole number of Delegates to be appointed is, therefore, fifty-two, twenty-six for Denmark, and twenty-six for the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Two months afterwards, at the latest, these Delegates shall assemble on a day fixed by us in our Palace of Copenhagen, under the presidency of some of our highest functionaries, and shall commence their labours, continuing them until we think fit to cause them to cease. We reserve to ourselves, however, independently of the special object of their convocation, to submit to their examination certain matters relative to legislation and administration, which at a later period shall be laid before the Provincial States when assembled this year; particularly the establishment of a general Militia, the regulation of the monetary system, and the final dispositions touching the order in which Royal and private propositions shall be discussed in the Provincial States. In the discussions, any Member may employ, as he think fit, the two languages of the country, and the minutes shall also be drawn up in both tongues. The

result of the discussions shall afterwards be submitted to us, that we may declare our Royal will concerning them. If we feel a lively joy in finishing the work commenced by our deceased father, our satisfaction is doubled by the thought, that we are enabled to publish this decree on the anniversary of the birth of King Frederick VI. of glorious memory, and thus unite the remembrance of the founder of the institution of the Provincial States to the undertaking which he prepared by that institution."

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—The chief interest that attached to the affairs of Denmark during the present year lay in the quarrel that arose between the Danish Crown and its provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, which led to the outbreak of a war, and the armed interference of the German Confederation in the politics of that kingdom. To understand the cause of this war, we must go back to a distant period, and give a rapid narrative of some previous events.

The Duchy of Holstein, as constituted since the dissolution of the German Empire in 1806, is made up of the two ancient German counties of Holstein and Stormarn, the lordship of Pinneberg, the county of Ranzau, the Frisian republic of Ditmarsh on the North Sea, and the Vendic district of Wagria on the Baltic. It includes, likewise, within its territorial limits the ancient Vendic principality of Eutin, now a dependency of the Dukes of Oldenburg. Adjoining to its south-eastern frontier is the Duchy of Lauenburg, whilst on its northern frontier the Eider River, and the canal connecting that river with the Baltic Sea, separates it from the Duchy of Schleswig. Of the three Duchies, Schleswig is the most extensive, having a surface of about 165 German geographical square miles, whilst Holstein contains only 155, and Lauenburg not more than 19.

The Duchy of Schleswig occupies the same limits as the ancient Duchy of South Jutland, extending from the town of Rendsburg as far north as Kolding *.

On the 15th August, 1326, by the constitution of Waldemar, King of Denmark, Count Gerhard de Holstein and Stormarn received the Duchy of South Jutland as an hereditary fief, with royal rights over the vassals of the territory of Schleswig; and it was provided that the Duchy of South Jutland should never be united to the crown of Denmark, so that there should be one Lord (*dominus*) over the two countries †. On the 15th of August, 1439, Duke Adolphus obtained from the Emperor Albert II., the confirmation of his rights over Schleswig, and in the following year he received investiture as its hereditary feudal lord. As such, on the 3rd of March, 1460, he required the States, both Schleswig and Holstein, to take the oath of fealty to the son of his sister, Count Christian d'Oldenburg (Christian I.), and his descendants. Christian declared in the act of the 6th of March, 1460, that, not having been named Duke of Schleswig-Holstein in his title of King of Denmark, he acknowledged the

* This description of the two Duchies is taken from the able work of Dr. Twiss, "On the relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the Crown of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation." London, 1848.

† Ita ut unus sit Dominus utriusque.

right of the Ducal States to choose a successor amongst his children; and he also declared that Schleswig and Holstein ought to be for ever united. The Constitution of Waldemar and this declaration constitute the foundation upon which Schleswig and Holstein rest their claims.

The right of election, however, seems to have remained in abeyance until 1588, when, on the deaths of King Frederick II. and Duke Adolphus, the Estates exercised it with the sanction of the Queen-Mother of Denmark, and chose King Christian IV. as head of the Royal Duchies, and Duke Philip of Gottorp, head of the Gottorp Duchies. Duke Philip died shortly afterwards, and his next brother, John Adolphus, was elected to succeed him. The Prince, in 1608, introduced a new arrangement to regulate the succession in future. With the sanction of the Emperor Rudolph II., as Sovereign Lord over Holstein, and of Christian IV., as Sovereign Lord over Schleswig, he enacted a statute whereby the succession in the two Gottorp Duchies was entailed upon the eldest heir male by right of primogeniture, and accordingly, upon his death, in 1616, his eldest son, Frederick III., succeeded him in the Duchies. The Estates after a short resistance acquiesced in this change from election to descent, and, a similar alteration being effected in 1650 by King Frederick III. with respect to the succession in the two Royal Duchies, the practice of election became in all the Duchies wholly obsolete.

In 1658 Christian IV., King of Denmark, was compelled to yield to the terms of peace imposed upon him by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and sign the treaty of Roeskild, which was soon after followed by the treaty of Copenhagen. In pursuance of the provisions of the latter, he agreed to cede the sovereignty over the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, and he accordingly made a formal grant of that sovereignty to Duke Frederick of Gottorp. In 1660 an alteration in the mode of succession to the Danish crown took place, and it was declared to be henceforth hereditary in the male and female descendants of King Frederick III. Constant hostilities occurred between the Kings of Denmark and Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, and during the great Northern war between Denmark and Russia on the one side, and Sweden on the other, which broke out at the end of the year 1709, the King of Denmark, in 1714, having driven the Swedish troops, under General Stenboch, out of Holstein, took forcible possession of the Duchy, and maintained it until the close of the war. In 1715 France concluded a defensive alliance for three years with Sweden, and Prussia and England with Denmark and Russia, guaranteeing to Denmark possession of the Gottorp Duchy of Schleswig, *contra quoscumque*. Sweden afterwards undertook not to interfere between the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp and the King of Denmark, and not to oppose any provisions for future settlement which France and England, as mediating powers, might think fit to adopt.

The result was, that the perpetual and peaceable possession of the Ducal part of Schleswig was guaranteed to the Crown of Denmark by those two Powers; and the King of Denmark was enjoined

by the Emperor of Germany, as his suzerain, in respect of the royal portion of the Duchy, to restore to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Holstein.

The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, however, resisted the cession of the Gottorp portion of Schleswig to the Crown of Denmark, and, on his marriage with the eldest daughter of Peter the Great, he strove to influence the Court of Russia in his favour. Peter the Great died in 1730, and his son, Charles Peter Ulrich, who succeeded as Peter III. to the throne of Russia, did not live long enough to carry into effect his designs against the retention of the coveted portion of Schleswig by the Danes. Upon his death, the Empress Catherine II. became, during the minority of the Grand Duke Paul, Regent of the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Holstein, and she consented, in 1767, to renounce, in the name of the Grand Duke, the Gottorp portion of Schleswig, and to cede the Gottorp portion of Holstein in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, subject to the ratification of the Grand Duke on his attaining his majority. This ratification was given by the Grand Duke in the treaty of Zarsko-Sélo of 1773, by which he renounced, as head of the elder Gottorp line, for himself and his descendants, all his rights to the Duchy of Schleswig, and especially to the Ducal part of the said Duchy, in favour of the King of Denmark and the heirs of the Crown (Cron-Erben), and further ceded, in behalf of the same parties, the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Holstein to the King of Denmark and his male descendants, and eventually to the Prince Frederick, the King's brother, and his male descendants *.

The result of the inquiry into the claims of the two Duchies to be considered members of the German Confederation seems to be that the Duchy of Schleswig has been always, with the exception of the interval between 1658 and 1721, during which it enjoyed a state of doubtful independence, a fief of the Crown of Denmark, while Holstein has been from time immemorial a fief of Germany. Let us now see what is the law of descent in these countries.

In Denmark the succession of the Crown is so regulated that, on the male line failing, the females of the same line must be called to the throne; but in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and in that of Lauenburgh, joined to Holstein since 1815, the law of primogeniture, with preference to the descendants of males, is in force; so much so, that, after the extinction of the elder Royal line in the males, it is not the women of that same branch, but the males of the next collateral line, namely, the line of Holstein, Sonderburgh, and Augustenburgh, who have the right to succeed.

After the death of King Frederick VI. (Dec. 3, 1839), the question of succession in the two portions of the kingdom revived, and there arose amongst the provincial states, established by the law of the 15th of May, 1834, the disputes which broke out into open war after the death of Christian VIII. in the present year. The representative states of Schleswig, founding their claim upon the Act of Christian I. (March 5, 1461), demanded a

* See Dr. Twiss's work (previously quoted), page 40.

union with those of Holstein, but were dismissed by a Royal missive on the 9th of July, 1844. The representative states of Jutland, on the 18th of July, 1844, expressed their hope that, looking at the activity of the party in the Duchy, tending to the dissolution of the Monarchy, measures would be adopted to maintain the endangered unity of the nation. The States of Holstein proposed on the 23rd of October, 1844, that the mutual relations between the Danish and German parties should be guaranteed by the Sovereign; and the Assembly at Roeskild demanded on the 9th of November, in the same year, that the King should declare that Schleswig and Holstein were integral parts of Denmark, and could never be separated from it. They repeated this demand in stronger terms on the 17th of December, 1844, and with the Minister Orsted's approbation, so that the States of Holstein saw themselves under the necessity of protesting against this proposal (21st December, 1844), and those of Lauenburgh joined them in the protest.

On the 8th of July, 1846, appeared the LETTER PATENT of the King, Christian VIII., which declared that, as the succession in the Duchy of Lauenburgh, a country acquired by the Crown of Denmark, is exempt from doubt, that in the Duchy of Schleswig was also, by virtue of the Royal letter of the 22nd of August, 1721, the guarantee given by France and England, and afterwards by the conventions concluded with Russia, on the 22nd of April, 1767, and the 1st of June, 1773; and also that as regarded Holstein there was some difficulty in pronouncing positively upon its claims, but that every attention to the subject would be given, in order to obtain the desired result that the integrity of the Danish States, or rather the united State of Denmark, might be generally acknowledged.

Against this Royal declaration, the representative States of Holstein voted a protest on the 24th of July, 1846, and, when the Commissary of the Crown refused to receive this, they applied to the German Confederation on the 3rd of August in that year, and soon afterwards, the King also addressed to the same body an explanation of the state of affairs. Upon this the Diet passed a resolution to the effect that it felt confident that the King, occupied with the care of governing his States, would respect the rights of all parties, "especially those also of the German Confederation and of the collateral branches who had a right to the succession, and those of the representative States of the Duchy of Holstein."

On the 21st of October, the representative chamber of Schleswig having received the Royal decision relative to the reunion of the Chambers of the two Duchies, which refused to grant its demands, it protested against any separation from Holstein, and against any other succession than that of males. The petitions, however, relating to this subject were sent back to the President by the Royal Commissary, and afterwards thirty-four of the Deputies refused any further co-operation; whereupon the formal dissolution of the Chambers was pronounced on the 14th of December. Holstein, with the province of Rantzau and the lordship of Pinneberg, had formed anciently part of the circle of Lower Saxony; but, after the dissolution

of the German Empire, a Royal proclamation, dated September 9th, 1806, incorporated it with the kingdom of Denmark.

At the Congress of Vienna there appeared amongst the members a representative from the King of Denmark for Holstein.

By the Convention with Prussia on the 4th of June, 1815, and after the cession of its rights to Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, on the 14th of January, 1814, Denmark acquired the Duchy of Lauenburgh, which, like Holstein, had, until 1806, made part of the German empire, and of which the representative had had the right of sitting amongst the lay members of the Council of the Princes of the Empire.

In the Act of the German Confederation of the 8th of June, 1815, Denmark was included as a member of the Confederation for the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburgh. The privileges of the prelates, and of the Equestrian order in the Duchy of Holstein, had been confirmed at the accession of each new sovereign to the throne, but there never had been a meeting of the States since 1675, and the prelates and the Equestrian order had not assembled since 1712. The two latter bodies applied in 1822 to the German Diet in order to maintain, if possible, their privileges; and a Committee of the Diet was appointed on the 10th of June, 1823, to demand from the Danish Court an explanation upon this subject. The Diet, however, afterwards determined not to take any further steps in the matter at that time.

After the appearance of the Royal proclamation of the 28th of January in the present year, which has been already mentioned, the electors of Schleswig-Holstein determined on the 18th of February to elect deputies, but to enjoin them at the same time to protest against the union of the representatives of Denmark with those of the Duchies, as it was necessary for their separate interests that they should have a separate Chamber.

A meeting of the States of the two Duchies was held at Rendsburgh, in the month of March, and on the 28th a deputation was appointed to proceed to Copenhagen, and lay their demands before the King. Some apprehension was felt for the safety of the Deputies in consequence of the hostile feeling of the Danes, but they reached the capital and discharged their mission without suffering any outrage or harm. The mode in which the King met the requisitions will appear from the following statement which he addressed as a proclamation to the inhabitants of Copenhagen:—

"We have replied to the Schleswig-Holstein Deputation, that we neither have the power nor the will to suffer Schleswig to pass over to the Germanic Confederation, or to be separated from our beloved fatherland, but that, on the contrary, Denmark and Schleswig shall be joined together under a free constitution, with as much provincial independence for Schleswig as the nature of the case permits; while Holstein, on the other hand, as a member of the Germanic Confederation, shall have its own free constitution."

The revolution which had been so long in preparation, and the object of which was to sever the Duchies from the Danish crown, exploded on the 24th of March, on which day the people rose at Kiel in insurrection, and a Provisional

Government was formally proclaimed in the square or *platz*, before the Rathhaus. They immediately issued a proclamation in which they said:—

"*Fellow Citizens,*—

"Our Duke has been compelled by a popular insurrection in Copenhagen to dismiss his late advisers, and to assume a hostile attitude with regard to the Duchies.

"The will of the Sovereign is no longer free, and the country is without a Government. We will not tolerate the sacrifice of German territory as a prey to the Danes! Great dangers require great resolutions, and leading authorities are required for the defence of the frontiers, and the maintenance of order. In accordance with the demands of urgent necessity, and relying upon the confidence hitherto reposed in us, we have, in compliance with the cry which has been raised by the people, provisionally undertaken the conduct of the Government, which we will carry on for the maintenance of the rights of the country, and those of our native Duke, and in his name.

We will forthwith convene the united assembly of the States, and lay down the power which we have assumed as soon as the Sovereign is restored to freedom, or as soon as other persons are intrusted with the management of public affairs."

Very different, as might be expected, was the feeling in Denmark, and, when news of the movement that was going on in the Duchies previous to the actual outbreak of the insurrection reached Copenhagen, a public meeting was held there on the 20th of March, and resolutions were passed to the following effect:—

"That a constitution for Schleswig-Holstein is a dereliction of the rights of the Danish Crown on Schleswig, to which the King has no right to submit, nor can the Danish nation ever submit to it.

"That the Danish nation is willing to assist the King by every means necessary to fulfil his duties as a Sovereign, and to defend the maintenance of the Sovereign State of Denmark and Schleswig.

"That the present union of Denmark and Schleswig can only be maintained by a constitution common to both, and established on a liberal law of election."

Next day it was publicly announced that the King had dismissed his Ministry, and was actively engaged in constructing a new Cabinet. This intelligence was received with loud cheers by the populace. A new Ministry was immediately formed, at the head of which was Count Moltke.

The King lost no time in addressing proclamations to his revolted subjects in Schleswig and Holstein. To the former he said:—

"To you, men of Schleswig, I have declared, and hereby again declare, that in union with Denmark you shall now obtain a free and popular constitution. Your independence as Schleswigers shall, conjointly with your common constitution with Denmark, be secured by a Diet of your own, an administration of your own, and courts of your own; by a like share in the burdens of the State in proportion to your population, a just application of the surplus revenue, and an equal right of using either the German or Danish language, whether in the great Assembly of the whole realm or in your own Diet."

To the latter:—

"*Men of Holstein,*—

"My heart clings to you. You will not destroy the holiest inheriance from your fathers—the fame of Holstein for fidelity. Your Duke cannot abandon the hope that you will return to him. You have been seduced by faithless leaders, who do not think of your weal, but only of their own ambitious plans. Under my name they lead you into ruin;—only by pretending that I was not free, they have induced you to follow them."

The first sitting of the General Assembly of Schleswig-Holstein took place at Rendsburg, on the 3rd of April, when the proposal for annexing Schleswig to the German Confederation was carried with only two dissentient voices.

The strongly expressed wish on the part of both the Duchies, to be considered as part of the German family, and withdraw their allegiance from the Danish Crown in the event of the King Ferdinand VII. dying without issue, excited in Germany, as might be expected, warm sympathy in their favour, and, as they were themselves utterly unable to cope with the military power of Denmark, they looked to Germany, and especially Prussia, for assistance. The latter was not slow in responding to the appeal, and, on the 6th of April, a body of Prussian troops, under the command of General Von Wrangel crossed the Holstein frontier, with the avowed object of supporting by force the claims of the two Duchies against Denmark. In a note addressed by the Prussian Government to the Danish Minister at Berlin, the former attempted the following justification of its conduct:—

"Moved by a sense of the duty which the spirit as well as the letter of the Federal Pact impose upon him, and strong in the adhesion of the national will, the King could not, in presence of an imminent danger, hesitate to take, in concert with his German allies, the initiative of a position, which will without doubt readily receive the formal sanction of the Germanic Confederation, and in which that Confederation, by its organ, the Diet, will speedily declare herself bound to acquiesce.

"Prussia, in assuming this attitude, does in nowise mistake the rights of sovereignty which His Majesty the King of Denmark possesses in his quality as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. Those rights are not the less sacred in the eyes of the Prussian Government than in those of the Duchies themselves."

A war immediately commenced, which, with various alternations of success on either side, did not terminate until the month of August.

The Frankfort Assembly immediately passed a vote approving of the conduct of the King of Prussia, and on the 12th of April the following resolutions were carried:—

"1. The Confederation is bound to represent the interests and rights of the Duchy of Holstein in union with Schleswig, and to protect them.

"2. His Majesty the King of Prussia is authorized to endeavour by friendly means to represent to the King of Denmark the necessity of evacuating the Duchy of Schleswig, and, should this be of no avail, to order the troops of the Confederation to conquer it.

"3. The established Provisional Government of these Duchies, in the name of their Duke, is acknowledged by the Confederation, and

is placed for the present under the protection of His Majesty the King of Prussia."

They also ordered that contingents from Hanover, Mecklenburgh, and Oldenburgh, should advance to the scene of action, and cooperate with the Prussian forces.

Upon this, the Danish Ambassador at Frankfort drew up and presented to the Assembly, on the 28th of April, a long protest against the interference of the Confederation, in which he said that he was instructed by his Government to declare that it "cannot by any means admit the competency of the Confederation to make any arrangement whatever in the affairs of Schleswig; much less to decree the incorporation of the said Duchy with the body of the Confederation, contrary to the will and in the face of the protests of its legitimate Sovereign. Besides, such a resolution would be null and void according to sections 6 and 13, Art. III., of the fundamental law, since not a majority of voices, but their unanimity, is requisite to the reception of a new member into the Confederation—for such the King would be as Duke of Schleswig, and since His Majesty, in his quality of Duke of Holstein and Lauenberg, most positively refuses his assent . . . .

"The undersigned is likewise instructed to declare that the Danish Government thinks that an Administrative union of Holstein and Schleswig rests chiefly upon both Duchies remaining united under the Royal sceptre. Regarding the present position of this union he has to make the following declarations:—

"(*a.*) That Schleswig, which never made part of Germany or of the Confederation, exists in an indissoluble union with Denmark, and that this union has been guaranteed by the great Powers—namely, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Austria. That his King is therefore fully entitled to maintain the union, and to secure it against sedition. His Majesty, in so doing, intends, as far as possible, to protect the independence of Schleswig.

"(*b.*) That the development of a radical reorganization, now going on in the Germanic Confederation, that the greater union of Germany must so act on the individual federal states, that they, resigning in part their independence, enter into the condition of federal provinces; that the King is nevertheless prepared to assent to this reorganization for Holstein and Lauenbergh; but that, the more firmly these two duchies become united with Germany, the weaker must be the ties which bind Holstein to Schleswig.

"(*c.*) That there are, indeed, doubts about the succession in Holstein which may lead to a future separation of this Duchy from Schleswig.

"That the King is earnestly desirous, by all loyal means in his power, namely, by negotiations with the interested parties, to remove this uncertainty, and to secure the continuance of the personal union with Holstein. But His Majesty is no less desirous to avoid even the shadow of a suspicion of encroaching upon the rights of those interested in the maintenance of this union, which would be done if the eternal indivisibility of the two Duchies were peremptorily pronounced. . . . .

"In conclusion, the undersigned has to state that the Danish Government have left no means un-

tried to bring about a peaceable understanding, but all endeavours and propositions have been left unnoticed and unanswered by the Prussian Government. If, against all expectation, Prussia and the Confederation persist in this conduct, nothing remains for the Danish Government but to defend its good right with all the means in its power. But, if the Confederation were to pronounce the incorporation of Schleswig, or if federal troops were to enter that Duchy, the Danish Government would be forced to consider such steps as a decided hostile interference."

In order to mark its sense of this unprovoked act of hostility on the part of Germany, the Danish Government, on the 19th of April, laid an embargo on the German vessels in the ports of Denmark, and issued orders to her men-of-war to capture all merchant ships carrying the Prussian flag.

On the 23rd of April (Easter Sunday) the Danes, under the command of General Hedemann, were attacked by General von Wrangel and the Prussians, near Schleswig, and although they were greatly inferior in numbers, and were taken almost by surprise, they made a most gallant resistance, and did not retire until after they had maintained an unequal combat for eight hours. Schleswig now fell into the hands of the Prussians, and the town of Flensbourg was immediately afterwards taken by them. In consequence of these events, the Danish General determined to abandon the main land, and occupy the islands of Alsen and Fünen, which lie on the east coast of Schleswig. Von Wrangel now divided his army, and, on the 1st of May, one division marched into Jutland, which was overrun without any opposition, while the other remained in Schleswig.

On entering Jutland, General Von Wrangel issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which he assured them that they would receive full protection against violence or ill-treatment, and that their property and the national colours would be strictly respected; he exhorted them to remain in their homes with their families, but stated he could not exempt them from the duty of supplying the necessities of the army,—an object in which he called on the legal authorities to give their assistance, and required them to remain at their posts. He also addressed the clergy, requesting them to remain in their respective parishes, and to use all their influence in quieting the fears of their flocks. He added, "Should the officials of the Danish Government not take the course here prescribed to them, the worst consequences for you will be unavoidable, for in this case my troops will be under the necessity of quartering themselves upon you, and seizing, according to their own will, on the means of subsistence, when, with the best disposition, it will be impossible to set bounds to disorders and oppressive and arbitrary conduct. But every calamity which may arise from this source will be attributable to the conduct of your rulers, should they desert you in the moment of peril." He concluded with an exhortation to the people to receive the troops with hospitality, and with a repeated assurance of security for all.

In the meantime the Danish troops were held in readiness to fall upon either of the separated

portions of the Prussian force, and, after making a pretended demonstration against Jutland from Fünen, General Hedemann crossed over to Alsen, and landed his army on Schleswig, where they took up a position within view of the Prussians.

The occupation, however, of Jutland, which was part of the dominions of Denmark Proper, brought another actor upon the stage; and it became obvious that, if the Prussian general persisted in his invasion of the Danish territory, he would have to combat with the power of Sweden, and in all probability draw into the conflict the overwhelming military force of Russia. When the news of the entry into Jutland reached the Court of Stockholm, the Swedish Government made a formal representation on the subject to the Court of Berlin, in which it said: "The Government of Sweden believes that the measures taken by the German Confederation for the defence of the rights of Schleswig Holstein may create a combination of circumstances dangerous to the balance of political power in the north of Europe, inasmuch as the integrity or the existence of Denmark, and thereby the security of the other Scandinavian kingdoms, appear to be threatened by them. Sweden has therefore been compelled to come to the determination, if the territory of Denmark Proper is invaded by the troops of the Confederation, to send a *corps d'armée* into Fünen, or some other of the Danish islands, to be ready to oppose such an invasion on the part of Germany. The Ambassador of Sweden, while communicating this resolution to the Prussian Government, expressly states that this measure on the part of Sweden will be strictly limited to one of a defensive nature; and that the German ships, after its adoption as before, may with perfect safety enter all the Swedish and Norwegian ports as long as reciprocity is observed."

To this declaration the Prussian Government replied by an assurance "that, neither on its own part, nor on that of the German Confederation, does the slightest intention exist of conquering Denmark or any Scandinavian state; as it has already publicly declared and notified to the other Powers of Europe, that the occupation of a part of Jutland is only the necessary reprisal for the seizure by Denmark of German property, and is intended to secure a guarantee of a compensation for those seizures; as soon as the object of this measure is obtained, the German troops will be withdrawn from the Danish territory."

To support its remonstrance, however, the Swedish Government landed a considerable force on the island of Fünen, and a Russian fleet, commanded by the Archduke Constantine, was ordered to cruise along the Danish coast, to be ready for any emergency that might arise. The representations of Sweden had the effect of inducing Prussia to recall her troops from Jutland, though not before an engagement had taken place between them and the Danes, on the 28th of May, in which the latter were successful, and the Prussians were driven back as far as Gravenstein. The Danish Government throughout the struggle seems to have been sincerely desirous of peace, and after the evacuation of Jutland by the enemy their army acted almost wholly on the defensive. The measure upon

which it chiefly relied for the termination of hostilities was a strict blockade of the German Baltic ports, the effect of which it well knew, by impeding the commerce of other nations, would give the great Powers of Europe a direct interest in putting an end to the quarrel. Early in May the ports of Stettin, Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar, Pillau, and Dantzic were declared to be in a state of blockade, and, ultimately, the mouths of the Elbe and Weser were also closed.

On the 5th June, a combined attack of the Prussian and Hanovarian troops was made on the intrenched position of the Danes at Duppeln. The outworks were carried, not without great slaughter on both sides; and the Danes were driven to the rear of their lines. This, however, was for them only stronger ground: the crest of the low hills of Duppeln was commanded by heavy Danish batteries on the opposite island of Alsen, and the gun-boats in the Strait; and, as the Prussians appeared, they were cannonaded with such effect that they were ultimately obliged to yield all their advantages, and allow the Danes to reoccupy their most advanced defences. The battle was renewed next morning, with a more favourable result to the Prussians: but the Danes still held nearly the same position which they occupied on the morning of the 5th.

On the 15th of June, the Danish Government addressed a note to the Ministers of Great Britain, Sweden, and Russia, at Copenhagen, in which it said:—

"In order to deliver Jutland out of the hands of the enemy, who carried his oppression so far as, under a threat of military execution, to exact an enormous contribution of 2,000,000 specie (dollars), the Danish Government was, about the end of May, resolved to concentrate on the Isle of Alsen a force of sufficient strength to attack and surprise the corps commanded by General Halkett at Sundewitt. All necessary preparations were made for the execution of this plan, when we suddenly received the unexpected news that the Prussian troops had evacuated Jutland.

"Though ignorant of the precise motives which caused an event which General Wrangel, too, had certainly not expected, the King's Government was inclined to consider it as a preliminary result of the good offices of the two friendly Powers who had promised Denmark their kind concurrence in putting a term to the arbitrary proceedings of Prussia and of the Germanic Confederation. The King's Government wished as much as possible to remove any obstacle to the success of their noble efforts, and therefore it thought itself bound to avoid provoking the enemy to an engagement. It did not lose one moment in counter-ordering the prepared attack; but the distance between Copenhagen and the scene of action, and the otherwise praiseworthy eagerness with which the commander of the Danish troops executed the order he had received, did not, to the great regret of the Government, allow it to prevent the combat of the 28th of May.

"Since that time the Danish army has merely acted defensively, and though it vigorously repulsed, on the 5th instant, an unforeseen attack of the hostile forces, who were far stronger in numbers,

General Hedemann has been expressly ordered to act merely on the defensive, until he shall receive further orders."

The result of the active interference of the King of Sweden in this tedious contest was, that Count Portalis was sent from the Court of Berlin to that Monarch, in order to arrange the terms of an armistice between Germany and Denmark. Many delays took place, and at one time the negotiations were broken off; but an armistice was ultimately concluded between the Plenipotentiaries at Malmö, on the 26th of August, which was to last for seven months. The following were the principal provisions:—

"The blockade established by the naval forces of His Danish Majesty shall cease, and orders to this effect shall at once be sent to the commander of the Danish men-of-war.

"All prisoners of war, and all political prisoners, shall at once be liberated without delay or restriction.

"All vessels that have been captured since the commencement of the war, and on which an embargo has been laid, shall be returned with their cargoes within ten days after the signing of the armistice. This space of time has been thought necessary, on the one hand to prepare these vessels for sea, and on the other to effect the evacuation of the Duchies. Prussia admits the indemnity claimed by Denmark for the requisitions levied on Jutland, and Denmark engages to refund the value of the cargoes that have been disposed of and which cannot be restored *in naturâ*.

"The two Duchies, as well as the islands belonging to them, shall at once be altogether evacuated by the Danish and by the German federal troops. But the King of Denmark shall be allowed to guard with 400 men the hospitals, and storehouses, and military establishments on the Island of Alsen. On the other hand, an equal number of federal troops shall be allowed, for a similar purpose, to remain in the city of Altona, and in other places where there are military hospitals and establishments.

"The two contracting parties, being desirous as speedily as possible to restore order and tranquillity in the Duchies, are agreed that the mode of administration which was in force previous to the events of March shall be re-established while the armistice lasts. The collective Administration of the two Duchies shall be composed of five Members, to be taken from the gentry of the Duchies, and who enjoy general respect and consideration. They shall administer the affairs of the Duchies after the existing laws and ordinances, in the name of the King of Denmark, in his quality as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, and with the same authority, always excepting the Legislative Power.

"Two of these Members shall be chosen by the King of Denmark for the Duchy of Schleswig, and two by the King of Prussia, acting in the name of the Germanic Confederation, for the Duchy of Holstein. These four Members shall choose a fifth, to be the President of the collective Administration of the Duchies; and, if they cannot agree on this choice, then shall Great Britain, in her quality as mediating Power, be invited to nominate this fifth Member from among the inhabit-

ants of one of the Duchies. It is understood that neither the Members of the Administration of and before the 17th of March, nor of those of whom the Provisional Government was since composed, can form part of this new Administration. The same shall with all possible speed enter upon its functions—that is to say, at the latest a fortnight after the signature of this present Convention.

"The contracting parties claim the guarantee of Great Britain for the strict execution of the articles of this present Convention of an armistice.

"It is expressly understood that the articles of this Convention shall nowise prejudice the conditions of a definitive peace, and that neither Denmark nor the Confederation give up any of the pretensions or rights which they have respectively asserted."

Thus terminated for the time a contest, which seems to have been conducted on the part of Denmark with moderation as well as firmness, and the result of which showed that, if it is again renewed, both Sweden and Russia are not likely to remain inactive spectators, but join the Danish forces in repelling any hostile interference on the part of the Germanic Confederation. The pretensions of the latter body to consider Holstein as incorporated with it are not opposed by Denmark; but she justly refuses to make the same concession as regards Schleswig; and so long as the quarrel is confined to that question, and to the demand of an indissoluble union betweent he two Duchies, our sympathies must be enlisted on the side of Denmark in the contest.

On the 23rd of October the King opened the Session of the Danish Diet with the following Speech from the Throne:—

"*Men of Denmark,*—

"It is with great joy and comfort that I see myself for the first time surrounded by the elected representatives of my faithful Danish people. The love and unanimity with which they upheld the cause sacred to me and the country in those difficult days since I have ascended my father's throne are to me a pledge that a better time will soon dawn upon our suffering country, which has been so severely visited by violence and dissension. With a deeply felt consciousness of these past days, I now proceed to discuss, with the elected of my people, that Constitution which by my free Royal resolve I promised you, and by which it is my desire, my hope, and my pride, to consolidate the ancient glory and happiness of Denmark. I submit to you, by my Ministers, to whom I reserve the free access to the Assembly, and the right to speak therein, if necessary, the draught of the Constitution; and I rely implicity on your faithful and energetic co-operation, in order that a conclusive arrangement of this important affair may be accomplished by the present Diet, who are here assembled for that purpose. Should this, however, not be the case, it is, nevertheless, not my intention to let that Constitution be carried into effect until I have first submitted it to a new Diet. May the blessing of God rest upon you and your endeavours, so that our beloved country may obtain honour, happiness, and peace!"

NETHERLANDS.—The kingdom of Holland presented this

year a pleasing contrast to the other continental States, in the absence of any revolutionary excitement; but, in the month of March, a Royal decree appeared, by which a Committee was nominated for the purpose of revising the Constitution. It was as follows:—

"We William II., by the grace of God King of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange Nassau, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, &c.

"Considering the communication of the second Chamber of the States-General expresses divers wishes relative to the enlargement of the fundamental law;

"Considering that it is our desire, in unison with this communication of one of the branches of the legislative body, to frame and present a fundamental law, and at the same time to nominate heads of the departments of the general Government to concert on the basis of the fundamental law;

"Considering that on the one hand it is our duty to take all the necessary preliminary measures, while it is our duty on the other hand to guard against any precipitate measures which might lead to adverse results;

"We have decreed and decree—

"1. To nominate a Committee which, in accordance with the wishes of the Second Chamber of the States-General, shall lay before us a complete sketch of the basis of the fundamental law, and after that their formation of a Ministry.

"2. The following gentlemen are appointed Members of this Committee:—Dirk Donker Curtius, J. M. de Kempenaer, L. C. Luzac, L. D. Storm, J. R. Thorbecke.

"Copies of this decree shall be sent to the two Chambers of the States-General, to the departments of general government, to the Privy Council, and also to the appointed Members of the Committee, for their information.

"WILLIAM.

"The Hague, March 17, 1848.

"On the part of the King, Privy Councillor, and Prime Minister,

"A. G. A. VAN RAPPARD."

BELGIUM. — Serious apprehensions were not unreasonably felt that Belgium might be drawn into the vortex of the French Revolution; for it was well known that, at the time when Leopold was called to the throne after the severance of Belgium from Holland, there was a strong republican party in the former kingdom, which might now be disposed to sympathize with the republicans of France. But experience had made them wiser. Not long after the events of February in Paris, a party of French malcontents did actually cross the frontier for the purpose of exciting an insurrection at Belgium; but, on their arrival by the Great Northern Railway, they found themselves surrounded by the military, and their mischievous designs were at once stopped. The population of Belgium showed no disposition to join them, and a remarkable document appeared from the pen of M. Potter, who had been one of the most conspicuous advocates of a Republic at the period of the Belgian revolution, in which he strongly exhorted his countrymen to be content with the blessings they enjoyed under a monarchical form of Government, the results of which had been so beneficial to the kingdom.

On the 26th of June, the Session of the Belgian Chambers was

opened by the King, who thus alluded to the aspect of the times:

"In presence of the agitation which so deeply excites Europe, Belgium has remained calm, confiding, and strong. The changes in the political state of several nations have not in any way altered our good international relations. Our official relations with the French Republic have been established on terms of mutual goodwill. From all parts we have received testimonies of sympathy and esteem. . . . . By means of the financial measures voted last Session, our patriotic army has been maintained on a respectable footing of defence; we have sustained employment; the public treasury has been able to fulfil faithfully all its obligations, and the burden of the floating debt has ceased to press on credit. The future will recompense the sacrifices of the past. . . . .

"We are passing through a period of difficulty for European society. Belgium will not allow herself to be diverted from the wise and sure path in which she has entered. By happy union, she has been enabled to reconcile stability with progress, and order with the practice of liberty in every shape."

CHAPTER XII.

GERMANY.—*Reflections on the Political state of Germany—Popular demands in the South-Western States—Riots at Cologne and Wiesbaden.* HESSE CASSEL.—*Commencement of Insurrection, and Concessions by the Elector.* BAVARIA.—*Ignoble conduct of the King—Riots occasioned by the presence of Lola Montes—She is ordered to quit Munich—Abdication of Louis in favour of his Son—The Chambers opened by Maximilian II.—His Speech on the occasion.* SAXONY.—*Popular tumults at Dresden—Change of Ministry—Programme of policy of new Cabinet.* HANOVER.—*Reply of the King to Petition of the Magistrates—Royal Proclamation—Meeting of General Assembly, and Speech of the King.*

Renunciation of Seignorial rights by Prince Von Leinengen—Meeting at Heidelberg on the 5th of May—Vor-Parlament convoked—Second great Meeting at Heidelberg on the 26th of March—Speech of Welcker—Meeting of the Vor-Parlament at Frankfort—Election of President—Committee of Fifty appointed—Bands of Insurgent Democrats defeated by the Troops of the Diet—Meeting of the German National Assembly at Frankfort—Discussion on the question of a Central Executive Power—Law passed on the subject—The Archduke John of Austria elected Regent of the Empire—Recognition of this choice by the old Diet—Address to the Archduke—His Reply to the Deputation—Report of Committee on Plan of a Constitution—Installation of the Regent at Frankfort—Appointment of a Ministry—Abolition of Capital Punishments—Question of the Armistice of Malmö—Violent conduct of the Radical party in the Assembly, and of the Populace—Tumultuous scenes—The Military act against the Mob—Combat in the streets—Defeat of the Insurgents—Murders of Prince Lichnowsky and Major Auerswald—Proclamation by the Regent—The question of Austria and the German Parliament.

RUSSIA.—*Policy of Russia—Manifesto of the Emperor—Circular of the Russian Government addressed to its Diplomatic Agents in Germany.*

GERMANY.—We have seen in the narrative of the affairs of Italy that the effects of the French Revolution were not confined to the country which gave it birth. The state of Europe was such that the shock was almost immediately communicated to the different kingdoms of the Continent, and in some caused vibrations terminating in catastrophes as signal as that which occurred in France. This

was especially the case in that vast assemblage of nations to which we apply the general name of Germany, comprising nearly forty millions of men. Amongst them political institutions had been gradually undermined by an undercurrent of agitation, of which the tendency was to establish democracy in its most dangerous form; for the speculative mind of the Germans loves to push theories to their utmost limits, and knows little of that homely kind of wisdom which is derived from the best of all teachers—practical experience. And, in addition to this, they had had little or no opportunity of determining for themselves within what limits the masses can be safely trusted with self-government; for, although in some States, as in Prussia, arbitrary power was partially disguised under the veil of Constitutional forms, the authority of the reigning family in each State was in fact paramount, and the will of the Monarch and his Ministers dictated the law. But a people so intelligent and inquisitive as the Germans were not likely to remain in an age like this contented spectators of a political freedom enjoyed by others, but denied to themselves, and they only waited for the opportunity to translate into action the theories and doctrines which had long been the favourite theme of some of their most popular writers.

Such an opportunity was the outbreak of the French Revolution in February in the present year, and the result was unexampled in history. Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Powers were then scattered like leaves before a storm. Never before had been witnessed such an upheaving of society throughout so vast an extent. Greater changes had for a time been wrought when the armies of Napoleon traversed Europe from Paris to Moscow, and every capital was entered by a victorious foe. But those attacks were from without: the nations bowed their heads like willows to the blast for a time, but when it had swept past they stood erect again, and, in the eloquent words of Mr. Canning, after the deluge of conquest had subsided, the spires and turrets of ancient institutions reappeared. Now, however, the shock that was felt was from the throes of intestine convulsion: class was arrayed against class; the burghers against the army; and a war of opinion as well as of the sword has commenced, of which no man can venture to prophesy the result.

In the wild outbreak against constituted authority, which has rendered this year so memorable in the annals of Europe and the world, the populace of the different capitals, and especially in Italy, have shown in their hour of triumph how dangerous is power in the hands of a democracy. They have verified the wisdom of those lines in Schiller's *Wallenstein*:—

> "The human being
> May not be trusted with self-government;
> The clear and written law, the deep-trod footmarks
> Of ancient custom are all necessary
> To keep him in the road of faith and duty."

In order to give a clear and distinct narrative of the complicated events which have taken place during the present year in Germany, we have had to consider carefully the question of arrangement; for, independently of the revolutionary movements in the separate kingdoms, there has been a long-sustained attempt to con-

struct a new German nationality on the basis of a Confederation of all the States, with one general Parliament or Diet, and a Central Executive at Frankfort, so that there has been a certain degree of interference exercised by the representatives assembled in that city from different parts of Germany on the political events that happened in the various kingdoms. We think that the most convenient course to adopt will be to combine under the head of Germany such details as relate to what we may call the National Movement, and also an account of the chief disturbances that took place in the less important States, reserving for separate narratives, under their appropriate titles, the histories of the two great Kingdoms of Prussia and Austria.

To borrow an illustration from astronomy, we may compare the complicated political movements of the last twelve months in Germany to the action of the planetary system. Each planet has its own separate motion, and is not only subject to the disturbing forces of all the others, but is itself a disturbing force; while, at the same time, there is the overruling and controlling power of the sun in the centre, by which they are retained in their respective orbits. So the different States of Germany were each the scene of revolutionary fury, the example of one influencing another; but all cherished the idea of a central unity, and looked to the Assembly at Frankfort as the national centre, from which was to radiate the administration of one vast German Empire. When we consider the variety of customs and laws, and the difference in the political and social condition of the numerous kingdoms that extend—to use a favourite phrase of the Germans—

"So weit die deutsche zunge klingt,"
Far as the German tongue is heard,

we may well regard such a scheme as impracticable and hopeless. The individualities of nations are too strong to admit of such a fusion as would be necessary to give a scheme like this any chance of success.

It was in the South-Western States of Germany that the effects of the French Revolution began first to manifest themselves. On the 29th of February, the Grand Duke of Baden received a deputation from his subjects, who demanded liberty of the press, the establishment of a national guard, and trial by jury. They succeeded in their object; and M. Welcker, who had distinguished himself as a Liberal leader, was appointed one of the Ministers.

On the 3rd of March, the Rhenish provinces, headed by Cologne, followed the same example. On the 4th, similar demonstrations took place at Wiesbaden and Frankfort, and, on the 5th, at Dusseldorf. At Cologne, on the 3rd of March, the populace assembled in crowds before the Stadt-Haus, or Hôtel de Ville, where the Town Council were sitting, and riotously demanded the concession of certain rights, which were inscribed on slips of paper, and handed about amongst the mob. They were as follows:—

"1. Universal sufferage; all legislation and government to proceed from the people. 2. Liberty of the press, and freedom of speech. 3. Abolition of the standing army, and armament of the people, who are to elect their own officers. 4. Full right of public meeting. 5. Protection to labour, and a guarantee for the supply of all necessaries. 6. State education for all children."

The military were, however, called out, and the streets were cleared without much difficulty.

At Wiesbaden, in Nassau, a large concourse of people met opposite the Palace, on the 4th, and demanded a general arming of the people under their own elective leaders; entire liberty of the press; a German Parliament; right of public meeting; public and oral trial by jury; the control of the Duchy domain; convocation of the Second Chamber to frame a new electoral law on the basis of population, and to remove all restrictions on religious liberty. The Duke was absent at Berlin; but the Duchess, from the balcony of the Palace, assured the people that their demands would be fully conceded by the Duke, her step-son. Subsequently appeared a proclamation, in which the Duchess *guaranteed* the concession of these demands; and on the same day, in the afternoon, the Duke returned, and, immediately addressing the people, he ratified all the concessions made by the Duchess and his Ministers.

HESSE CASSEL.—In Hesse Cassel the disturbances were of a very serious character. On the 8th of March, a deputation from Hanau, one of the two largest towns in the Electorate, proceeded to the Palace of the Elector, and demanded the following terms as the ultimatum with which alone they would be satisfied:—

"1. A new Ministry to be appointed, possessing the confidence of the people.

"2. The Chamber to be dissolved, and a new election held forthwith.

"3. Entire freedom of the press in conformity with the promise contained in the 95th article of the Constitution.

"4. A complete amnesty for all political offences since 1830.

"5. Religious liberty.

"6. Intervention with the Diet to procure a representation of Germany. A revocation of all decrees forbidding the exercise of constitutional rights, particularly those of petitioning and holding public meetings.

"7. A formal promise that the laws announced in the proclamation of the 7th, and all others since become necessary, shall be presented for consideration at the next meeting of the States.

"8. If at the end of three days the Elector shall not have published his answer, the Deputation will consider it as a refusal."

As the Deputies did not return so soon as their fellow-townsmen expected, the latter made immediate preparations for active resistance. They erected large barricades in the principal streets, composed of waggons, trees, and stones, and ploughshares stuck into the barriers, with the points turned outside. They then invited the people of the neighbouring towns to join them. One of these, Bockenheim, is a small place detached from the rest of the electorate lying to the west of Frankfort, Hanau being to the east. The Bockenheim patriots, to the number of 1000, or more, marched through Frankfort, armed with guns, swords, pistols, and scythes placed on long poles; but happily no necessity for a hostile collision occurred, for the Elector gave way, and yielded to the demands of the people, so that the armed demonstration was converted into a peaceful procession, and all the towns and villages in the Electorate were illuminated.

BAVARIA.—The discreditable conduct of the doting old King of Bavaria, in his open *liaison* with a wandering actress who had assumed the name of Lola Montes, but who was in reality the eloped wife of an Englishman, and whom he had created a Bavarian countess by the title of Gräfin de Lansfeldt, had thoroughly alienated the hearts of his subjects; and it would have perhaps been difficult for him, even in ordinary times, to have retained the throne without an entire change in his policy. But he preferred his mistress to his Crown; and, when the storm of revolution approached his capital, he did not hesitate to abandon the throne in favour of his son Maximilian. It would be profitless to detail the various riots and tumultuary scenes at Munich, which were chiefly occasioned by the scandal arising from the presence of Lola Montes, whom King Louis in vain attempted to shelter against the popular displeasure. The students as usual bore an active part in the disturbances; and the King, in a fit of passion, ordered the University to be closed for a year, and every student, not being a townsman, to quit Munich in forty-eight hours. This order was, however, soon recalled; and at the beginning of February, the *teterrima causa belli*, Lola Montes, was commanded by the King to leave his capital. She complied at the moment, but returned on the 12th, and reappeared in the city dressed in male attire. She had gone only to Stahrenberg, three leagues from Munich, and made a last attempt to penetrate into the Royal palace. Ten or twelve students, as her body-guard, escorted her. The moment the return of the Royal mistress became known, the people assembled, and strict inquiry was made to discover her hiding-place. Prince Wallerstein caused her to be arrested by gendarmes, placed in a post-chaise, and sent off to Switzerland. She reached Augsburg in the afternoon, and three students accompanied her in the carriage with two police officers. On leaving Munich, she said, "The King will abdicate, and follow me into exile." The event proved that she was right.

Early in March the people demanded the immediate convocation of the Chambers, the liberty of the press, that judicial trials should be public, that an electoral reform should be granted, and that the army should take an oath to observe the Constitution. The King refused to convoke the Chambers before the end of May. A cry of "to arms" was raised throughout the city, and on the 4th of that month the Arsenal was attacked by the people, and captured after a short engagement. More than 6000 men, armed with muskets, sabres, hatchets, lances, and halberts, marched against the Royal palace. Having arrived at the market-place, the crowd met the troops. But neither the cuirassiers nor the troops of the line would charge when commanded to do so. Cries of "The Republic for ever" were raised. At length the King yielded to all the demands of the people; and Prince Charles, the King's brother, rode up and assured the crowd, on his word of honour, that the King had consented to convoke the Chambers for the 16th of that month, and that he granted all that the people desired. The people then returned the arms to the Arsenal, and afterwards dispersed quietly.

Fresh tumults, however, oc-

curred, and on the 21st of March King Louis announced his resignation of the crown to his son, in the following proclamation :—

"*Bavarians,*—

"A new state of feeling has commenced—a state which differs essentially from that embodied in the constitutional code agreeably to which I have now governed twenty-three years. I resign my crown in favour of my beloved son the Crown Prince Maximilian. My Government has been in strict accordance with the Constitution —my life has been dedicated to the welfare of my people. I have administered the public property and the public money as if I had been a Republican officer, and I can boldly encounter the most scrutinizing eye. I offer my heartfelt thanks to all who adhered to me faithfully, and, though I descend from the throne, my heart yet glows with affection for Bavaria and for Germany.

"LUDWIG.

"Munich, March 21, 1848."

On the following day, the new King, Maximilian II., opened the Chambers in a speech which was received with great applause. After paying a graceful compliment to his father, he proceeded to declare that he had determined to grant a full amnesty for political offences, and that projects of law would be immediately submitted to the Chambers, securing the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown, perfect liberty of the press, a proper representation of the people of the whole kingdom, including the Palatinate, the abolition of certain oppressive taxes, the promulgation of a new penal code, trial by jury, and the right of open courts. His Majesty also promised the institution of the Landwehr, and the emancipation of the Jews, and concluded by assuring the Assembly that he would do his best to secure a national German representation.

SAXONY.—At Dresden popular tumults occurred early in March, and on the 16th of that month a change of Ministry took place. The new Cabinet consisted of the following members :—Dr. Braun, Minister of Justice; Dr. Von der Pfordten, Minister of the Interior and (*ad interim*) of Foreign Affairs; M. Georgi, Minister of Finance; and M. Von Holtzendorf, Provisional Minister of War.

They immediately issued a programme of their future policy, in which they stated that they had "unanimously agreed to the following fundamental principles and measures—viz., the swearing of the troops to the constitution; the abolition of the censorship for ever; a press law, without the system of concessions and securities; reform of the legal system on the basis of publicity and oral process; trial of penal offences by jury; reform of the electoral law; recognition of the right of association, with precautionary measures against abuse; legal arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in the spirit of toleration and equality; proposal for the revision of the federal tariff (*Verein-zolltarif*); co-operation for the timely formation of the Great German Confederation, and the representation of the people therein."

HANOVER.—In Hanover also the King yielded to the stern pressure of the times. Early in March the magistrates addressed a petition to him, demanding the liberty

of the press, the representation of the people in the Germanic Diet, and the immediate convocation of the States.

On the 8th of this month, His Majesty replied in a speech of considerable length, and, after reminding the petitioners of the prosperity of the kingdom during the years which had elapsed since he began to reign, declared that he had no objection to a proper liberty of the press, established under certain guarantees. As for the States of the kingdom, he had summoned them to meet at the end of the month. The demand for the representation of the people at the Germanic Diet was the most difficult question of all. For himself, he did not see how such a demand could be realized under the existing order of things, nor did he think that the petitioners would be able to suggest any satisfactory means for bringing it about. He would, however, give the subject every attention. His Majesty concluded by expressing his conviction that his loyal Hanoverians would stand by him in any state emergency, and assured them that he was ready, old as he was, to pour out the last drop of his blood in proof of his affection towards his faithful subjects.

The King also called to his councils M. Stübe, the liberal Deputy of Osnabrück, who had been imprisoned for several years, for refusing to assent to some measures which he considered arbitrary and unconstitutional when the King succeeded to the crown of Hanover. On the 20th of March the King issued the following Royal proclamation:—

"*Hanoverians,*—

"In answer to many representations which have reached me, I have already abolished the censorship of the press, permitted the publication of the proceedings in the Estates, recognised the right of association, granted the desired amnesty and restoration of rights to all who have been condemned for political offences—a concession which I now by these presents expressly declare—and with regard to several other points promised further consideration and legislation: but I can do nothing more until the Estates of the Kingdom are assembled; with which view I have given orders that by the time they meet all necessary preparatory measures shall have been taken.

"In particular, I will, under the now essentially altered position of all Germany, lay before the Estates proposals for a change in the constitution of the country, which change shall be based upon the responsibility of the Ministry to the country, and upon the union of the Royal Treasury with that of the Country."

The General Assembly of the Estates of the kingdom took place early in April; and, in an answer to an Address presented by the Deputies, the King said:—

"I place the most implicit confidence in my faithful Hanoverians; and be assured, gentlemen, that such is my affection for my people that it is my earnest desire, as much as it can be the desire of any man living, to further their happiness. I have not for a moment endeavoured to conceal from myself the difficulties of our situation, although none of those lamentable occurrences have taken place here that have distracted other countries. I will ever be true and faithful to my people, and shall remain among you so

long as, with the help of Ministers, I can serve the country, and most energetically will I carry out all that I have promised. Should it, however, unfortunately appear that I can no longer be of use to the country, that anarchy arises, or that demands are made of me which it would be incompatible with my honour to comply with, and that, consequently, I cannot conscientiously conduct the government of the country, in that case, gentlemen, you will not be surprised that I resign and depart from hence. You may depend that I shall then carry out this resolution."

As an example of the effects of the popular movements which were everywhere going on, and of the necessity which was felt by the privileged classes of instant concession, to stop, if possible, the torrent of revolution that threatened to sweep away all institutions, we give the following declaration which the Prince of Leinengen addressed, on the 11th of April, to the King of Bavaria, the object of which was to contribute to remove "the barriers which separate the various classes of persons possessing property, in so far as those barriers prevent a closer union between those classes."

The Prince said: "I, accordingly, place at the disposal of your Majesty's Government all those rights and privileges constitutionally secured to me by the edict regulating the lawful position of the former Electoral Princes, Counts, and Lords of landed estates; and I pray that these rights and privileges may be made use of as soon as they shall be deemed serviceable for the welfare of the State.

"In the meanwhile, I immediately renounce the following—being those, the surrender of which is, in my opinion, most imperatively required.

"1. I give up all judicial, police, and forest jurisdiction in my possessions in Lower Franconia and Upper Bavaria, on condition of the removal of all privileged appointments and pensions thereunto appertaining in my seignorial estates in Amorbach and Miltenberg, and in my patrimonial estate of Hohenberg, and the abolition of the forest privileges as far as relates to the jurisdiction of the communal forests.

"2. I renounce the patronage of churches and schools, on condition of the abolition of the burdens imposed on the same.

"3. I renounce the privilege of judicature.

"I renounce the privilege of Siegelmässigkeit.

"When, by the union of the classes possessing property, freedom and law shall be firmly established, rights and possessions secured against arbitrary aggression from whatever quarter emanating, then it will become a sacred duty to turn attention to the condition of the poor labouring population, and by wise legislation and other appropriate measures to place them in such improved circumstances as will insure their ready co-operation in the preservation of order."

On the 2nd of March the subject of a general representation of the different States of the German nation was discussed in the assembly of the States of Baden; and, on the 5th of that month, fifty-one Germans of note and distinction, who were nearly all members of the different Chambers of Prussia, Bavaria, Frankfort, and other

States, met at Heidelberg, and passed various resolutions, the most important of which were the following:—

"Germany must not be engaged in a war, either through her intervention in a neighbouring country or her non-recognition of the new order of things which has there occurred.

"The Germans will not be induced to deprive other nations of that liberty and independence which they have earned as their right. The sole defence of the Germans and their Princes must be in the tried fidelity and courage of the nation; and not, under any circumstances, in a Russian alliance.

"A representative assembly, chosen by all the German States, in proportion to their numbers, is a measure of imperious necessity, as much for the purpose of averting all danger, external or internal, as for developing the energy and prosperity of the country.

"With this view seven members of the Assembly have been appointed to prepare a scheme for the organization of a national assembly, suited to the wants of the country, and with this committee all Germans are requested to communicate."

A Committee of seven, consisting of MM. Binding, Von Gagern, Hergenhahn, Römer, Stedtmann, Welcker, and Willich, was accordingly appointed to draw up the plan of a new German Parliament, and a preliminary meeting, or *Vor-Parlament*, was convoked for the 30th of March at Frankfort.

When the Diet (*i. e.* the Assembly of German Representatives under the old *régime*) met there, on the 8th of March, the Graf von Blittersdorf, Deputy or Envoy from Baden, proposed that they should invite, to take part in their deliberations, seventeen of the most popular leaders of the German people; and, in conformity with this view, overtures were made to MM. Welcker, Von Gagern, Wangenheim, Jordan, and others, to join the ranks of the Diet.

On the 26th of March a great meeting took place at Heidelberg, where 30,000 Germans assembled in and around the ruins of the magnificent castle there, and soul-stirring speeches were made by Mittermayer, Hecker, Gervinus, Welcker, and others. Welcker, amidst loud applause, pointed to England as the model of constitutional liberty, and called upon his countrymen to avoid the example of France. He said, "Do not mistake licence for liberty, nor suppose that, because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. Far be such a thought from us: let us progress, but steadily and thoughtfully; let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national parliament; let us be citizens of one united country; *but do not think such an object can be attained by proclaiming a Republic.* Look to France: she now, for the second time, possesses that form of Government, in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her present condition? What her future prospects? To say the least, they are not encouraging; and I am delighted that among my own countrymen no desire has been expressed to follow in her steps. But regard the present condition of England"—[here the speaker was interrupted by thunders of applause]—"let her be our model: she has long enjoyed free institutions; she alone now remains unshaken by the storm which is howling around;

and it is to her we must look as our model and our guide."

The *Vor-Parlament*, consisting of 500 members, met in the Römer at Frankfort, on the 30th of March, the day which had been previously agreed upon, and resolutions were passed determining the mode of election for the Great National Assembly, which was to be convoked without delay. They were as follows:—

"The Federative Assembly resolves to call upon the Federal Governments to cause national representatives to be elected in their German States, which election shall be either held in the manner which the constitution of the respective countries prescribes, or, if there be no such constitutional manner, then shall the same be introduced. These national representatives shall assemble in this town, the same being the seat of the Federative Assembly, and they shall try to effect a German Constitution between the Princes and their people. Since circumstances tend to necessitate the adoption of a certain standard of the population, according to which the said national representatives are to be chosen in each federative State, it has appeared convenient to found these proceedings on the existing condition of federative matriculation, and the Federative Assembly ordains that one representative should be elected to each 70,000 souls of each federative State, but that such States, the population of which does not amount to the aforesaid number of 70,000 souls, shall nevertheless be entitled to elect one representative."

Next day (March 31st) the election of President took place, and M. Mittermayer was nominated to that office. MM. Dahlmann, Itzstein, Blum, and Jordan were also chosen to act as Vice-Presidents. The functions of this Assembly were merely of a preparatory nature, and were limited to a discussion and adoption of electoral rights and forms. Having determined the basis upon which the representation of all the German States in the ensuing Assembly was to be founded, and having voted unanimously that the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein should be invited to send deputies, as being part of the German Confederation, they broke up the meeting, but left at Frankfort a permanent Committee of fifty members, to act as a kind of governing council until the 18th of May, when the National Parliament was to assemble.

To add to the confusion in which the affairs of Germany were plunged, bands of insurgent desperadoes formed themselves into a kind of flying army in the southern part of that country, under the command of two democrat leaders, Hecker and Struve, and they occasioned much alarm. They were, however, defeated by the troops of the German Diet, on the 20th of April, on the heights of Schlechtenau, not far from Raudern, where Struve was made a prisoner, although Hecker escaped to Basle. General Von Gagern, who commanded the troops of the Diet (but who must not be confounded with Baron Von Gagern, the eloquent member of the German Parliament), was killed by a rifle-shot during the action.

On the 18th of May, the members of the first German National Assembly met at Frankfort, and a message was sent to it without delay from the Diet, in which the latter expressed its desire to act in friendly unison and co-operation with the newly elected represen-

tatives of the great German family. Next day Baron Von Gagern and Von Soiron were elected, *ad interim*, President and Vice-President of the Assembly.

The chief occupation of the newly elected body for some weeks was to determine the nature and limits of the authority which it became necessary to lodge in some Central Executive power, in order to insure anything like unity of action in the various federative States. It was not until the 28th of June that the debate terminated, and the *projet de loi* was put to the vote by separate paragraphs. The result was, that M. Soiron announced to the Assembly the following as the "law on the creation of a Provisional Central Power for Germany:"—

"I. Until a Government be definitively created for Germany, a Provisional Central Power shall be formed for the administration of all affairs which affect the whole of the German nation.

"II. The Central Power shall, 1st, act as executive in all affairs that relate to the safety and welfare of the nation in general; 2nd, it shall take the supreme direction of the whole of the armed forces, and nominate the Commander-in-Chief; 3rd, it shall provide for the political and commercial representation of Germany, and to this end appoint ambassadors and consuls.

"III. The creation of the constitution remains excluded from the sphere of action of the Central Power.

"IV. The Central Power decides on questions of war and peace, and in connexion with the National Assembly it concludes treaties with foreign Powers.

"V. The Provisional Central Power is confided to a Regent (*reichsverweser*), whom the National Assembly elects. Upon this article the votes were—Ayes, 373; Noes, 175.

"VI. The Regent exercises his power by Ministers whom he nominates, but who are responsible to the National Assembly. All his decrees, to be valid, must be countersigned by at least one responsible Minister.

"VII. The Regent is irresponsible.

"VIII. The National Assembly will, by a special law, fix the limits of Ministerial responsibility.

"IX. The Ministers are entitled to be present during the sittings of the National Assembly, and to be heard by the same.

"X. The Ministers are bound, on the demand of the National Assembly, to appear before the same and to give information.

"XI. They have the right of voting in the National Assembly only when they are elected as members of the same.

"XII. The position of the Regent is incompatible with the office of member of the National Assembly.

"XIII. The German Diet ceases from the moment that the Central Power begins to exercise its functions. This was carried by an immense majority—Ayes, 510; Noes, 35.

"XIV. The Provisional Central Power shall in its executive capacity act as far as compatible with its duty in understanding with the Plenipotentiaries of the German Governments.

"XV. The action of the Provisional Central Power ceases as soon as the constitution for Germany is completed."

The whole of this law was carried by 450 against 100 votes.

On the following day the Assembly proceeded to elect the Lord Lieutenant, or Regent, of the German Empire (*Reichsverweser*). The President, Von Gagern, proposed the important question, and in doing so said, "I now proceed to put the matter to the vote, that the National Assembly may choose the provisional paramount Head of the Empire. Whoever he may be, let us resolve to support him in the discharge of his high and important office with all the zeal and all the powers we can command."

The favourite candidate was the Archduke John of Austria, uncle of Ferdinand, the Emperor of Austria, born 20th of January, 1782, and therefore at this period 67 years of age. He was elected by a large majority, the numbers being—

For Archduke John of Austria, 436.
For Heinrich von Gagern (the President), 52.
For John Adam von Itsztein, 32.
For Archduke Stephen, Viceroy of Hungary, 1.

The announcement of the result was received with great cheering from all parts of the Church of St. Paul, within which the Parliament was assembled. The President then rose, and said:—

"I proclaim, therefore, Archduke John of Austria Lieutenant-General of Germany. May he be the object of our devotion, the founder of our unity, the preserver of our freedom, and the restorer among us of order and of peace. Once more let us cry long life to him."

An important and significant recognition of these acts of the German Parliament or National Assembly occurred in the adoption of their choice of the Archduke John as Regent by the *Diet*, which, as our readers are aware, was sitting at Frankfort simultaneously with the younger and more powerful Assembly, and represented the old Federal Government of Germany under the provisions determined on at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This august body placed in the hands of the deputation of members from the Parliament, which was on the point of leaving Frankfort for Vienna to announce to the Archduke John that their choice had fallen upon him, a letter addressed to that Prince, in which they said:—

"The German National Assembly has just elected your Imperial Highness as Regent of our fatherland.

"The Diet joins the whole of the nation in their veneration for your Imperial Highness; it sympathizes with the patriotism which produced this great event, and with the firm conviction that this election will be a harbinger of national prosperity, and the firmest pledge of the unity, power, honour, and liberty of our common country.

"The Diet hastens to express to your Imperial Highness these convictions and sentiments.

"The Diet feels the greatest satisfaction in assuring your Imperial Highness that its plenipotentiaries were, even *before* the conclusion of the debate on the creation of a Provisional Central Power, instructed by their respective Governments to declare in favour of the election of your Imperial Highness to so a high a vocation."

This letter was signed on behalf of the German Diet by the President, Chevalier Schmerling.

The Deputation then proceeded to Vienna, and was received by the Archduke in the Imperial Palace, where he stood surrounded by ministers and ambassadors from the various German states, together with a numerous staff. In reply to the Address, he said :—

"I feel flattered and honoured by my election to the important office of a Regent. The Diet has informed me of the assent of the German Governments to this election.

"The confidence and kind feelings thus shown me place me under great obligations. I am fully sensible of the honour, but also of the importance and the difficulties, of the dignity you have conferred upon me. May God strengthen me to justify that confidence for the welfare of the German nation! . . . .

"I intend at once to communicate with the Emperor, my most gracious Lord, in order to effect an understanding about the manner in which the duties of my new position may be reconciled to the confidence he places in me."

At the end of June the Committee of seventeen, to whom had been intrusted the task of preparing the draft of a constitution for United Germany, presented their report to the Assembly, which contained the following leading features:—The German Empire was to comprise the countries of the German Confederation, including Schleswig, Posen, and Istria. The Confederation to be a constitutional monarchy, with a Diet of two elective Chambers. The "Emperor of Germany" to be hereditary and inviolable; to have power of making peace and war; a voice in proposing measures; a power in affirming them; and the execution of the laws. His Ministers to be responsible, and no edict to be law without the signature of one of them. The Upper Chamber of the Diet to consist of all the present German Sovereigns, and a further number of persons, at least forty years old, elected by Sovereigns or Diets from the citizens of any German state; to serve for twelve years—one-third going out each four years by rotation. The Lower Chamber to be elected for a period of six years—one-third retiring biennially: the members to be thirty years of age, to be paid for their services, and to be chosen by the people at large. Every man of age, and not condemned for crime, to have a vote. The electoral bodies to be divided into districts of 100,000 souls. The Diet to assemble at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. A Court of Imperial Judicature to be framed, which shall have cognizance of all disputes between German States and Princes, of disputes between citizens of different states, and disputes between Princes and their State Diets; also of all Imperial fiscal matters. Free municipal constitutions to be guaranteed; a national guard; unrestrained freedom of public meeting; and absolute freedom of religion, science, and the press.

The Archduke was solemnly installed at Frankfort, on the 12th of July, as Regent of the German Empire. Baron von Gagern, as President of the Parliament, addressing him, said :—

"The German people acknowledge with joy your Highness's patriotism; but they wish you to devote yourself entirely, and without reserve, to their interests.

"Permit me to direct the law constituting the Provisional Cen-

tral Government to be read. I pray your Highness, in the name of the National Assembly, to declare in their presence that you will obey this law, and cause it to be obeyed, for the honour and happiness of our country."

The Regent then solemnly gave the required promise, and continued :—

"I declare, in addition, that I will devote myself exclusively to the discharge of the duties of this office, and will request the Emperor to relieve me from the charge of acting as his substitute immediately after the opening of the Diet at Vienna, on which occasion I have promised to act for him."

After some variation in the appointments, the first Ministry of the first Regent of the Germanic Empire was finally constituted by him as follows :—

President of the Council (without portefeuille), — The Prince of Leiningen.

Foreign Affairs,—M. Heckscher, of Hamburg; Under Secretaries of State, M. Von Bregeleben, of Darmstadt, Baron Max Von Gagern, of Wiesbaden.

Interior,—M. Von Schmerling, of Vienna; Under Secretaries of State, M. Bassermann, of Mannheim, M. Von Würth, of Vienna.

Justice,—M. Robert Mohl, of Heidelberg; Under Secretary of State, M. Widenmann, of Düsseldorff.

War,—General Von Peucker; Under Secretary of State, Major Von Brand, both of the Prussian army.

Finances,—M. Von Beckerath, of Crefeld, near Düsseldorff; Under Secretary of State, M. Mathy, of Carlsruhe.

Commerce,—M. Duckwitz, of Bremen; Under Secretaries of State, M. Mevissen, of Cologne, M. Fallati, of Tübingen.

On the 4th of August the Frankfort Parliament, after an animated and eloquent debate, decided on the abolition of capital punishments by a majority of 288 to 146.

On the 5th of September the Parliament determined not to ratify the armistice concluded between the Danes and Prussians at Malmö. By a majority of 238 to 22 they voted a suspension of the measures requisite for carrying it into execution, and the Ministry of the Regent in consequence determined to resign. In this emergency the Archduke applied to M. Dahlmann to form a Ministry. He made the attempt but failed, and M. Hermann was next intrusted with the task.

In the meantime, however, the obstinate and violent conduct of the Schleswig-Holstein Duchies was modifying the opinions of the German Parliament in their favour.

The combined Assembly of the two Duchies had unanimously declared itself permanent, and had rejected the new Provisional Government altogether: it had determined to act in conjunction with the ex-Government, and had decided that all laws framed and enacted by itself since the 24th of March last should be binding, unless the will of the people, as represented by the Assembly, should demand alterations. Count Moltke had been obliged to fly the country, and take refuge on the borders of Jutland. The Schleswig-Holstein troops had already evinced a great spirit of insubordination to their Prussian officers; and these circumstances combined to produce an anxious desire on the part of the Assembly

at Frankfort to put a stop to further excesses. It therefore did not persevere in its opposition to the armistice of Malmö, and on the 16th of September, after a long sitting and stormy debate, the following resolutions were carried by a majority of 257 to 236.

"1. That the execution of the armistice shall not, so far as is possible, or as the actual state of affairs will permit, be in any way prevented. 2. That the Central Power of Germany be requested to come to an understanding with Denmark to introduce into the terms of the said armistice the modifications which Denmark herself has declared admissible."

The adoption of these resolutions raised the fury of the radical and war party in the Chamber to the highest pitch, and they lost no time in appealing to the passions of the mob, in order, if possible, by a display of popular violence, to overawe the Assembly. The people were harangued by the democratic leaders from balconies in the streets, and monster meetings were held outside the town, at one of which the following resolutions were voted:—

1. This meeting declares the members of the majority who ratified the infamous armistice of Malmö to be guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people. 2. This resolution shall at once be communicated to the German people. 3. A deputation shall tomorrow inform the members of the majority of this resolution.

The Senate now officially informed the Regent that they could no longer preserve the peace of the town, and in the emergency he persuaded Von Schmerling, who had previously resigned, to resume office provisionally. This Minister acted with promptitude and courage, and immediately ordered detachments of Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops to march into Frankfort. On the 18th, a tumultuous scene occurred in the Church of St. Paul's, where the Assembly held its meetings, and the conduct of the Left was marked by outrageous violence. The populace also began to throw stones at the soldiery, and to erect barricades in the streets. A deputation of the rioters waited upon the Regent, and told him that order would not be restored unless the troops were withdrawn. He referred them to his Ministers; and Von Schmerling replied by declaring the town in a state of siege, and he ordered that the barricades should be carried by main force.

Prussian and Austrian troops had been posted at noon in various quarters of the town, and a strong detachment of Prussian soldiers surrounded the Parliament, in order to protect it. Barricades were at this time in the course of construction on the Römerberg. The pavement was torn up, and large packing-cases filled with stones were prepared for the barricades. No less than twenty-three of these bulwarks obstructed the passage in the principal streets. The two strongest and largest in size were in the Döngesgasse and in the Schnurgasse, near the Exchange. The latter was furnished with loop-holes and a kind of crenviced battlement, and omnibuses and carriages were placed in front of it. The combat commenced at three o'clock, by a detachment of Austrians marching from the Liebfrauenberg down upon the barricade in the Döngesgasse,

from the top of which a large red flag was hoisted. They were received by the rioters with a sharp and well-directed fire from rifles and muskets, and obliged to retire. Being reinforced by a party of Prussian soldiers, they advanced again, dislodged the insurgents, and made themselves masters of the Zeil, the principal street of Frankfort, when they immediately proceeded to attack the position of the insurgents in the Constabler-Wache, a strongly fortified guard-house. The position of the troops in the large open street of the Zeil was extremely dangerous, for they were exposed to a galling fire from the rebels in the Constabler-Wache, and from the innumerable lanes and alleys which open into that great thoroughfare. Sharpshooters too had found access to the houses, and fired from the windows down on the soldiers.

At five o'clock an attempt at conciliation was made, and a flag of truce was sent to the barricades, where it was received with a sudden volley of musketry. One member of the deputation was severely wounded. The rest were then allowed to approach and negotiate, and an armistice of one hour was finally agreed upon.

The radical Members of the Left in the meantime petitioned the Archduke to withdraw the military from the town, to which modest request he replied by at once proclaiming martial law, and declaring the city to be in a state of siege.

Artillery was now brought into play, and shattered the barricades in every direction. This soon decided the contest; and before midnight the struggle was over, the insurgents were defeated at all points, and tranquillity was restored. But two deplorable murders had been committed during the day. Prince Lichnowski, one of the most eloquent and distinguished members of the Assembly, and Major Auerswald, were, while attempting to reason with the rebels, attacked with savage ferocity, and soon after died from their numerous wounds. A bullet entered the back of Major Auerswald's head, coming out above his right eye; another struck the young Prince through the body. The first dropped from his horse almost senseless; the latter was pulled from his; and both were cruelly maltreated. The Major soon breathed his last; but the Prince was left still living in the dust with both his arms hacked by a hatchet. He was carried to an hospital, where he soon afterwards expired.

On the following day the Regent issued a proclamation "to the German People," in which he said:—

"The criminal excesses at Frankfort, the intended attack on the Parliament, the street riots, for the suppression of which an armed force was required, the shocking assassination, and the menaces and violence which some Members of the Parliament have suffered, have plainly exposed the views and means of action of a party who desire to involve their country in the horrors of anarchy and of a civil war.

"Germans! Your liberty is sacred to me. It shall be established on a durable and firm basis by the Constitution which your Representatives are now framing. But you would be deprived of liberty if lawlessness and anarchy were to get the upper hand in Germany.

"Germans! The law of the 28th of June, 1848, places in my hands executive powers in affairs which

regard the general safety and welfare of Germany. It is my duty to protect the country as well against domestic crime as against foreign enemies. I know my duty, and I mean to fulfil it; and you, German men, lovers of your country and of liberty, from you I expect that you will stand by me."

At the same time votes of confidence in the Ministry, and thanks to the Federal troops for their devotion and moderation in the late conflict, were proposed and carried in the Assembly.

The rest of the year was chiefly occupied in discussing the articles of the German Constitution, which was not promulgated at the end of December.

A new element of discord arose out of what may be called the Austrian question. The ancient monarchy of the House of Hapsburg showed no disposition to be absorbed in the new combination of German States, and refused to form part of the Confederation. This was a great stumbling-block in the way, for it seemed impossible to realize the idea of German unity, and at the same time ignore the existence of such an empire as Austria. Between her and Prussia a rivalry existed, which threatened to break out into open hostility, if by any act of the Frankfort Parliament the supremacy in Germany of the latter kingdom was recognised; and this would happen if the King of Prussia were elected Emperor of Germany, which therefore became a subject of grave anxiety, and caused much dissension in the Chamber.

The feeling, however, against the conduct of Austria was so strong that, on the 16th of December, Von Schmerling, the Prime Minister, and Wuth, one of the under Secretaries of State, both of whom were deputies from that kingdom, resigned office, and Baron Von Gagern was called upon to form a Ministry. This he succeeded in doing, and the new Cabinet remained in office until the end of the year. The policy which Von Gagern recommended to the Assembly with respect to Austria was to treat her as a member of the German Confederation, and, as such, have diplomatic intercourse with her on subjects of national interest, but consider her as not embraced in the new Federal Constitution, and therefore not entitled to be consulted in its construction. It thus became an anxious subject of speculation in Europe, whether the general peace could be preserved while the great Austrian Empire was isolated from the German family of States, and watched with jealousy the pretensions of Prussia and her Monarch to supremacy.

RUSSIA.—While revolutions were overthrowing some, and shaking to their centre others of the thrones of the European Powers, considerable anxiety was felt as to what would be the course of policy adopted by Russia. There was a general apprehension that the Emperor would interfere on behalf of the Austrian Government, and employ part of his vast military force in coercing the rebellious subjects of the house of Hapsburg. But nothing of the kind took place. Not a single Russian soldier crossed the German frontier, and the Emperor contented himself with strengthening his army at all points, and watching, without taking part in, the events that filled all Europe with astonishment. In the month of March he issued the

following spirited manifesto to his people:—

"After the benefits of a long peace, the West of Europe finds itself at this moment suddenly given over to perturbations which threaten with ruin and overthrow all legal powers and the whole social system.

"Insurrection and Anarchy, the offspring of France, soon crossed the German frontier, and have spread themselves in every direction with an audacity which has gained new force in proportion to the concessions of the Governments. This devastating plague has at last attacked our allies the Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Prussia, and to-day, in its blind fury, menaces even our Russia, that Russia which God has confided to our care.

"But Heaven forbid that this should be! Faithful to the example handed down from our ancestors, having first invoked the aid of the Omnipotent, we are ready to encounter our enemies from whatever side they may present themselves, and without sparing our own person we will know how, indissolubly united to our holy country, to defend the honour of the Russian name, and the inviolability of our territory. We are convinced that every Russian, that every one of our faithful subjects will respond with joy to the call of his Sovereign. Our ancient war cry, 'For our faith, our sovereign, and our country,' will once again lead us on the path of victory, and then with sentiments of humble gratitude, as now with feelings of holy hope, we will all cry with one voice, 'God is on our side, understand this, ye peoples, and submit, for God is on our side.'

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 14th (26th) of March, in the year of Grace 1848, and the 23rd of our reign."

Subsequently, in the month of July, the Russian Government addressed an ably written exposition of its policy to its diplomatic agents in Germany, which it prefaced by saying that—

"The German press, whose animosity against Russia appeared to have relaxed for a moment, has lately recommenced busying itself about us; and those measures which prudence for our own security has forced us to adopt on our frontiers have given rise to the most unwarranted suppositions and commentaries.

"The language held on this subject in the assemblies of Germany, though less immoderate and less positive, nevertheless bears the stamp of the same surmises."

It afterwards proceeded to explain its views, as follows:—

"Our system, however, has been purely one of defence and precaution. We protest that it never had, and that it has not at this moment, any other character.

"Instead of regarding things from this point of view, and of acknowledging that, if we have been obliged to arm, the principal cause was owing to the repeated provocation which had been offered to us, the democratic opinion loves to hurl the charge of ideas of aggression at us. The German press daily teems with the most absurd rumours, and the most odious calumnies have been laid to our charge. More than once these journals have stated that our troops have passed the frontiers, although they have not left their cantonments. There is no insidious design but what is attributed to us—no *émeute*, no sedition, either in

Germany or Sclavonia, which we have not favoured underhand, either by our money or our agents.

"The hostility which we are supposed to entertain against Germany is precisely on a level with what is felt, or rather what it is attempted to create against us in Germany.

"If, instead of attributing to us sentiments of hatred which we do not cherish, and of forming conjectures on our pretended designs which are without foundation, men would form a more just and true idea of the past, they would likewise understand the present, and see that the enemy they so gratuitously conjure, whom they delight in holding up as a phantom, and against whom a national war is said to be indispensable, has ever been, and is at this moment, if Germany only wishes, animated with sentiments of benevolence and disinterestedness towards her. When, indeed, has Germany had cause to complain of us? When have we formed projects against her independence? When have we even menaced an invasion? What part of her territory have we taken, or even coveted? During the whole time the Continent was groaning under the domination of a conqueror, Russia shed her blood to assist Germany in the maintenance of her integrity and her independence. The Russian territory had been free for a long time when she continued to follow and to sustain her German allies on all the battle-fields of Europe. More recently, in 1840, when war appeared for a moment on the eve of breaking out on the Rhine, we placed our naval and military forces at their disposal.

"During the long peace of thirty-three years, the benefits of which are so lightly set aside by the volatile spirit of the present generation, we have never ceased to recommend and maintain in Germany concord and unity—not, indeed, that material unity which is now the day-dream of a democratic spirit of levelling and aggrandisement, and which, if it were possible to realize it as conceived by ambitious theorists, would infallibly, sooner or later, plunge Germany into war with all her neighbours—but that moral unity, that sincere harmony of views and intentions in all political questions which the German Confederation formerly treated of.

"It is the maintenance of this union, it is the consolidation of the bonds which unite the German Governments together, which has ever been our sole aim, because we desire the peace of Europe; and in our opinion the surest guarantee of this peace has ever been lodged in the intimate union of all the Governments which constitute the German Confederation.

"What we desired all this time, we desire at the present day.

"If it had been our object effectively to seek for a pretext for aggression, would not this single fact have formed a most favourable one? A war deeply to be regretted has been made upon a northern monarchy whose integrity we have guaranteed, and the maintenance of which is indispensable to the equilibrium of Europe, which, by the complications to which it may easily give rise, and by ideas of maritime ambition with which popular opinion invests it, menaces an attack upon the general peace and the interests of the lateral Powers

of the Baltic. At the same time the insurrection in the Grand Duchy of Posen, and the state of Galicia, might seriously endanger the internal tranquillity of our own provinces. Under present contingencies, and especially under such circumstances, the most common prudence calls for preparation. We have, therefore, concentrated our army on the frontier, in order to ward off those damages which may suddenly arise from the present and still precarious state of Europe."

CHAPTER XIII.

PRUSSIA.—*Speech of the King in Closing the Session of the United Diet —Great Reform Meeting at Berlin—Remarkable Manifesto of the King—Censorship of the Press abolished—Unfortunate collision between the military and the populace at Berlin—Decree authorizing a National Guard—Address of the Minister, Count Schwerin, to the Students—Liberation of the captive Poles—Frederick William's Address to the Students—Royal Proclamations—Deputation of Poles from Breslau—Rapid changes of Ministry at Berlin—Opening of Second Session of the Prussian Diet—Royal Speech—Programme of the Electoral Law—Address of the Diet—Ministerial Explanation—Resignation of Count Arnim—Basis of new Prussian Constitution—Question of direct or indirect Election for the National Assembly at Frankfort—General Election—Meeting of the Prussian National Assembly—Speech from the Throne—Outline of the Constitution—Tumult at Berlin, and attack on the Arsenal—Resignation of the Ministry—The Auerswald Cabinet—The Army and Political Questions—Change of Ministry—General Von Pfuel forms a new Cabinet —Proclamation to the Army—General Von Wrangel's Address to the Troops—Invasion of the Assembly by the mob—Count Von Brandenburg made President of the Council—Sitting of Assembly transferred to Brandenburg—Tumult in the Assembly—Interference of the military—Burgher Guard disbanded—Berlin declared in a state of siege—Disarming of the Burgher Guard—Obstinate conduct of the Assembly—It denies to the Brandenburg Ministry authority to levy taxes—The Government successful in the struggle—Address by the Archduke John to the German people—Meeting of the Assembly at Brandenburg—It is dissolved by a Royal Edict.*

GRAND DUCHY OF POSEN.—*Outbreak of Polish Insurrection in Posen—Horrible atrocities committed by the insurgents—Defeat and surrender of Mieroslawski—Termination of the Rebellion—Resolution of the Frankfort Assembly as to the partition line drawn in Posen—German view of the Polish Question.*

ON the 6th of March the sitting of the Prussian United Diet, the creation and constitution of which were related in our preceding volume, was closed by the King in person, and, in his speech

on the occasion he thus alluded to the lowering aspect of the political horizon.

"Providence has caused events to arise which threaten the disarrangement of the basis of social order. German and Prussian hearts, and men animated with sentiments of honour and of loyalty, know what duties are imposed upon them by the present circumstances. No people on earth have given a more striking example of their virtues than ours. But at present we must not relax in our efforts, for we do not wish to be less faithful, less courageous, or less persevering than were our fathers or ourselves when we were young men. Express, gentlemen, in your domestic circles that which every intelligent mind will comprehend, and that which is felt by every noble heart. Tell this incontestable truth to every body. Leave aside all party quarrels, and think only of that which is necessary if we wish to escape with honour and success from the storm which cannot be conjured, with the grace of God, otherwise than by our union, our attitude, and our example. Stand round your King, who is your best friend, like a wall of brass, with perfect confidence. Far from having any idea of interfering in the internal affairs of any foreign nation, I am doing all in my power to secure, by the assistance and the energetic voice of the great Powers, but particularly by the consolidation of the Germanic Confederation, an honourable peace, which is necessary to the nations of Europe if we can prevent the career of moral and material progress into which they have so well entered from being destroyed for centuries. If my people give the German race the example of love and of force, they will have done much towards the preservation of peace. But if God, in his inscrutable wisdom, should decide otherwise—if the treaties on which the political edifice repose were violated —if an enemy dared to attack my territory, or that of our allies of the Germanic Confederation — then, following the dictates of honour and of duty, I would prefer the dangers of war to a shameful peace. In such case I would call my warlike people to arms. They would rally round me as they did thirty-five years since round the flag of my father, of glorious memory, who was likewise the father of his people. My confidence in the heroism of the years 1813, 1814, and 1815 will not fail me. As soon as the measures which I am obliged to take for the honour and the safety of Germany shall require the assistance of my faithful states, and if, at a later period, a general cry of 'to arms' should resound, I would again assemble the United Diet that they might assist me by their counsels."

The revolutionary wave soon reached Berlin, and the news of the popular movement that was going on in the Rhenish provinces and smaller states of Germany stimulated the inhabitants of the capital to demand fresh concessions from their fair-spoken, but vacillating, monarch. On the 13th of March a great meeting was held at Berlin in the open air, to petition for reform, when a tumult arose, and a collision took place between the military and the populace. During the ensuing week Berlin was the theatre of much disorder, and it was obvious that the people would no longer be pacified by ambiguous promises, of which they had hitherto seen a

very scanty fulfilment. King Frederick was not slow in reading the signs of the times, and on the 18th of March a royal proclamation was issued, whereby it plainly appeared that that monarch wished, if possible, to outstrip the march of revolution and place himself at its head. He demanded the transformation of Germany "from a confederation of States into a federal state" as loudly and eagerly as the most noisy of the demagogues, and spoke of the violent scenes at Vienna as events which, "on the one hand, essentially facilitated the execution of his projects, and, on the other, rendered their prompt execution indispensable." The following are the most important passages in this significant document, which appeared in the form of an ordinance, convoking a meeting of the United Diet:—

"Above all, we demand that Germany be transformed from a confederation of states into one federal state. We acknowledge that this plan presupposes a reorganization of the federal constitution, which cannot be carried into execution except by a union of princes with the people, and that consequently a temporary federal representation must be formed out of the Chambers of all German States, and convoked immediately. We admit that such a federal representation imperatively demands constitutional institutions in all German states, in order that the members of that representation may sit beside each other on terms of equality. We demand a general military system of defence for Germany, and we will endeavour to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the war of liberty. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that at a period not far remote a German fleet will cause the German name to be respected, both on neighbouring and far distant seas. We demand a German federal tribunal for the settlement of all political differences between princes and their states, as well as those arising between the different German Governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an entire right for all Germans to change their abode in every part of our German Father-land.

"We demand that in future no barriers of custom-houses shall impede traffic upon German soil, and cripple the industry of its inhabitants. We demand, therefore, a general German union of customs (Zollverein), in which the same weights and measures, the same coinage, and the same German laws of commerce, will soon draw closer and closer the bond of material union. We propose the liberty of the press throughout Germany, with the same general guarantees against its abuse.

"In order that the accomplishment of our intentions may experience the least possible delay, and in order that we may develope the propositions which we consider to be necessary for the interior constitution of our States, we have resolved to hasten the convocation of the United Diet, and we charge the Minister of State to fix that convocation for the 2nd of April."

To this proclamation was annexed a decree providing for the liberty of the press. It stated that the censorship was abolished, and

all laws relating thereto were abrogated. Offences of the press against the Government or individuals were to be tried by the ordinary tribunals.

But an unfortunate *contretemps* at this juncture occurred, which led to serious and fatal consequences. The populace had assembled in a dense crowd in the square before the Palace, to express their joy at the concessions of the King, who appeared at the balcony, and was received with loud acclamations, when a troop of dragoons came up, and assumed a position close to the people. Some jeers and insults were uttered by the mob, and the colonel in command, losing his temper, ordered the troops to advance. This they did with sheathed swords, but were repulsed by the mob. They then drew their sabres, and a sanguinary conflict immediately commenced. The struggle was long and doubtful, and lasted, at intervals, through the night. A melancholy loss of life on both sides was the consequence, and nearly sixty persons, including soldiers, are said to have been killed, besides a great many who were dangerously wounded. During the night the King wrote an address to his people headed, "To my beloved Berliners," which appeared early on the following morning, and in which he said:—

"By my patent of convocation this day, you have received the pledge of the faithful sentiments of your King towards you and towards the whole of the German nation. The shout of joy which greeted me from unnumbered faithful hearts still resounded in my ears, when a crowd of peace-breakers mingled with the loyal throng, making seditious and bold demands, and augmenting in numbers as the well-disposed withdrew.

"As their impetuous intrusion extended to the very portals of the Palace with apprehended sinister views, and insults were offered to my valiant and faithful soldiers, the court-yard was cleared by the cavalry, *at walking pace and with their weapons sheathed;* and two guns of the infantry went off of themselves, without, thanks be to God! causing any injury. A band of wicked men, chiefly consisting of foreigners, who, although searched for, have succeeded in concealing themselves for more than a week, have converted this circumstance into a palpable untruth, and have filled the excited minds of my faithful and beloved Berliners with thoughts of vengeance for supposed bloodshed; and thus have they become the fearful authors of bloodshed themselves. My troops, your brothers and fellow countrymen, did not make use of their weapons till forced to do so by several shots fired at them from the Königs Strasse. The victorious advance of the troops was the necessary consequence.

"It is now yours, inhabitants of my beloved native city, to avert a fearful evil. Acknowledge your fatal error; your King, your trusting friend, enjoins you, by all that is most sacred, to acknowledge your fatal error. Return to peace; remove the barricades which are still standing; and send to me men filled with the genuine ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your King; and I pledge you my royal truth that all the streets and squares shall be instantaneously cleared of the troops, and the military garrisons shall be confined solely to the most important build-

ings—to the Castle, the Arsenal, and a few others—and even here only for a brief space of time. Listen to the paternal voice of your King, ye inhabitants of my true and beautiful Berlin; and forget the past, as I shall forget it, for the sake of that great future which, under the peace-giving blessing of God, is dawning upon Prussia, and through Prussia upon all Germany.

"Your loving Queen, and truly your genuine mother and friend, who is lying on a sick bed, joins her heartfelt and tearful supplications to mine.

"Written during the night of the 18th and 19th March, 1848.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM."

This was followed by the resignation of the Ministry, who were replaced by another, which contained the following popular names:—Count Arnim, President, with the added department, *pro tempore*, of Foreign Affairs; Count Schwerin, Ecclesiastical Affairs; and Auerswald, Interior. The Minister of Justice, Von Uhden; and the Ministers Counts Stolberg and Von Rohr were to retain their posts till arrangements could be made for replacing them. M. Kühne, Director of Taxes, was to be Minister of Finance *ad interim*.

Before the close of the day a royal proclamation appeared, authorizing the formation of a National Guard. The ordinance provided—

"1. That a Burgher Guard be organized.

"2. That the burghers and resident foreigners who have received letters of naturalization take part in the same.

"3. That the expenses of the equipment be defrayed by the city.

"4. The *Schutzengilde* are summoned *instanter*, and a given number of burghers are to be armed forthwith."

On the following day a numerous meeting of the students, most of whom were armed, took place in the Aula of the University, where they were received by the Minister, Count Schwerin, and addressed by him in the following language of fulsome flattery:—

"*Gentlemen,*—

"His Majesty the King thinks it his duty to inform you, who have so brilliantly shone in these days of glory, of the line of progress which he proposes to follow. It is His Majesty's intention to take the lead of constitutional Germany. He will have liberty and a constitution—he will originate and form a German Parliament—and he will head the progress of the nation. The King relies on the protection of the people. Is not this your opinion? ('Yes! yes!' *repeated by a thousand voices.*) The King, wearing the German colours, will appear in the streets of this town. He wishes the students to surround him in a body. Gentlemen, may God bless the German King! Gentlemen, we are His Majesty's responsible Ministers, but it is the King who animates us. His thought is progress!—his thought is liberty! God bless the responsible Ministers!"

The next step was the liberation from prison of the Poles who were incarcerated there for political offences. The King had consented to an amnesty, and the doors of the state prison were thrown open. Mieroslawski was the most distinguished captive, and he was placed in a carriage, from which

the people soon removed the horses, and he was drawn in triumph to the Palace, and thence to the University. Mieroslawski stood up in the carriage, holding in his hand a red, black, and gold banner, and acknowledged the enthusiastic applause of the people, who accompanied the carriage in countless masses, by waving his flag. As the procession entered the Schlossplatz, the King appeared upon the balcony.

In the course of the morning of the 21st the King appeared in the streets on horseback, with the German colours round his arm. He was greeted with tumultuous applause; and when he reached the University, where the students were drawn up with their rectors, Müller and Hecker, at their head, he stopped near the monument of Frederick II., and, carried away by uncontrollable excitement, said, "I am truly proud that it is my capital where so powerful an opinion has manifested itself. This day is a great day. It ought never to be forgotten. It is decisive. Gentlemen, you carry a grand future within you, and when, in after-years, you look back upon your life, you will, I am sure, think of this day. The colours I wear are not my own; I do not mean to usurp anything with them; I want neither another crown nor another dominion. I want liberty; I will have unity in Germany; I want good order; I swear it before God. (Here the King raised his right hand to Heaven.) I have done nothing but what has often happened in the history of Germany. It has often been the case that, when disorder prevailed, mighty princes and dukes have come forward; that they have taken the banner in their hands and led the nation. I believe that the hearts of the princes yearn towards me, and that the will of the nation supports me. Mark me, gentlemen, I ask it of you—take it down in writing, that I will not usurp anything!—that I claim nothing except German liberty and unity. Tell it to the students of other universities. I am heartily sorry that they are not all here in one body!"

A royal ordinance also appeared, addressed "To the German Nation," which seemed plainly intended to point out who was the fittest person, under the new order of things, to occupy the post of Emperor of Germany. It was as follows:—

"A new and glorious history begins for you with this day. In future you will again be a united and great nation; strong, free, and mighty in the heart of Europe. Frederick William IV., of Prussia, relying on your heroic assistance and political regeneration, has, for the salvation of Germany, taken the lead of our common fatherland. This very day you will see him among you on horseback, wearing the ancient and respected colours of the German nation. May the blessings of Heaven descend on our constitutional Prince, the leader of the German people, the new King of the free, regenerated German nation!"

In another proclamation the King said:—

"From this day forth the name Prussia is fused and dissolved into that of Germany.

"The Diet, which has already been convoked for the 2nd of April, in conjunction with my people, presents the ready me-

dium and legal organ for the deliverance and pacification of Germany.

"It is my resolve to afford an opportunity to the Princes and States of Germany for a general meeting with the organs of this Diet on a plan which will be proposed without delay.

"The Diet of the Germanic States, which will be thus provisionally constituted, must enter boldly and without delay upon the requisite preliminary measures for averting dangers both at home and abroad.

"The measures at this moment urgently called for are—

"1. The institution of a general popular Federal army.

"2. A declaration of armed neutrality.

"This national armament and this declaration will inspire Europe with respect for the sacredness and inviolability of the territory which boasts the German language and the German name. Unity and strength alone will be able in these days to maintain trade and commerce in our beautiful and flourishing fatherland."

About the same time a deputation of Poles arrived at Berlin, from Breslau, in order to obtain for the Silesian dominions of the Prussian Crown the concession of a more liberal policy than had hitherto prevailed there. The King, in reply, stated that he could not act without the concurrence of the United Diet, which he intended very soon to convoke; but that he would submit the proposed new electoral law to that body, and, if they approved of it, propositions on the following points would be submitted to the new representative assembly then to be formed, viz.: —1, for the securing of personal freedom; 2, for securing the right of association and free assembly; 3, for the organization of a general National Guard, with free election of the officers; 4, for establishing the responsibility of Ministers; 5, for the introduction of the system of trial by jury in penal cases, especially political offences and violations of the laws of the press; 6, for securing the independence of the judicial tribunals; 7, for the repeal of the special judicial system, the system of patrimonial jurisdiction, and the "dominial" police force.

After the events of the 18th of March, five different adminstrations followed each other in quick succession, which may be thus summarily mentioned: — Count Arnim first occupied the helm; but scarcely ten days elapsed before he resigned the post of First Minister, on finding that he could not co-operate with, or sanction, the proceedings of, the *Vor-Parlament* at Frankfort. He did not, however, retire altogether, and a new Ministry was formed, known by the name of the Arnim-Camphausen administration, which continued in power until the disturbances at Berlin, on the 16th and 17th of June; after which the Assembly refused to vote the requisite measures for the maintenance of public order. Next followed the Ministry of Von Auerswald, which was broken up on the 9th of September, in consequence of the dissatisfaction that was felt at the Malmö Armistice between Denmark and the German Powers, and a defeat in the Prussian Assembly. The next Ministry that appeared on the stage was that of which Von Pfuel was the head; but this conciliated no support,

and it perished on the 23rd of October. A political interregnum then ensued, which lasted until the 9th of November, when, in consequence of the outrageous proceedings of the Assembly, which had voted the total abolition of the order of nobility, a new Ministry was gazetted under the auspices of Count Von Brandenburg, a man of vigorous and decided character, who held the reins of power throughout the rest of this eventful year.

Such is an outline of the shifting scene of Prussian politics, and we now proceed to fill it up somewhat more in detail.

For the purpose of determining the new electoral law, under which was to be convoked a National Assembly, the United Diet of Prussia and her provinces was opened on the 2nd of April in the *Weisser Saal* of the Palace; but not by the King in person. Prince Solms-Lich-Solms had been named Marshal of the Diet, and Von Camphausen, the President of the Ministry, the Government Commissioner. The latter read the Royal Speech, which contained the following passages:—

"*Nobles, Citizens, and Commons of the Diet of Prussia,*—

"His Majesty the King has commanded me, in his name, to open the second session of the United Diet. Great events have shaken a part of Europe, and our own country has not escaped the effects of the movement. It threatens us with still increasing dangers, while it opens to us a great future. But Prussia and Germany will pass safely through the period of transition, if, with calm courage and well-regulated strength, we enter on the newly opened course. The union of Germany has long been the object to which the wishes of all were often hopelessly directed; we are now advancing towards it with rapid steps, and His Majesty the King puts his hand to a work in which fifteen millions will cheerfully aid him. The establishment of the political rights of the citizens in the state was, in Prussia, the more strongly needed, because the people had attained to a degree of civilisation and education that placed it at least on an equality with nations living under free and constitutional forms of government. His Majesty has promised a real constitutional charter, and we are assembled to lay the foundation-stone of the enduring edifice. We hope that the work will proceed rapidly, and that it will perfect a great constitutional system for the whole of the German race.

"The Government recognises as its mission the reinvigorating the power of the State, closing again the broken bonds of lawful order, the reviving of confidence and credit, and the giving an upward impulse to trade and labour. It will endeavour to maintain peace from without as long as the honour of Germany will permit it, and, to the honour of Germany also, to restore peace within it.

"Having commenced a free discussion of its most important affairs in the press and in public meetings, the Prussian nation must not be blind to the fact, that it is only in the conflict of opinion that truth is elicited, and that to the fullest expression of truth freedom of expression of every opinion must be granted fully and unobstructed. Although the present Diet only in a very small degree represents the future Na-

tional Assembly, the Government, nevertheless, places great weight upon its advice, and, in this spirit, I hand over to your consideration the Royal propositions."

The delivery of this speech was received in silence; and, immediately afterwards, several decrees and projects of law were read.

The following was the programme of the future Law of Election:—

"1. Every householder who has completed the twenty-fourth year of his age, and who has not forfeited any of his civil rights, will have a vote in the commune in which he has resided for one year, provided he has not been supported by any poor or public rate, or served in any menial capacity without possessing a house of his own.

"2. The voters of each commune will elect for every 500 of their number one elector; if the population is less than 500 but more than 300, it will still retain the right of choosing an elector. If it is under 300, the commune will be joined by the provincial council to other communes in the same district.

"In communes of a population of more than 500 the votes will be taken by districts, in such a manner that no more than five electors are to be returned for any one of them.

"Properties that do not belong to a commune will be united, for the purposes of the election, to an adjacent town or rural commune.

"3. An elector can only be chosen in the district in which he is qualified himself to vote.

"4. The election is to be decided by the absolute majority of votes.

"5. Every householder having completed his thirtieth year, in full possession of his civil rights, and never having received support from any public rate, is eligible to be chosen as a deputy.

"6. For each district having a provincial council, as well as for every town belonging to a provincial circle, one deputy shall be returned. If the population of the district or town reaches 60,000, two; and, for every 40,000 more, one deputy in addition; so that, for 100,000 of population, three, and, for 140,000, four deputies shall be elected.

"7. The number of the population to be reckoned on the census of 1846.

"8. In the towns the choice of electors shall be conducted under the superintendence of the magistrates; and, where there is no bench of magistrates, under the municipal authorities.

"The manner of conducting the election will be fixed by a future Ministerial order.

"The election of deputies in the rural districts will be superintended by the provincial council; and, in the towns not belonging to such a district, by the magistrates and the municipal authorities.

"9. The election of deputies is to be decided by the absolute majority of votes written by the voters themselves. Where more than three deputies are to be chosen, the election is to be according to districts, which will be divided by the proper authorities for the purpose.

"10. The deputies, when elected, will vote in the Assembly according to their own independent opinions, and are not bound to any specific projects or instructions.

"11. The proof of the legality of the several elections will be left to the Assembly itself."

An address was immediately

voted by the Diet to the King in which they reminded His Majesty that he had in various recent proclamations and manifestoes assured the deputies that projects of law would be laid before them relating to the following subjects :—

"Freedom of the press ;

"Security of personal liberty ;

"Full right of meeting and association ;

"Independence of the judges ;

"Abolition of hereditary jurisdictions and domain-police ;

"Publicity of judicial proceedings, and *vivâ voce* examination of witnesses, with trial by jury in penal cases, and especially for political offences ;

"Equality of civil and political rights to all religious persuasions ;

"A general arming of the citizens, with free election of their officers ;

"A thorough and popular law of election, representing all interests ;

"A decisive operation by a simple majority of the popular assembly in the legislation and administration of the State ;

"Responsibility of the Ministers ;

"The army to be sworn to the constitution."

The address then went on to state :—

"Your Majesty has also guaranteed the active co-operation of Prussia in changing the German Confederation into a German Union with a real national assembly.

"In thankfully receiving these assurances, and recognising the fact, that from the present time a constitutional monarchy, on the broadest basis, is to be the form of government in Prussia, we are convinced that we are warranted in so doing, not only by our own constitutional functions, but by the will of the people.

"The nation will not, because it has raised itself to freedom, abruptly sever its present history from its past ; it honours the monarchy under which Prussia has become great, and sees, in the constitutional form of that system the surest protection of liberty, of public welfare, and the unity of the kingdom. It considers it necessary for its relations with other German states ; it recognises that under this banner alone Germany can become united, and defend itself victoriously against dangers threatening its national existence and the noble acquisitions of society.

"Germany, firmly resolved to defend its nationality from all attacks from without, wishes to do justice to all. We, therefore, gladly approve the decree of your Majesty, recognising the constitution of the Duchy of Posen.

"Your Majesty, in a moment pregnant with danger, has come to a fortunate decision ; men have been summoned to the councils of the Crown who possess the confidence of the country. . . .

"Every division henceforth vanishes ; the people and the army are no longer two bodies ; heroic hearts beat in each of them, and the sacred love of their common country will combine them in one perfect and inseparable whole."

At the same time the Ministry addressed a document to the King, in which they endeavoured to counteract the idea which very generally prevailed respecting the intention of Prussia to put herself at the head of the German nation and challenge for the King

the title of Emperor of Germany. They said—

"Your Majesty's appeal to Prussia and the German nation has in several quarters received an interpretation which its real purport does not justify.

"The step which your Majesty took, when in a moment of peril you declared your readiness to take the lead in the affairs of Germany, was but an offer to lend the moral and material influence of a kingdom containing 15,000,000 of Germans to promote the accomplishment of that union of the different States which is so generally desired. The raising at the same time of the colours of the old German empire expressed the unequivocal recognition of the facts, that the union of all the German States is indispensable for the safety of all the races of the Confederation; and that Prussia, on its own part, was prepared to recognise in the fullest sense the duty of all the members of that body to join their strength to avert the dangers that threaten their common country.

"This step, then, which your Majesty has taken, does not justify the interpretation it has in several directions received—that it was your intention to anticipate the unbiassed decision of the Sovereign Princes and the people of Germany by the proffer of undertaking a temporary direction of the present circumstances of the country."

The King at once accepted this politic explanation, and authorized his Ministers to act in conformity with the principles there laid down.

Count Arnim briefly stated why he had resigned his post of First Minister. He assumed it on the 18th March, when the King had promised a constitution. He had entered office, then, under this constitutional guarantee. He had not returned his *portefeuille* because he was divided in opinion from his colleagues, nor because the King had demanded it; but a perfectly cordial understanding was necessary in the Cabinet, and he believed he could promote that degree of concord by retiring.

M. Camphausen declared that he and his colleagues fully appreciated and admired the courageous and disinterested conduct of Count Arnim.

At the same time was published the following brief outline of the leading principles of the new Prussian constitution:—

"We Frederick William, &c.

"1. In order further to develope the freedom of the press, which has been granted to our people, the regulations contained in the 4th paragraph of the 1st section of the decree of the 17th of March of the present year, with respect to the security to be deposited by the publishers of new journals, are repealed.

"2. The trial and punishment of political and state prisoners shall be conducted by the ordinary tribunals, and every exceptional law relating to such proceedings is repealed. In the district belonging to the Court of Appellation of Cologne, trial by jury for political offences and sedition will be restored.

"3. For the security of the independence of the judges, all the former laws authorizing their dismissal, deposition, or forced retirement are repealed.

"4. All Prussian subjects will

possess the right of assembling, peacefully and unarmed, in any inclosed space, without the previous permission of the police authorities; they have also the right for all legal purposes to form societies, equally without the previous permission of the same authorities.

"5. The exercise of all civil rights is henceforth independent of religious belief.

"6. The future representatives of the people will, in every case, possess the power of consenting to all the laws, as well as to all matters relating to the taxation and revenue of the country."

The United Diet, thinking that it possessed the prerogative of electing members to represent Prussia in the Frankfort Parliament or Assembly convened for the 1st of May, chose certain persons to fill that capacity. This step, however, gave great offence to the *Vor-Parlament* that was sitting there, and they sent a message to the King of Prussia, in which they stated that by a decree of the 7th of April the Confederation had returned to its first decision in favour of the system of direct election for the Assembly. One deputy should be elected for every 50,000 inhabitants. In the qualifications of the electors no distinction should be made between classes or religious creeds. Every German, being of age, should be an elector in his own country, and be eligible as a deputy in all Germany. In consequence of this intimation, the King resolved to cancel the elections which had been made; and, at the sitting of the Diet on the 10th of April, the question came on for discussion, when M. Camphausen entered into a justification of the course taken by the Diet in electing the representatives, on the ground that it was the mode specified in the decree of the Germanic Confederation, and that an understanding to the same effect had been come to with the other States of Germany, because there did not appear to be time enough for a direct election. This position of affairs was at the present moment modified. His Majesty on the previous evening had received a message from the Assembly at Frankfort, which M. Camphausen read to the Diet, and then said that the result of this communication from the Frankfort Assembly had been, that His Majesty cancelled the elections that had taken place. The States of Prussia would comprehend the necessity of this declaration; other kingdoms of Germany having accepted the decision of the *Vor-Parlament*, a conflict might be caused if Prussia should refuse it. It was necessary that Prussia should be fully represented at Frankfort; it wished to give aid and assistance to all that could promote the union of Germany; but for this great end it must act with effect. The Government would take the measures it deemed necessary, trusting the Diet would support it in its important task.

The Marshal of the Diet (the Prince de Solms) then formally put the question to the Diet, whether it consented to annul its elections? upon which the vote was almost unanimously in the affirmative; and the previous elections of deputies were declared null and void.

This question, however, of direct or indirect election, caused some agitation at Berlin, and endan-

gered at one time the peace of the city.

The only business of importance transacted in the United Diet was the passing of the electoral law which paved the way for the Constituent or National Assembly. Having performed this task, it was dissolved for ever, and the whole of the Prussian dominions were plunged into the excitement of a general election, under a system of universal suffrage so far as regarded the choice of *electors*, with whom rested the selection of Deputies returned as representatives to the Assembly. As might be expected, many of the latter were miserably deficient in respectability and intelligence, and not a few illiterate peasants were returned to take part in the important work of framing a new constitution for Prussia. It is idle to imagine that the sudden grant of free institutions can secure the objects for which alone they are of any value. The British constitution is the slow growth of centuries, and the people are habituated to the exercise of political rights, so that even in spite of many anomalies which may be difficult to defend in theory, the result is the blessing of well-ordered freedom; but to place power suddenly and without preparation in the hands of the excited masses of Continental Europe was a most rash and perilous experiment.

On the 22nd of May the first session of the National Assembly of Prussia was opened by the King in person. The object of convoking it together rather sooner than had been originally intended, was chiefly that of submitting to its consideration the draught of the new constitution which had been prepared by the Camphausen Ministry. In his speech from the throne, the King said:—

"*Deputies of the National Assembly of Prussia,*—

"With joyful earnestness do I welcome an Assembly proceeding from a general election of the people, whose mission it is with me to unite in the formation of a constitution, which is to mark a new era in the history of Prussia and of Germany. I am sure that in beginning this work you will propose to yourselves a twofold task: you will try to secure to the people a large share in the government of the State, and more closely to knit those bonds which for above four centuries indissolubly connected my house with the history of this country.

"The draught of the constitution will be laid before you by my Ministry. At the same time with you, the representatives of the whole German nation have met at Frankfort. I would gladly have awaited the result of their deliberations, before I convoked the representatives of my faithful people. The urgent necessity of restoring public order in our more immediate country did not admit of such an adjournment. The unity of Germany is my constant aim; and this great end will, I am sure, be obtained by your co-operation."

The following were some of the chief articles of the proposed new constitution:—

The rights of Prussian citizens were declared to be—equality before the law; personal liberty; inviolability of citizens' houses; the right of property, which cannot be confiscated; religious liberty; all religions free, unless they infringed

penal laws, or violated or endangered public security, order, or morality; liberty of the press, the censorship being for ever abolished; right of meeting peacefully and unarmed; right of association and petition.

The King's person was to be inviolable; his Ministers alone responsible. His decrees, to be valid, must have the countersignature of at least one Minister. The King to have the whole executive power.

The Ministers were to be impeached by a resolution of the Lower House, and tried by the Upper. They were to vote in that house in which they were members, but they might appear in either house.

The legislative power to belong jointly to the King and the two houses. They must agree on each law.

The Princes of the Royal Family, and sixty Peers to be nominated by the King, form part of the Upper House. This dignity to be hereditary, but there was attached thereto a property qualification of 8000 dollars per annum. The other part to be formed by 180 members to be elected by the people at large. These must have passed their 40th year, and be subject to a property qualification of 2500 dollars per annum. To be elected for eight years.

The members of the Lower House to be elected for four years; not subject to any property qualification, but they must be above thirty years old, and were to be free from arrest during the session.

Judges to be appointed for life, and not removable to another post, unless with their own free consent. They were not to hold any other office.

The sittings of the courts of law to be public, and the facts of crimes to be decided by juries.

Throughout the rest of the year Berlin was in a state of either open disturbance or feverish and anxious agitation. In consequence of a vote of the Assembly that the events that had happened in March were not a *revolution*, but merely a *transaction* between the Crown and the people, the populace rose in the early part of June, and committed some riotous excesses. These were not met, as they ought to have been, by the strong arm of military power, and the people only resented the threatening proclamations in which the Ministry denounced their conduct. At last, on the 16th of that month, a tumultuous crowd assembled near the Assembly, which was close to the Arsenal, and, being excited by some noisy demagogues, made an attack upon the latter building, which was occupied by the Burgher Guard and troops of the line. Very little resistance was made, and the commander of the regular troops actually marched away his men without firing a shot. The Burgher Guard did at first fire, but soon gave way, and the Arsenal was taken by storm. It was immediately pillaged, and the immense stores of arms which it contained were seized and distributed amongst the mob. Next day many of the ringleaders were arrested; a vast quantity of arms was reclaimed from the people by the Burgher Guard; and a number of arrests were made.

The affair became the subject of debate in the Assembly. The Ministerial proposals to increase the efficiency of the protective

means near the Assembly were opposed, and warmly debated. In the end, a large majority carried an amendment, which declared that the Assembly needed no armed protection, but placed itself under the safeguard of the people of Berlin. This resolution caused a disruption of the Cabinet; but it had the effect of tranquillizing the populace. The Ministers of War, Foreign Affairs, and Public Worship—Barons Von Canitz, Von Arnim, and Graf Schwerin, resigned; and, after a "crisis" which lasted for some days, a new Ministry was formed, consisting of the following members—M. Von Auerswald, President of the Council; M. Schleinitz, Foreign Affairs; General Schreckenstein, War; M. Kulhwelter, Home; M. Hansemann, Finance; M. Milde, Commerce and Public Works; M. Rodbertus, Instruction and Public Worship; M. Maerker, Justice.

At the sitting of the Assembly on the 4th of July, Von Auerswald made a statement of the position of the Prussian Government with regard to the German question and the proceedings of the Diet at Frankfort. It amounted to this—that it was convinced of the necessity of appointing a Provisional Central Executive authority in the person of the Lieutenant of the Empire, or *Reichsverweser*, and accepted the election of the Archduke John of Austria. It approved, too, the investing him with irresponsibility. The only point about which the Ministry seemed to doubt, was the power transferred to him from the Diet of declaring war and making peace. The Auerswald Ministry remained for some time in power in a tottering position, and early in September it fell. The cause that immediately led to this may be briefly stated. On the 9th of August a resolution had been moved in the Assembly, to the effect that the War-Minister should be required to issue orders to the army, commanding officers not only to avoid conflicts with civilians, but, by approachment and union with their fellow citizens, to show that they honestly and cordially participate in the working out of a constitutional national condition. An amendment was also put, and carried by a majority of *one*—"Those officers whose political convictions do not accord with the above, shall, as a point of honour, retire from the army."

This decree, however, remained dormant, and was not acted upon until, on the 7th of September, M. Stein brought forward a motion, stating in terms "that it is the imperative duty of the Ministers to promulgate forthwith the resolution which the Assembly decreed upon the 9th of August, in order to maintain confidence and tranquillity, and to prevent a schism with the Assembly."

This was opposed by Von Auerswald, who said—"The question at issue is not a question of law, but a question of administration. At all events, it is clear that if this Government or any other be constrained to act in the manner required, then the Government and Chamber must be considered as having changed places; the former would be the executive, the latter the mere organ of its power. What then becomes of ministerial responsibility, the very essence of constitutional monarchy?"

After a vehement and angry debate, the motion of Von Stein was carried by a majority of 67; and, on the 9th of September, the Mi-

nistry proceeded to Charlottenburg, and tendered their resignations to the King. These, however, he at first refused to accept, warmly sympathizing in their opposition to the resolution moved by Von Stein. Ultimately, on the 11th, he conditionally received the resignations, and, after one or two abortive attempts at forming a Cabinet, General Von Pfuel was placed at the head of a new Ministry.

On the 23rd of September a proclamation to the army was issued by him as Minister of War, and also President of the Ministry, with reference to the question which had caused the downfall of the preceding Government. He said—"My predecessor, General Von Schreckenstein, had repeatedly, and finally in a decree of the 13th inst., declared that the Government of His Majesty would not support reactionary tendencies, but continue in the constitutional course it had entered upon. At the same time the necessity of acting so as to promote a constitutional spirit among all classes of the people was pointed out by him. I hold the same views, and have determined to oppose all reactionary tendencies. I request you will promote in every manner possible a good understanding between the civil classes and the military, and resist the reactionary spirit among the troops under your command. You will communicate this decree to the officers, and direct their attention to the circumstance that, according to the draught of the constitution which has been proposed by His Majesty to the National Assembly, the officers of the army will be obliged to take an oath on the constitution in the same manner as the civil officers are obliged to do, and that no reactionary tendencies will clash with the duties of an officer in the army."

But it was obvious that the time was not far distant when the King must either appeal for support to the loyalty of his army, or become a mere puppet in the hands of the revolutionary party; and his eyes were now opened to the danger of entrusting any longer the safety of his Crown to the attachment of his "beloved Berliners."

When General Von Wrangel returned from Schleswig, he was immediately invested with the command of the troops in the Brandenburg Marches, and he lost no time in informing the people of Berlin that any attempts at insubordination or sedition would find in him a stern and uncompromising opponent. At a review held at Potsdam, on the 20th of September, he spoke out in the following peremptory style.

"The King has conferred upon me the utmost proof of his confidence, in honouring me with the command of all the troops in the Marches. I shall re-establish order when it is disturbed, and support the laws when they are infringed. Not at once, but when I find the Burgher Guard fail in so doing. Then only will we enter; and we shall succeed. The troops are stanch. Their swords are sharpened, their arms loaded. But not against you, men of Berlin; but to protect you—to protect liberty given to us by the King, and to defend the laws. Does that please you, Berliners? I am glad to see that it does. For you and with you will we act. No reaction. But protection for order—for the laws and for freedom. How melancholy does Berlin now appear to

me! grass is growing in your streets. Your houses are empty; your shops are full of goods—but there are no purchasers! Your industrious citizens are without work—without wages, without profits! This must be changed, and it shall be changed. I bring you benefit with order. Anarchy must cease, and it shall cease. I swear this to you, and a Wrangel never belied his word."

The result proved that this was no empty threat on the part of the plain-spoken soldier.

The Ministry of Von Pfuel was virtually at an end on the 23rd of October. It was quite unable to control the factious violence of the Assembly, which at last went so far as to vote the entire abolition of the order of nobility. The Cabinet, however, did not immediately resign, but was still in office, though without any real power or influence, when, on the 31st of October, a motion was brought forward in the Assembly, by Herr Waldech, to pledge the Government to assist the population of Vienna engaged in the defence of their liberties and rights. This was a most popular subject, and a large mob was collected, which rushed to the Chamber where the Assembly was sitting, and, entering the building, acted with the most outrageous violence. The Burgher Guard at last, with some difficulty, cleared the place of these intruders, but several lives were lost in the affray.

The King was at this juncture at Potsdam, whither he had retired in consequence of the stormy state of his capital, and General Von Pfuel and his colleagues insisted upon resigning. The difficulty, however, was where to find successors, for experience had shewn that it was useless any longer to attempt a system of conciliation and concession, and it required men of no ordinary nerve and energy to meet the difficulties of the crisis by a determined resistance to all unreasonable demands. To accomplish this indispensable task, the King fixed upon Count Von Brandenburg, a man whose views were known to be opposed to those of the liberal school, and who was for that reason very unpopular. But this very circumstance pointed him out as the fittest person for the emergency. He, however, experienced considerable difficulty in forming a Ministry, and it was generally believed that he had abandoned the attempt, when, on the 9th of November, the Gazette announced the construction of the following Cabinet:—the Count de Brandenburg, President and Minister ad interim of Foreign Affairs; M. Manteuffel, Interior; General de Strotha, War; M. Ladenberg, Education; M. Kisker, Justice; M. Kuhne, Finance; M. Pommer-Esche, Commerce.

At the meeting of the Assembly on that day, the Count of Brandenburg arose to address the House; but the President stopped him, declaring that he could not speak without obtaining the leave of the Assembly. Count Brandenburg desisted, handed in a royal decree, and sat down. The decree was read, which, alluding briefly to the display of republican symbols, and to criminal demonstrations of force to overawe the Assembly, stated that there was a necessity to transfer the sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, and declared "the sittings of the Constituent Assembly to be prorogued" to the 27th of the month, when it re-

quired that body to re-assemble at Brandenburg. The reading of the decree was interrupted by violent exclamations and protests, and cries of "Never, never! we protest; we will not assent; we will perish here sooner; it is illegal; it is unconstitutional; we are masters." In the midst of this tumult the Count of Brandenburg rose, and said—

"In consequence of the royal message which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its deliberations forthwith, and to adjourn until the day specified. I must at the same time declare all further prolongation of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the Crown."

He then, with his colleagues, left the hall of the Assembly.

The discontented members of that body now resolved to sit in permanence, and the President and a few of the more determined deputies remained in the Chamber all night. Next day, however, the building was surrounded by troops, under the command of General Wrangel, who announced his determination to allow any member to leave the House, but none to enter it. Upon this the Assembly resolved to withdraw under protest then, and meet elsewhere on the following day. As the members retired in a body, they were attended by the Burgher Guard, which warmly espoused their cause. Early the next morning (the 11th), 240 of the deputies met in the hall of the Schutzen Gild, and there they received several addresses of sympathy from the Town Council and other public bodies. In the course of the day the Burgher Guard was disbanded by a royal proclamation, which was repeated in more concise and decisive language on the 12th. These municipal troops, however, determined not to give up their arms, and, as the aspect of affairs was threatening, General Wrangel on the evening of that day declared the city in a state of siege.

Next day the proceedings of the Assembly were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as an "illegal meeting, to disperse." The Vice-President Plönies was in the chair, and he refused to leave it unless by force. The whole House shouted, "Never, till forced by arms!" Upon this two or three officers with a party of soldiers entered, and repeating the summons, received the same answer. The officers then exclaimed, "We will not use bayonets, but other means;" and the soldiers, advancing, seized the chair upon which M. Plönies was seated, and carried him into the street. The members followed, protesting against this act of outrage, and the sitting was adjourned to another time and place. The people continued to assemble in crowds wherever the military did not prevent them; but in the evening a proclamation appeared, directing the soldiers to fire on all persons who persisted in assembling, or remaining together after a summons to withdraw.

Although the Burgher Guard refused to deliver up their arms, their determination did not amount to more than a passive resistance, and the troops were actively employed in taking them from the refractory holders during the whole of the 18th, on the evening of which day nearly the whole of their weapons had been seized and carried away.

But the proceedings of the Assembly caused more trouble. On the 15th they met in the hall of the Town Council, but the military appeared, and the members withdrew under protest. In the evening of the same day 226 of the deputies assembled at a *café* in the Linden, and immediately discussed the question of refusing to grant any taxes. They passed a resolution to that effect, and were considering another, which was thus worded—"The National Assembly decrees, that the Brandenburg Ministry is not authorized to levy taxes, or disburse the public money, until the National Assembly can fulfil its duties in safety at Berlin. This resolution will take effect from the 17th November next ensuing,"—when an officer entered the apartment, accompanied by half a dozen grenadiers, who were posted at the door, whilst a battalion of the same corps were drawn up at the entrance of the building on the Linden. The officer approached the President, and stated that he had received orders from General Wrangel to cause the Chamber to be evacuated. Great agitation ensued upon this announcement, and when the officer said that he was resolved to employ force, the Assembly rose in an uncontrollable state of excitement, and cried out, "No, no; a thousand times no! We will not move from this room, although we are driven by bayonets!" Sixty or seventy Deputies sprang towards the officer and his escort, and by their excited gestures appeared disposed to drive them from the Chamber; whilst the remainder crowded round the President's table. During this state of confusion and uproar, which lasted some time, the officer and his escort stood perfectly calm, but not without the precaution of communicating with the detachment outside.

At length, when silence was somewhat re-established, there was a general call from members—"Continue the deliberations. We will hear of no more interruptions. Clear the Chamber of strangers." Upon this the officer approached the chair, and, after conferring with the President, retired with his escort outside the door, whilst a messenger was despatched to head-quarters for further instructions. The members now returned to their seats, and having heard the last-mentioned resolution read, adopted it by acclamation. The President (M. Unruh), then proposed that the House should adjourn, and the members quickly retired.

The Brandenburg Ministry stood firm in the contest, and a circular notice was forwarded to all the "Royal Governments" in the kingdom, warning them to pay no attention to the illegal resolutions of the Assembly. At the same time every precaution was taken, by a proper disposition of military force, to prevent and suppress any attempt at disturbance. A great number of arrests were made, and the prisons were filled to overflowing. The Government effectually triumphed, and the King seemed at last to have learned the lesson that his attempts to cultivate a mob popularity by grandiloquent and delusive phrases about freedom and equality, only endangered the stability of his throne, and rendered necessary the intervention of the army in its most odious form, by

calling upon it to appear as the antagonist and conqueror of its fellow-subjects.

When the news of the resolution of the Prussian Assembly to stop the supplies reached Frankfort, the National Assembly there voted that this act was null and void, and the Archduke John, the Regent of the Empire, issued an address to the people of Germany on the subject, in which he said—

"A part of the Prussian Deputies have resolved to withhold the taxes. By so doing, they have loosened the bands of political existence, deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia, and with it the whole of Germany, to the verge of civil war.

"Prussians! the representatives of Germany, at Frankfort assembled, have in this momentous crisis uttered the soothing words of peace. The Imperial Assembly has expressed a wish that the King of Prussia should surround himself with advisers who enjoy the confidence of the country. It has solemnly pledged itself to maintain the rights and liberties promised and insured to you; it has promised you protection against any attempt to violate them. It has, however, at the same time declared the resolution of the Prussian Deputies to withhold the taxes wholly null and void.

"Prussians! the Imperial Assembly at Frankfort represents the German nation in the aggregate, and its decision is supreme law to all.

"Germans! I will act in full accordance with the Imperial Assembly. I will not allow the resolution which, by preventing the levy of the taxes in Prussia, endangers the prosperity of the whole of Germany, to be carried into effect."

On the 27th of November the Prussian Assembly met at Brandenburg, but as the refractory members refused to join it for some days, there was not a sufficient number present to constitute a House. At last the extreme Radicals entered the Chamber, in order to have a trial of strength, and being beaten on a vote they at once retired, and the paucity of numbers left prevented the Assembly from transacting business. It therefore adjourned its sitting until the 7th of December, but in the mean time, on the 5th of that month, a royal edict appeared, by which the Assembly was dissolved. At the same time the programme of a new constitution was published, an account of which will appear in our next volume.

No other events of historical importance occurred, and the firmness of the Brandenburg Ministry preserved a degree of tranquillity in the capital which formed a refreshing contrast to the scenes of tumult and violence of which it had so often, during the preceding period since the beginning of March, been the scene.

GRAND DUCHY OF POSEN.—In the course of this year some horrible atrocities were committed in this duchy by the Polish inhabitants. Since the province has formed part of the Prussian dominions, a large German and Jewish population has grown up there, although the great bulk of the natives are Poles; and between the two sections there has long existed a feeling of irritation and hostility, occasioned no doubt by

the treatment of the latter by the Germans as a depressed and inferior race. We have already mentioned that, at the time when the revolution of the 18th of March occurred at Berlin, a deputation of Poles came from Breslau and obtained from the king some liberal promises with regard to the future government of his Silesian dominions. Their countrymen also who were confined for political offences were liberated from prison, and Mieroslawski, the most distinguished of them, made a kind of triumphal procession through the streets of Berlin. The King at the same time promised that the duchy should be divided into two moieties, the one Polish and the other German, and that each should possess a separate local administration. Some delay and difficulties, however, occurred in carrying out the proposed measures, and the Poles made active preparations for an insurrection. The spirit that animated them will appear from the following circular letter addressed by the Polish Committee of Posen to that of Gotzyn, dated the 28th of March :—

"We must avoid alarming the Germans, in order not to provoke a reaction; but it is important to maintain our supremacy over them. We therefore recommend your treating the Germans to their faces in a candid, straightforward manner, so that they may confide in our attachment and fraternity. But behind their backs the people are to be armed; their minds are to be inflamed with a fiery zeal."

Shortly after this the Poles throughout Silesia rose in arms, and turned with savage fury against their German fellow-subjects who were settled there. The details of their barbarous conduct are almost too harrowing for insertion in our pages. Hands and feet were cut off, eyes scooped out, and women in an advanced state of pregnancy beaten to death with clubs, and under circumstances of the most disgusting brutality. Murder and lust stalked triumphant through the land, and no age or sex was spared by the demons in human shape, who revelled in the tortures they inflicted. Such conduct of course begat retaliation, and the contest raged with a ferocity unknown in the annals of civilized nations. Mieroslawski headed the insurgent Poles and soon collected a formidable army, between whom and the Prussians various conflicts took place at Xionz, Miloslaw, and Wreschen. In the month of April General Von Pfuel left Berlin to act as civil Commissary of the revolted province, and immediately on his arrival in Posen he proclaimed martial law. The officer who conducted the military operations against the Poles under Mieroslawski was General Von Wedell, and he was instructed by Von Pfuel to consent to no cessation of hostilities, except on the following conditions :—

"1. An instantaneous laying down of arms.

"2. Emigrants and strangers from the kingdom of (Russian) Poland, Gallicia, and Cracow, with their leaders, to be marched off to a depôt between the Elbe and Weser.

"3. The natives of the Grand Duchy of Posen to be escorted to their respective districts, and there dismissed.

"4. Men of the landwehr and deserters from the ranks who had fought among the insurgents to be conducted to Posen, and recom-

mended to the King's especial grace.

"5. Security of the persons of all those who had laid down their arms."

The insurgents were attacked at several points, and defeated, and at last, early in May, the Prussian columns under Generals Colomb, Brandt, Blume, and Wedell, surrounded Mieroslawski and the body of Poles which he commanded on three sides, so that they were completely enveloped on the flanks and in front. They at first attempted to force the enemy's lines, and cut their way out of their position. This effort failed, and they then fell back on Mielczyn, a place between Gnesen and Wreschen, where, seeing that escape was impossible, they made offers for a capitulation. General Von Colomb, however, refused to enter into any such arrangement, and allowed Mieroslawski only a short time for unconditional submission.

He had no resource now left, and therefore on the 7th of May he and his companions laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. Mieroslawski was arrested and confined a close prisoner. Next day a large body of the insurgents, under the command of Brzezanski, were brought to an engagement by General Wedell, and driven back with loss on Miroslaw, where they soon capitulated, and this formidable rebellion was completely crushed. A division was made by General Von Pfuel of the district, so as to separate the German from the Polish portion, and this plan afterwards received a qualified approval from the German Assembly at Frankfort, which on the 27th of July resolved that

"The National Assembly, under present circumstances, provisionally acknowledges the preliminary boundary line between the Polish and the German part of Posen, laid down by the Royal Prussian Commissary-General Pfuel, under date of June 4th, 1848, but reserves to itself the final decision as to the boundary line to be drawn between these parts till the result of further inquiries, to be set on foot by the Central Government, has been made known."

It was also resolved,

"That the National Assembly express to the Prussian Government a confident expectation that the nationality of the Germans in the Polish part of Posen will be protected under every circumstance."

The view taken of the Polish question at this period by the radical party in Germany, is sufficiently explained in the following extracts from a speech delivered in the Frankfort Assembly, on the 24th of July, by M. Jordan, of Berlin, one of the ablest members of the German Parliament. The question was, whether the Assembly would approve of the line of demarcation drawn on Posen by the Commissary, Von Pfuel, which separated it into two portions, one German and the other Polish. He said, "No affair of such European importance had yet been treated within these walls. All words spoken in it, and the result of the debate, would be followed with attention throughout every part of the world. The Grand Duchy of Posen was commonly considered an entirely Polish land. This was not the case; some districts in it had not belonged to Poland, but to Pomerania, and were added to the province in 1815—those in which the town of Bromberg lies. Again, the western districts had become

entirely German, all towns and villages had German names, and the population often was without the slightest knowledge of the Polish tongue. This was the foundation the Assembly had to proceed upon. He would now go through, in a few words, the history of the last months. The Poles, immediately after the revolution at Berlin, demanded a national reorganization. It was accorded, and, in fact, greeted with enthusiasm by the German population itself. But there was the self-styled National Committee of Poles of Posen, driving away the German authorities, giving orders to the troops, and suddenly showing a face to the German population which meant—you are our subjects. This turned the scale. Remonstrances were made, and when the Cabinet of Berlin delayed giving an answer, the German districts declared that they would be separated at once from the Grand Duchy. This left no alternative to the Government; they consented, and drew a line of demarcation between those parts where the Poles, forming the vast majority of the population, were to try to govern themselves, and those excluded from this Polish rule. Now, the question was—shall we allow the 500,000 Germans (who have lived almost alone in these districts) to remain under German laws and institutions, or force them back under the dominion of a race which they consider a less civilized one? He who answered the latter question in the affirmative was at least an involuntary traitor. The line of demarcation drawn by the Prussian Commissioners was, on the whole, a just one; but, as it was impossible to make Polish *enclaves*, certainly some districts, inhabited almost exclusively by Poles, had been included. The reason was this—that Prussia could not (without committing high treason against Germany) give up the fortress of Posen, the most necessary point in the east of Germany, even if it had suffered the city of Posen, which was at all times inhabited chiefly by Germans, to belong to the opposite party. Now, a fortress, as everybody knew, was nothing at all by itself; and, therefore, several rivers, canals, and high-roads had been added to the town of Posen when the demarcation was completed. This was a mere necessity." M. Jordan then proceeded to speak of the affection for the Poles. This affection went on diminishing geographically as you approached their country. It was natural you should feel sympathy for a nation full of chivalrous valour and of a quick forgetfulness of self. History had crushed, with a foot of iron, a people that was no more able to govern itself. This was tragic. But what was it but a cowardly sentimentality to wish the tragedy of history to be actually forced backwards? He would now speak of certain prejudices commonly existing with regard to the Poles. He had heard people say, "Poland must be our wall of defence against Asiatic barbarism." Did Germany want such a defence? He said, No! And if she did, what in all the world gave us a right to suppose that a nation which we combated for centuries in the younger days of Germany, in many a bloody contest, which the progress of Germany particularly helped to ruin, should at once forget all this and rise to help our interests? None but the most short-sighted people

could imagine that the Poles forgot one principal axiom taught by history—that no state was truly independent without a sea coast. The Poles knew that very well; and an old proverb had been quoted a good deal in 1846, "Poland as far as the Green-bridge at Konigsberg!" You would never hear a Pole speaking of his country without Dantzig and Konigsberg as its ports, cities as German as the one in which he (M. Jordan) was speaking. Again it was said, "We ought to declare war against Russia to deliver Poland," and in order to inculcate this idea, people preached a national hatred against the Russians. This was ridiculous—and, indeed, hating a nation was utter barbarism. The people of Russia had their surface, as it were, corrupted by a shameless nobility—but the stock was excellent. They should read the books of all travellers, and see whether any one of them did not find the germ of something excellent in the common Russian? All you could fight against was the system of government in Russia. Well, then, what else could give a new prop to this system but these declamations against Russia? He would remind them of the German history forty years ago. Had not the insulting tone of the French roused the spirit of national honour in Germany, the great political progress which our country might have made then would not have been retarded, as it was, for a whole generation. The same was the case in Russia. The ideas of the age had many an ardent admirer there. Let us not turn these noble feelings into the contrary direction by insulting what is higher still in the hearts of those men—their love of fatherland! He would not speak of the threats of some, who declared that France would declare war. It was unworthy of Germany not to go its own way independently. Another prejudice was this—that justice required from us to leave to Poland what had belonged to Poland formerly. Now, he would not draw his defence from the Treaty of Vienna. Treaties of that nature were made only according to the right of the stronger. But had not this conquest been made by the plough before the sword came to finish it? The whole east of Germany was Sclavonic originally, and in the course of centuries German colonists made the soil their own, preparing the way for German dominion. Thus Mecklenburgh, Silesia, all the country east of the Elbe, was gained. In Poland, too, noblemen had been accustomed to employ German farmers. These had gained a fourfold profit from the soil, and within a generation or two became proprietors of it. It required some moral courage to stand up against opinions long inculcated, but he must say it was ignorance or ill will on the part of history to deny that Prussia had done right in that affair. Prussia took no provinces but those which were in great part colonized by Germans, which separated the Baltic possessions of Konigsberg, &c., from those belonging to Brandenburg, and she took the latter because otherwise she would have had the sword of the Czar between the different parts of her dominions. Long before the partition a great French writer had said—"Of all things wonderful the existence of Poland seemed to him the most inconceivable." Besides, during that whole time, a very large portion of the Polish nobility was in open

alliance with Russia. He asked again, what could the Prussian Cabinet do? In this case again, a "tragic irony" had taken place; absolute power broke the insolence of the nobility and gave shelter to the peasant. The Kings prepared the way for democracy. That had been the case in Posen; and if ever Poland should rise into a nation able to govern itself, the germs of equality and civilization, laid under Prussian rule, would be the origins of this elevation. To say that the Poles were kept down, was a lie; on the contrary, all means of entreaty were used to incline the Poles to take office in their own country. And yet the Poles complained that they were kept out of office. Why, he (M. Jordan) knew that whilst you would find, in general, ten Germans waiting for a place, there were ten places open for one Pole. But such occupations were too prosaic, too matter-of-fact for the Poles; they preferred travelling about in all parts of Europe, waiting for an explosion, hoping to see their own country starting up by an outward convulsion! As if a country did not, above all, require cultivation. That cultivation had taken place; but, to be sure, the fertile land was now the property of those who had dried morasses, cut the woods, made canals, built cities and villages—of those he would add, finally, who had introduced national schools throughout. He would mention only one case—in the city of Posen, and eight or ten miles round it, no less than 160 public schools were opened. He would not speak of another word always brought forward by the friends of Poland—"humanity" should prompt us to deliver up Posen. Why, Prussia had oppressed nobody, it had only weakened the arrogance of the nobles. Let them go and ask the Polish peasant throughout the country; he would tell them, "I will be Prussian." Now, as to this he knew a fact would be thrown in his face—in the last insurrection the men who fought were Polish peasants with scythes in their hands. He would speak frankly, even if he should incur the displeasure of some Roman Catholic clergymen in the house. He would assure them that he did not mean to offend them. M. Jordan then went on to prove how systematically the Poles were made to believe that Prussia and Germany had no other object but to protestantize Posen. The clergy went so far as to spread out the fable that the Neo-Catholics were set on by the Prussian Government. He assured the house that in the whole fearful struggle no national feeling prompted the wretched scythemen, but the fury of fanaticism. You would have seen no Polish banner carried before them, but the images well known from their processions. What did those unfortunate peasants now say on returning from the prisons to which they had been carried? Why, you would see them walking home peaceably without a single soldier to watch them; and if you heard an execration from their mouths, it was against those dozen noblemen who had abused their own most sacred feelings. Perhaps hon. members were not aware of this fact—that at present the authorities were scarcely able to prevent cruelties taking place against the nobility. He must guard himself against another misrepresentation, as if the Polish leaders were now such resolute de-

mocrats, communists, &c. Was it a great merit—did it require much talent to translate a few French phrases into the Polish language? The poor peasants had a stanch memory, and that memory did not show the names of the ancestors of these same gentlemen as democrats. The peasants had never believed their words. If others were in the habit of speaking of a reconstruction of Poland, he could only hope for a construction of a Polish people that had never existed before. And if this construction succeeded, the German rule had made it possible. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta.* There was a portion of Posen still chiefly inhabited by Poles—might that be the cradle of a regenerated Poland!

CHAPTER XIV.

Austria. *Population of Austrian Empire—Review of Events in Hungary—Prince Metternich proposes Dissolution of Hungarian Chamber—Opening of Session of Diet for Lower Austria—The Chamber invaded by the Mob—Conflict with the Military—Proclamation by the Emperor—Flight of Metternich from Vienna—Conduct of the Bathyany-Kossuth Ministry in Hungary—Baron Von Jellachich appointed by the Emperor Ban of Croatia—New Ministry at Vienna—Declaration of Amnesty—Outline of New Constitution—Promulgation of the Constitution—Changes in the Ministry at Vienna—New Electoral Law—The Emperor abandons the Capital for Innspruck—Proclamation to the Austrian People—Quarrel of Races in Bohemia—The Czechs and the Germans—Great Pansclavonic Congress convoked at Prague—Provisional Government established there—Sclavonic Diet convened by Jellachich—Outbreak of Insurrection at Prague—The Princess Windischgrätz killed by a Rifle Shot—Bombardment of Prague—The Rebellion crushed—Jellachich stripped of his Office by the Emperor—Reconciliation effected at Innspruck—Failure of attempted Adjustment of the Quarrel between the Hungarians and Croats—Manifesto of the Ban—Opening of Session of the Hungarian Diet—Speech of Kossuth in the Diet, on the Question of Magyar Nationality—Address of the Hungarian Chamber—Constituent Assembly of Austria opened at Vienna—Speech of the Archduke John—Return of the Emperor to Vienna—His enthusiastic Reception—Contest in Hungary between the Magyars and the Croats—Deputation from Pesth to the Emperor—Threatening advance of Jellachich—His Proclamation—The National Assembly at Vienna refuses to receive Second Hungarian Deputation—Murder of Count Lamberg, at Pesth—The Ban of Croatia appointed by the Emperor Commander-in-Chief and Commissary Plenipotentiary in Hungary—Revolt at Vienna—Flight of the Emperor—Jellachich marches upon the Capital—His Reply to the Messages of the Diet—Approach of the Hungarian Troops—Situation of Vienna at this Crisis—Prince Windischgrätz takes the Command of the besieging Army—Prague declares for the Emperor—Storming of the Suburbs of Vienna—Surrender of the City—Execution of Blum and Messenhauser—Protest of the National Assembly at Frankfort—The Austrian Army marches against the Hungarians—Change in the Viennese Cabinet—Meeting of the Diet at Kremsir—Abdication of the Imperial Throne by the Emperor—Proclamation by the New Emperor, Francis Charles—Reflections on the Position of Austria.*

THE population of the Austrian Empire consists of not less than five distinct races: the German, the Sclavonic, the Magyar, the Italian, and the Wallachian. The respective numbers of these nations have been estimated as follows: Germans, 7,285,000; Sclavonians, 17,033,000; Magyars, 4,800,000; Italians, 5,183,000; Wallachians, 2,156,000; to whom we may add, 475,000 Jews, and 128,000 Gipsies, forming an aggregate of more than 37 millions. The languages spoken by this enormous mass are, of course, various, and they may be classified in the following proportions:—German, by 7,071,825 persons; Sclavonic, by 15,455,998; Romanic, by 7,817,711; Asiatic (including that of the Magyars, Armenians, Jews, and Zigeuner, or Gipsies), by 5,634,738. The different states or countries of which the empire is composed, are Austria (the hereditary dominions of the House of Hapsburg), Styria, Illyria, Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which are all within the limits of the German Confederation. But without those limits, and forming constituent parts of the same great empire, are, Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Transylvania, Dalmatia, Gallicia, and the kingdom of Lombardy, including the Venetian territory. Besides these there is the Military Frontier, extending from the Adriatic to Gallicia, which numbers 1,235,466 souls, amongst whom German is the language most generally spoken; and it is calculated that they can furnish the Government on any sudden emergency with not less than 46,000 well-disciplined troops *.

We commence our narrative of the important events which happened this year in the dominions of Austria with a few remarks upon

* See the article on Austria and Germany in the Quarterly Review, No. CLXVII. The following statistical account is taken from the Kölnische Zeitung:—

"According to the latest estimates there are 7,285,000 Germans in Austria, constituting above one-fifth of the entire population. Unmixed, however, and in a compact mass, they live only in the Archduchy of Austria, in the greater northern half of Styria, in a large part of Carinthia, in a smaller part of Krain, and in the greater northern part of the Tyrol,—altogether nearly 4,500,000 souls. Other 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 live on the northern and western borders of Bohemia, and, more intermingled with Sclavonians, in Moravia and Austrian Silesia. In the Hungarian provinces there are 1,200,000 Germans, 300,000 or 400,000 of whom live in Transylvania, where they are not so much interspersed with foreign tribes as in the other parts.

"The number of Sclavonians amounts to 17,033,000 (above three-sevenths of the whole population); 7,224,000 of them are Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks; 2,375,000 Poles; 2,822,000 Ruthenen; 4,605,000 Illyro-Servians (Croats, Slowenzen, and Servians). The first-named tribes inhabit the larger part of Bohemia and Moravia, the whole of Gallicia, and the north of Hungary, so that the northern part of the monarchy is occupied by them in a broad and uninterrupted line; the Illyro-Servians extend in the south from the coasts of the Adriatic almost to the frontiers of Transylvania.

"The Italian population in Lombardy and Venice, in South Tyrol, and on the coasts of Illyria and Dalmatia, amounts to 5,183,000.

"The Wallachians, 2,156,000 in number, form chiefly the population of Transylvania, and of the eastern frontiers of Hungary Proper.

"The seat of the Magyars, amounting to 4,800,000, is in the plains of Middle Hungary; but they are everywhere intersected by Sclavonians and Germans: part of Transylvania is also inhabited by them and by the Szeklers.

"The number of Gipsies in Austria amounts to 128,000, and that of Jews to 475,000."

the position of Hungary, for the revolutions at Vienna had an intimate connection with the troubles which agitated that portion of the empire.

From 1812 to 1825 the Diet of Hungary had remained in a state of abeyance, and was not once convoked during that interval. At the former period it met when Austria was crushed under the heel of Napoleon, and the Palatine addressed to it the memorable words, that "Hungary must once more save the empire, as it had done in 1741, when appealed to by Maria Theresa." In 1825, the members again assembled, and from this period we may date the commencement of the aggressive attempts of the Magyar race to establish an offensive supremacy over the whole of Croatia and Sclavonia. But it was not until 1830 that the Diet determined to substitute the use of the Magyar language for the Latin throughout the whole of the Sclavonic population of Hungary. This awakened a strong feeling of reaction in the latter, and the joint Diet of Croatia and Sclavonia, which has its sittings at Agram, the capital of Croatia, and claims to be independent of the General Hungarian Diet at Pesth, raised the cry of "*Nolumus Magyarisari;*" and when at a later period the Diet at Pesth decreed that the Magyar language should be adopted in all official transactions, and taught in the public schools, and that both the Diets should carry on their discussions in that tongue, the Croatian Diet at Agram, which had hitherto deliberated in Latin, resolved thenceforth to use the Illyrian language exclusively.

Early in March, the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies assembled at Presburg, voted an address to the Emperor, in which they, without disguise, condemned the system of Prince Metternich's policy, and advised their monarch "to surround his throne with constitutional institutions, in accordance with the ideas of the age." In this address the Chamber of Magnates also concurred. When the news of this arrived at Vienna, Prince Metternich at once proposed in the Supreme Council of State that the Hungarian Parliament should be dissolved; the announcement of which excited lively dissatisfaction in the capital.

On the 13th of March, the Diet for Lower Austria was opened, and an address was resolved upon, which contained the following passage:—

"Most Gracious Sire!—The people of Austria will elevate to the stars the Crown which, free and self-conscious, great and glorious, declares confidence to be the real fortress of the State, and harmonizes this confidence with the ideas of the age."

To this was added a petition, which asked for an immediate reform in the constitution of the Chamber, and the liberty for it forthwith to consider measures for increasing the representation; reparation of the finances; and a general restoration of confidence in the empire, together with the liberty of the press.

But the people had collected in crowds around the hall, and a body of persons, consisting chiefly of students, forced their way inside. They were followed by more of the mob, and the Chamber was filled by a strange assemblage. A deputation of the States proceeded to present the address to the Emperor, and during their absence the populace became impatient,

and were very riotous; but, when the news arrived that the requests contained in the petition had been refused, a general destruction of the contents of the Chamber immediately commenced. The students headed the work of violence, and after doing all the mischief in their power, the excited mob rushed towards the palace, and began to attack some houses in the immediate neighbourhood. The troops now came up, and fired in platoon upon the crowd, who however would not give way, and a fierce conflict took place. At last the Burgher Guard appeared, and this produced a pause in the struggle; but the whole body forced their way to the palace, where they were met by the intelligence that Prince Metternich had resigned, and that their demands would be granted. This put a stop to the tumult, and during the night the peace of the city was preserved by the Burgher Guard, assisted by the students, to whom arms were supplied from the Arsenal by orders of the Government. Next morning the troops of the line, to the number of about 18,000, were withdrawn beyond the walls, and the preservation of order was confided to the Burgher Guard. The formation of a National Guard was also decreed. On the 15th, the following important proclamation was issued by the Emperor.

"By virtue of our declaration abolishing the censorship, liberty of the press is allowed in the form under which it exists in those countries which have hitherto enjoyed it. A National Guard, established on the basis of property and intelligence, already performs the most beneficial service.

"The necessary steps have been taken for convoking, with the least possible loss of time, the Deputies from all our provincial States, and from the Central Congregations of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, (the representation of the class of burghers being strengthened, and due regard being paid to the existing provincial constitutions,) in order that they may deliberate on the constitution which we have resolved to grant to our people.

"We therefore confidently expect that excited tempers will become composed, that study will resume its wonted course, and that industry and peaceful intercourse will spring into new life."

Prince Metternich fled from Vienna, and ultimately took up his abode in England—the great land of refuge this year for distressed foreigners. A Provisional Council was in the mean time appointed, consisting of the following members—Barons Steifel and Doppel, and MM. Meyer and Roberto. In the midst of all this confusion and excitement, the people gave a proof that the inherent loyalty of the German character was by no means extinct, for when the Emperor, surrounded by several members of the Imperial Family, appeared on the balcony of the Court Library, on the Josephs Platz, where the National Guard was drawn up in ranks, they were received with enthusiastic shouts. Suddenly the National Anthem was begun, and the effect upon the assembled multitude was electric. Tears flowed down the cheeks of young and old, and it seemed as if the Crown had never been more endeared to the people.

Let us now turn our attention to Hungary, where important events

took place. After the 15th of March had witnessed the downfall of Prince Metternich, and his flight from Vienna, the Bathyany-Kossuth Ministry at Pesth pursued a course which aimed at nothing less than a dismemberment of the Empire. They required that there should be a distinct and separate administration of war, finance, and foreign affairs for Hungary. They obviously intended to realize the favourite theory of Hungarian independence and Magyar supremacy over the Sclavonic part of the population. We have already shown that the numerical superiority of the latter is great over the former, and it was not likely that they would tamely submit to the domination of a hostile and weaker race. So long as Hungary remained a vassal of the Empire, the Croats were content to be governed mediately through her Diet and Ministers, for they felt that all were alike constituent elements of one great body politic. But the case was different when Hungary prepared to assert her independence, and become a separate kingdom; and the Sclavonic multitudes resolved not to submit to the attempted usurpation.

The Viceroy of Croatia is called Ban or Pan, which in the Sclavonic dialect signifies Lord. Since the resignation of that office by Haller in 1845, the Government had been carried on by the Bishop of Agram, who acted as Viceroy for the interim; but now deputations were sent from Croatia to Vienna to beseech the Emperor to appoint Baron Von Jellachich as Ban. The request was granted, and, as we shall hereafter see, momentous consequences followed from this selection.

When the storm of popular fury had driven Prince Metternich from power, the Emperor appointed, on the 17th of March, Count Von Kolowrath, Minister of State, Prime Minister *ad interim;* Count Von Figuelmont Minister of Foreign Affairs; Baron Von Pillersdorf, Supreme Chancellor, Minister of the Interior; Count Von Taffe Minister of Justice; and Baron Von Kubeck Minister of Finance.

Royal proclamations were issued, in which liberal measures were promised; and, on the 21st of March, an amnesty was published bestowing pardon upon all political offenders who had been tried for high treason and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment "in the kingdoms of Gallicia and Lodomeria, inclusive of the district of Cracow, and in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom." The decree also provided that persons from those kingdoms who were found guilty of political crimes, or who were accessories to such crimes, if they were confined in any other province, no matter where, should be liberated.

It may be interesting to see the style and titles used by the Emperor at a time not distant from the day when he was to become a fugitive from his capital. The declaration of amnesty was thus headed:—

"We, Ferdinand I., by the Grace of God, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the fifth King of that name, King of Lombardy and Venice, of Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria and Illyria, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Lorraine, Salzburg, Styria, Karinthia, Krain, Upper and Lower Silesia, Prince of Siebenburgen, Markgrave of Mahren, Princely Count of Hapsburg and Tyrol," &c.

Early in April was announced a programme or outline of a new constitution which the Emperor was induced to promise to his subjects. It was as follows:—

"1. All the provinces are constituted into one body, with the exception of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Siebenburgen, and, for the present, the Italian provinces.

"2. The division of the empire shall remain as it exists at present.

"3. The person of the Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

"4. The Emperor has full power over the land and sea forces, and the right of making war or peace.

"5. Treaties of every description with foreign powers can only be made with the sanction of the two Houses of Parliament.

"6. The attribute of mercy and the right of bestowing rewards belong to the Emperor; but mercy cannot be extended to the Ministers without the sanction of the Parliament.

"7. The laws are to be administered publicly in open courts by verbal pleadings, and trial to be by jury. The judges will be appointed for life.

"8. All projects of laws are to be proposed as well as sanctioned by the Emperor.

"9. The Emperor will assemble the Parliament annually, and he must call them together at stated intervals. He has the right to prorogue and dissolve them.

"10. Freedom of religion, speech, the press, petition, and public meeting is granted to every citizen, subject to future laws.

"11. Entire liberty of conscience and religion.

"12. The free exercise of religious worship is accorded to all Christians and Jews.

"13. All citizens are equal in the eye of the law, and every citizen shall be tried by his peers.

"14. The responsibility of the Ministers shall be regulated by the Diet.

"15. The legislative power is in the hands of the Emperor and the Diet.

"16. Two Houses of Parliament are to be constituted. The qualifications for Members of the Upper House are birth and large landed property; and they are to be nominated by the Emperor. Members of the Lower House are to be chosen from all classes, in order that every interest may be represented.

"17. The two Houses have the power to project laws and receive petitions.

"18. All laws require the sanction of both Houses, particularly those relating to the expenditure, taxation, finance, and the sales of public property.

"19. A law will be framed for the organization of the National Guard. The law of election is only provisional, and will be settled by the first Parliament. Amendments of the constitution can only be proposed by the Diet."

The constitution itself was promulgated on the 25th of April; and the following are the principal sections relating to the construction of the Diet:—

"34. The Diet, which, in conjunction with the Emperor, exercises the legislative power, is divided into two chambers, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The duration of the Diet is limited to five years, and it is to be summoned annually.

"35. The Senate consists—

"(a) Of Princes of the Imperial House who have completed their 24th year;

"(b) Of members named by the Emperor for life, without reference to rank or birth;

"(c) Of 150 members, who are chosen by the chief landed proprietors out of their own body for the whole duration of each Parliament.

"36. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 383 members.

"The election of all the members of this Chamber is to be regulated according to the population, and in such a way that it may represent all classes of citizens.

"37. The election of the members of both Chambers will be regulated for the first Diet according to a provisional law.

"38. The definitive law for the elections will be determined by the assembled Diet, which will also determine on the compensation to be allowed to the Deputies to the Second Chamber.

"39. Each Chamber chooses its President and other functionaries, and is alone competent to examine into and decide upon the validity of the elections.

"40. The members of both Chambers can only exercise their right of voting in person, and are not to receive instructions from their constituents.

"41. The sittings of both Chambers are public: an exception to this can be made only by a decision of the Chamber, which decides the point in a private sitting, by desire of 10 members or of the President.

"42. Members are exempted from prosecution and arrest during the sitting of the Diet, unless the Chamber expressly give its assent, or a member is actually detected in *flagrante delicto*.

"43. A member who accepts office from the State has to submit to a fresh election. The Government will refuse no member that is elected admission into the Chambers.

"The Chambers are only to assemble when convened by the Emperor."

In the mean time, however, Count Kolowrath had ceased to be Prime Minister. He retired early in April, and was succeeded by Count Figuelmont, who formed a Ministry under the auspices of the Emperor's uncle, the Archduke John. His tenure of office lasted only until the 5th of May, when he was displaced by Baron Lebzeltern, who, with his colleagues, resigned on the 15th of the same month, but remained for a short time provisionally in office.

Early in May the *Wahl-ordnung*, or law for regulating the mode of elections to constitute the first Austrian Parliament, appeared; and the following were some of the most important provisions:—

The Chambers were to meet on the 26th of June. The number of the members of the Senate were not to exceed 200, to consist of Princes of the Blood, 150 chosen from and by the chief landed proprietors for the duration of the Parliament, and the remainder to be nominated by the Emperor for life. The Chamber of Deputies to consist of 383 members, being at the rate of one for every 50,000 inhabitants, except in the case of the principal towns, which were to have a larger number of representatives in proportion to the population. Thus Vienna would have 15 members. The elections to be indirect, as for the Frankfort Parliament.

The right of suffrage was to appertain to all Austrian citizens, without distinction as to re-

ligion, who had attained their 24th year, possessed the free exercise of their civil rights, had been for six months resident in the electoral district, and were not entitled to vote in the election of members of the Upper Chamber. Daily and weekly labourers, domestic servants, and persons receiving assistance from public charities, were excluded from the suffrage.

To be eligible as a deputy, it was requisite that the candidate should have attained his 30th year, and have the right of voting for the election of members of the Upper or Lower Chamber.

In the mean time, the populace of Vienna, headed by the students, were in reality masters of the Government, and the Emperor felt that he was no longer a free agent.

The events that had occurred, and the revolutionary language of the inhabitants, determined him at last to abandon his capital; and on the evening of the 17th of May he, with the Empress and other members of the Imperial family, secretly quitted it. The pretext at first given out for this step was, that the health of the Emperor required change of air—as the Ministry stated in a manifesto which they drew up that night when they were "verbally and most unexpectedly informed" of their royal master's flight. The Emperor proceeded to Innspruck, in the Tyrol, and from that city he sent forth a proclamation to the Austrian people, in which he said—

"The events which took place at Vienna forced the painful conviction upon me that factious rioters, assisted by the Academical Legion and part of the National Guard, misled by foreigners, and unmindful of their wonted allegiance, conspired against my liberty with a view of enthralling my provinces. The inhabitants of these provinces, and, indeed, all well-meaning citizens of my capital, must of necessity resent so daring an outrage with unlimited exasperation. No alternative was left to me, beyond recurring to measures of violence, except to withdraw for the moment to one of my provinces. These, God be thanked, have all remained true to their Monarch."

He added—"I will not grant anything to the forcible exactions of unauthorized and armed individuals. My departure from Vienna was intended to impress this upon my painfully excited people, and likewise to remind them of the paternal love with which I am ever ready to receive my sons, even though they be prodigal ones."

This sudden step of the Emperor certainly had the effect of making the inhabitants of Vienna most anxious for his return, and earnest petitions to that effect were transmitted to him at Innspruck, but in vain; and it was not until the 8th of August that Ferdinand consented to quit the safe asylum of his Tyrolese dominions and again take up his residence in Vienna.

In the mean time national antipathies between the German and Sclavonic races had broken out into open hostilities in Bohemia. Early in March a meeting had been held at Prague, for the purpose of petitioning the Austrian Government to grant certain demands upon which both the Czechs and Germans were agreed. They were principally these:—political equality of the two races (Czech or Sclavonic and German); obliga-

tion on all public functionaries to speak both languages; union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, guaranteed by a Diet which was to meet alternately at Prague and Brunn; representative and municipal reform; liberty of the press; publicity of proceedings in courts of justice; arming of the people; suppression of feudal seignories and jurisdictions; security for personal liberty; impartiality in the demands of military service; and equality of all religious sects.

After considerable delay, the whole of these demands were, on the 8th of April, granted by a royal rescript of the Emperor, and the young Archduke Francis Joseph, the nephew of Ferdinand and heir presumptive of the throne, was nominated Viceroy of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The effect of this concession, however, was very different from what had been anticipated. Hitherto the German element of the population, though numerically inferior in the proportion of 1,830,000 to 2,558,000, had been the dominant body; but now, in consequence of the new constitution granted at their own request, they found themselves in a position of disadvantage. They had despised the Sclavonic race too much to take the trouble to acquire a knowledge of their language, and owing to the provision which required all public officers to speak both tongues, they were suddenly incapacitated for state employments, and the Czechs became at once the powerful and dominant party. Count Leo Thun was elected by the latter as Burgrave of Prague, and it was resolved to convoke a great Pansclavonic Congress, to meet at Prague on the 31st of May, in order to determine upon the measures necessary to protect Sclavonic independence against the aggressive attempts of Teutonic supremacy.

Two days before this Assembly met, Count Leo Thun and the other leaders of the Czechs at Prague determined to establish a Provisional Government there, which should be independent of the Government at Vienna. Accordingly, eight of the most conspicuous members of that party were chosen and invested with the direction of affairs, and two of the number left Prague for Innspruck, in order to obtain the formal sanction of the Emperor to their proceedings.

In the mean time the Sclavonic population of the south had not been idle; and, on the 20th of May, Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, despatched from Agram a letter to Count Leo Thun, in which he announced that a Diet had been convened to meet there on the 5th of June, for the triple kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia, and he invited the Austro-Sclavonic countries to send deputies to this Congress or Diet of the "Croatish-Sclavonic nation."

In obedience to the summons issued by the Czechs of Prague, three hundred deputies from the different Sclavonic States met there on the 2nd of June, when the Congress was formally opened. Their first act was to frame and publish a manifesto to the whole of Europe, in which they declared that their object was to claim and assert full justice for the whole Sclavonic family; and to effect this they demanded that a great European Congress should meet, and settle the various conflicting interests of the States in which Sclaves formed part of the population. But a

sterner arbitrament was at hand. The Viennese ministry refused to recognise the Provisional Government at Prague, and declared that its constitution was illegal, and its acts void. At this time the Austrian Governor of Prague was Prince Windischgrätz (a lineal descendant of the great Wallenstein), and he took active measures to prepare for the struggle which he saw approaching. On the 12th of June a public meeting of the Czechs was held, to protest against the removal of artillery to points where it could be directed against the city. A tumult ensued, and the crowd rushed to the house of Prince Windischgrätz, where they gave vent to their feelings of hatred by abusive cries. The rioters were ordered to disperse, but they refused to quit the place, and some shots were fired by the mob, one of which, from a rifle, by a melancholy fatality, killed the Princess Windischgrätz, who was in an apartment of the house. The bereaved husband immediately came forward, and expostulated with the crowd in mild and dignified language, but in vain; at last an attempt was made to seize him, but the soldiers promptly interfered, and a general fight between them and the populace commenced. The contest raged with fury until the evening of the 14th, when Count Mensdorff arrived from Vienna, and assumed the command of the troops. This produced no cessation of the struggle, and on the following day the military quitted the town, and, taking up a position in the heights, began to bombard it with cannon. Even then the infuriated Czechs refused to yield; and it was not until the evening of the 17th, when a great part of the city had been destroyed, that the troops gained possession of Prague, and the insurrection was put down. The Sclavonic Congress was of course at once dissolved, and the revolutionary Government overthrown.

We have mentioned the intention of the Ban of Croatia to hold a Sclavonic Diet at Agram on the 5th of June, but before that day arrived the Austrian Government declared that the meeting would be illegal, and the Ban himself was summoned by the Emperor to meet him at Innspruck, and give an account of his conduct. He refused to obey this command, and the Diet was held in defiance of the imperial prohibition. Jellachich was there formally invested by *its* authority with the office of Ban, which he had hitherto held under the grant of the Emperor, and an oath of office was administered to him by the Greek Bishop of Carlowitz. When intelligence of his contumacious conduct reached Innspruck, the Emperor denounced him as a rebel, and by a royal decree he was divested of all his titles and offices. The Croats were at once treated as rebels, and the Austrian Marshal Hrabowsky commenced a campaign against them. He took Carlowitz in the beginning of June, after a severe bombardment, which reduced the city to ruins, and shortly afterwards Neusatz surrendered, to escape a similar fate.

But the hostility of Jellachich and his Croatian followers was directed not against Austria, but Hungary, and they were quite ready to acknowledge the imperial authority, provided that this did not entail upon them subjection to Hungarian rule. Early in July the Ban proceeded to Innspruck, and there had an interview with

his royal master. The result was, that the Emperor was satisfied of his fidelity to the throne, and attempts were now made to reconcile the differences that existed between the Croats and the Hungarians. Ultimately a meeting took place at Vienna, between Jellachich and Count Bathyany, as representing the Hungarian Government, with the view of adjusting the dispute; but no good result followed, and, after each had refused to make such concessions as were required by the other side, the representatives of the two races parted in anger, and, with expressions of mutual hostility, to determine the quarrel by the sword. On his return to Agram the Ban published, on the 6th of August, a manifesto to his countrymen, in which he stated that during his stay at Vienna the Archduke John had proposed to mediate between him and the Magyar party, and that his demands were limited to asking for the fusion of the war, financial, and foreign departments with the administration of the whole monarchy; to the security and equality of rights of the Sclavonic nationality and language in the administration of affairs, and at the common Diet of Hungary; and to the satisfaction of the wishes and claims of the Servian nation in Hungary. He added, that neither the Archduke John nor the Hungarian Premier was allowed by the adverse party to listen to these demands, and that the Archduke's departure from Vienna put an end to the attempted mediation. He said that the Croatians must now wait for the decision of the Hungarian Diet on their *ultimatum*, and rely on their own strength and unity, and on the justice of their cause, which was acknowledged not only by His Majesty "our Emperor and King," but also the free people of Austria and the nations of Europe.

On the 5th of July, the Hungarian Diet was opened by the Archduke Palatine Stephen at Pesth, and in the speech which he delivered the insurrection of the Croats was thus spoken of:—

"In the name of our beloved King, Ferdinand V., I open this Diet, for the present condition of our country, especially the disturbances in Croatia, on the Lower Danube, and the Sclavonian frontiers, makes an immediate opening of the Diet necessary. His Majesty wishes for a general restoration of peace and order. There is reason to hope that the financial questions will be definitively and beneficially settled by a series of laws which the Ministry propose to submit to the Assembly. His Majesty has been grieved to learn that quiet and order have been disturbed in several of his countries, at the very time that His Majesty, with paternal care, has fulfilled all wishes for the happiness of his people. Malevolent individuals, by fomenting national and religious discords in Croatia, have caused an open resistance to the laws and orders of His Majesty, and they have even dared to take His Majesty and the members of the Royal Family as a pretext and authority for their lawless endeavours.

"His Majesty scorns such insinuations; the King and his Royal Family will at all times respect the laws and protect the liberties granted to his people."

Not long previously, the Diet of Transylvania met, and immediately came to a vote decreeing the union of that province with the kingdom of Hungary, and the surrender without reserve of their

own independent rights. By this important step the strength of the Magyar inhabitants of Hungary was increased by the accession of a million and a half of men; and the two races there, animated by feelings of bitter hostility towards each other, prepared for the inevitable struggle which was approaching. The Hungarian Minister, Kossuth, stated in the Diet, as a reason for not sending a contingent of troops into Italy in order to support Radetzky in the war which he was carrying on against the Piedmontese and revolted Lombards, the fear that in that case the Croat regiments serving there would immediately return to their own country and join Jellachich in an invasion of Hungary. But at the same time the Italian war was made a pretext for raising regiments in the name of the Emperor, which were destined to be employed, not in the service of Austria against the Italians, but in the impending struggle against the Croats. The view taken by the Hungarian Ministers of the position of their country at this crisis, is revealed in the following speech, addressed by Kossuth to the Diet on the 11th of July:—

"Do not deceive yourselves, Citizens," he said, "the Magyars stand alone in the world against the conspiracy of the sovereigns and nations which surround them; the Emperor of Russia besets us through the principalities; and everywhere, even in Servia, we detect his hand and gold. In the north, the armed bands of Sclaves are endeavouring to join the rebels of Croatia, and are preparing to march against us. In Vienna, the courtiers and statesmen are calculating the advent of the day when they shall be able again to rivet the chains of their old slaves the Magyars, an undisciplined and rebellious race. O! my fellow citizens, it is thus that tyrants have ever designated freemen. You are alone, I repeat. Are you ready and willing to fight?"

The debate on the Address in the Hungarian Chamber did not terminate before the end of July, when the Diet made the following profession of loyalty and devotion to the Imperial crown:—

"If malevolent rebels are found in the annexed parts and in the lower regions of the Danube, who carried their rebellion to the culpable extreme of spreading a rumour that their crimes were committed for your Majesty's interests and the interests of your Royal House, and with the knowledge of your Majesty and of that Royal House, we entreat your Majesty to be convinced that assertions like these could only increase the loyalty of your faithful Hungarians, for these calumnies of the exasperated traitors have inflicted a more painful wound on the feelings of the nation than even the faithless rebellion which put them forth. The nation has understood with regret that it has not been possible to end the war in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the troops of the Sardinian King, and those of some other Italian Powers, have attacked your Majesty's forces. And as genuine as our homage, so earnest is our wish to see this question solved in a manner at once satisfactory to the dignity of the throne and to justice and right on either side. As soon as order and peace shall be restored to our country, we will readily offer our hand to your Majesty for the purpose of effecting a peaceable understanding, which answers to the

dignity of the throne on the one hand, and the constitutional liberty of the Italian nation and their just claims on the other."

On the 22nd of July, the Constituent Assembly, or Diet, of Austria, was opened at Vienna by the Archduke John, who thus addressed the Assembly:—

"Charged by His Majesty, our constitutional Emperor, with the opening of the Diet, I come to perform this agreeable duty, and salute you all from my heart—you, gentlemen, who are called upon to finish the work of the revival of the country. The consolidation of the liberty we have conquered, and our future well-being require your frank and independent co-operation for the establishment of the constitution. All the nationalities of the Austrian monarchy are equally near the heart of His Majesty, and all interests find a solid basis in the free fraternization of the nationalities in equality of the rights of all, and in the close union of Germany. The heart of His Majesty has been deeply afflicted by seeing that the plenitude of all the advantages which liberal institutions wisely administered ordinarily insure cannot be at once granted. His Majesty partakes with a lively sympathy in all the sufferings of his people. As concerns Hungary and the neighbouring countries, we are permitted to expect, from the generosity and spirit of justice of the people, a pacific and satisfactory settlement of the questions which remain to be solved. The war in Italy is not directed against the liberties of the people of that country—its real object is to maintain the honour of the Austrian arms in presence of the Italian powers, recognising their nationality, and to support the most important interests of the State. The benevolent desire to terminate pacifically unhappy dissensions having been without effect, it has become the task of our brave army to conquer an honourable peace."

On the 8th of August, the Emperor left Innspruck to return to Vienna, where he arrived on the 12th. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and, when he left the vessel which conveyed him from Stein down the Danube to his capital, bands of girls strewed flowers along the way as he walked from the pier to his carriage. The Members of the Diet filled the great saloon of the palace, and when the Emperor entered he was addressed by the President in a complimentary speech, in which he said:—

"*Sire,*

"In the name of the Diet, in the name of the free peoples of Austria, whom that Diet represents, I welcome your Majesty back to the halls of your ancestral palace, as the wished-for sovereign of the constitutional reorganization of our country. The acclamations of your faithful people at the happy arrival of their beloved Emperor announce the contemporaneous return of confidence and courage, and of order and quiet, the firm foundations of a new-born prosperity. The Diet, representing as it does a free people in a constitutional monarchy, consider it their duty to preserve not only their own dignity, but also the sanctity and inviolability of the constitutional throne. Your Majesty's return to this city, where your people's representatives are now in Parliament assembled, is a guarantee that the constitution which

emanated from the heart of the noblest Austrian Emperor will be strengthened by the concurrence of the constitutional throne. May our Emperor's benevolence, so eager for the peoples' welfare, descend as a sacred heirloom to all future members of the Imperial family."

Such flattery would, no doubt, have been grateful to the Imperial ear, if there had been belief in its sincerity; but the monarch was not likely to forget the precarious nature of popularity at such a juncture, and events soon showed how little he could rely upon the attachment of the citizens of Vienna or the loyalty of the Diet. Next day, however, Ferdinand issued a proclamation, in which he thanked his "faithful Viennese" for these "proofs of their unalterable love," and said:—

"Co-operating with the representatives you have elected, and assisted by my responsible counsellors, I hope to succeed in completing the arduous task Providence has assigned me, namely, the reconstruction of the Government of the country on the basis of a representative constitution."

We can give only a brief and rapid narrative of the contest that now took place between the Sclavonic and Magyar forces in Hungary, where war was carried on with circumstances of savage ferocity on both sides. Early in August the Croatian troops entered the Comitat of Toronta, and laid siege to Grand-Beeskerek, one of the most important cities of Hungary. The country on the Lower Theiss and the Danube, a district so fertile in corn as to be called the granary of Hungary, was laid waste by hostile bands, and some of the regiments which were sent to oppose the Croats on the frontier, being themselves composed principally of Sclaves, refused to act against them. The Diet decreed an issue of paper money to support the expenses of the war, but this act of theirs was disallowed by the Imperial Government. On the 5th of September, Kossuth, who was so weakened by illness that he was obliged to be carried into the hall of the Diet at Pesth, recommended that a deputation should be sent to the Emperor, at Vienna, in order that the emergency of the situation of affairs might be laid before him. Accordingly a large body of Hungarian magnates and deputies proceeded to the Austrian capital, and had an interview with the Emperor at his palace of Schönbrunn. In their address to him they said, "It is in the name of that fidelity we have shown for centuries to your ancestors that we now come to demand of you the maintenance of the rights of the kingdom. Hungary has not been united to your crown as a conquered province, but as a free nation, whose privileges and independence have been insured by your Majesty's coronation oath. . . . . The wishes of the people have been satisfied by the laws enacted by the last Diet; why are the rights of the nation menaced by an insurrection, the leaders of which declare openly that they are in arms on your Majesty's behalf? Whilst the blood of Hungary is flowing in Italy in defence of the Austrian monarchy, one portion of her children is perfidiously excited against the other, and casts off the obedience due to the legal Government of the country. Insurrection threatens our frontiers, and, under the pretence of upholding your authority, it is

actually assailing the integrity of the kingdon, and our ancient and new liberties. . . . . It is in the name of the people we call on your Majesty to order the Hungarian regiments to obey the Hungarian Ministry, without reserve and notwithstanding all other orders. We desire that Croatia be freed from military despotism, it order that it may unite fraternally with Hungary. Finally, we demand that your Majesty, discarding the reactionary counsels of those about you, give your immediate sanction to all the measures voted by the Diet, and come and reside in Pesth among your people, where your royal presence is necessary to save the country. Let your Majesty hasten. The least delay may occasion indescribable calamities."

The Emperor replied that the state of his health would not allow him to go to Pesth. He said that he would reconsider the question of the issue of paper money, although his opinion was against it, and that he had already published a manifesto to the Ban of Croatia for the purpose, if possible, of bringing about an amicable settlement of the quarrel.

This answer was received by the deputation in moody silence, and the members, when they left Vienna and went on board the steamer which was to convey them to Pesth, hoisted a red flag as their ensign, and tearing from their caps the united colours of Austria and Hungary, replaced them with red feathers. On their arrival at Pesth with the news of their reception, the feelings of the populace were those of deep resentment, and violent language was used in the Diet. It was, however, resolved to make another appeal for Austrian assistance, and on the 17th of September the Diet voted that a deputation of twenty-five Members should proceed forthwith to Vienna, and apply directly to the National Assembly for aid in the struggle in which they were engaged against the Croats. In the mean time the Kossuth Ministry, which advocated a less pacific policy, resigned, and Count Bathyany attempted to form one of a more moderate character. But the emergency was great: Jellachich had crossed the Drave, and marching rapidly across Southern Hungary, where he met with no opposition, had reached Stuhlweissenberg, within a short distance from the capital. He had, when he crossed the frontier, issued a proclamation, in which he said—"It is in vain to call by the name of revolt or treason a proceeding which is inspired only by pure love of country and fidelity to our King. And let it not be feared that I wish to retract any of the concessions or privileges lately accorded by the royal word to the Hungarian nation. All that has been done legally shall be upheld: it is not an enemy who invades the plains of Hungary; it is a friend who comes to the aid of the loyal subjects of the constitutional King. They will hold out to me the hand of brotherhood, and, with God's aid, we will deliver the country from the yoke of an incapable, odious, and rebel Government."

About the same time the news arrived at Pesth that the National Assembly at Vienna had, by a majority of 186 votes to 108, refused to receive the Hungarian deputation. Stung by the affront, the Diet immediately resolved to keep no measures with Austria, and they invested Kossuth with full dicta-

torial powers. Upon this the Archduke Palatine, on the 25th of September, quitted the kingdom, and, resigning his high office, retired into Moravia.

The Emperor now appointed Count Lamberg generalissimo of all the forces in Hungary, with power to act as the viceroy of that kingdom, in the vain hope that he might thereby be able "to re-establish the peace and freedom of all his subjects in Hungary, together with the rights of the Crown." The result was most deplorable. Count Lamberg arrived at Pesth without any military escort on the 29th of September. The Diet had previously resolved that his commission was illegal, as it had not been countersigned by any minister, and denounced all who obeyed him as guilty of high treason. When he reached Pesth he was attacked by the mob, and fled for refuge to the Diet, but he was stopped on the bridge and barbarously murdered by the infuriated populace.

The news of this catastrophe filled the Court and Cabinet of Vienna with horror, and their course of policy was at once changed. Jellachich, whom they had *professed* hitherto to treat as contumacious, if not actually a rebel *, was now looked upon as the champion of the Austrian cause in Hungary; and by an Imperial decree, dated the 3rd of October, it was announced by the Emperor that he placed under the command of the Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich, all the troops in Hungary and the adjoining lands. The edict then proceeded as follows:—

"Until peace be restored, martial law is declared in Hungary. Our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia is hereby appointed Commissary Plenipotentiary of our Royal Majesty, with full and unlimited powers, that he may act as circumstances may require, as the representative of our royal person."

At the same time it was declared, by another proclamation, that the Hungarian Diet was dissolved, and that all the acts done by it without the sanction of the Emperor were void.

The publication of these edicts caused great excitement at Vienna; and it soon appeared that the spirit of disaffection had reached the ranks of the army. On the morning of the 6th of October the Grenadier Guards were ordered to march and join the troops employed against the Hungarians. They did not openly refuse to quit their barracks, but, being forewarned of their march and its object, they had communicated with the corps of National Guards of the suburb of Gumpendorf, in which their barracks were situate, and with the Academical Legion, from both of which they received a promise that measures would be taken to prevent their departure.

Accordingly, early on that morning a small number of National Guards, accompanied by some members of the Academic Legion, proceeded to the station of the Northern Railway and broke up a portion of the line, in order to

* It should be mentioned that, on the 30th of September, letters, which had been intercepted by the Hungarians, were published at Vienna, from which it appeared that a treacherous understanding had existed between the Austrian Court and Jellachich in his contest with the Hungarians; and that the Imperial Government had been secretly supplying him with money. Such tortuous policy deserved disaster.

prevent the departure of the Grenadiers. When the two battalions arrived at the station, and their officers perceived the work of destruction on the line, they ordered the troops to proceed on foot to Ganserndorf. By this time the National Guards had greatly increased in numbers; and when they heard the order of the commanding officer, they immediately opposed its execution, and stopped the passage of the troops by the erection of a barricade on the Tabor Bridge. Orders were given for the storming of this barricade; and the War Office being aware of the mutinous disposition of the Grenadiers, several battalions of cavalry were commanded to escort them. But the Grenadiers crossed the bridge, scaled the barricade, and fraternized with the National Guards. The latter destroyed part of the bridge, and thus prevented the cavalry from interfering. Regiments of infantry were then drawn up to reduce the insurgents, and to enforce obedience to the commands of the Government. The artillery arrived at ten o'clock, and the rioters were summoned to surrender. This they refused to do, and a pause ensued, until a body of workmen proceeded to seize a powder waggon and four guns, which they effected without any opposition from the artillerymen. Upon this the Nassau Infantry fired three successive volleys, which were answered by quick discharges from the National Guards, the students, and the Grenadiers. The Nassau Infantry were soon forced to retire; and, on being charged with the bayonet, their retrograde movement became a downright flight. General Bredy, their commander, was shot.

The insurgents then marched from the suburbs into the town, where they placed their guns in the middle of the University Square. The gates of the town were guarded by detachments of students and National Guards, the tocsin was sounded, and a central committee formed for carrying on hostilities.

At one o'clock a party of the insurgent National Guards were attacked on the Stephens Platz by a party of loyal National Guards, who stood by the Government; but, after a short conflict, the latter were forced to retire into the Cathedral of St. Stephen's, the doors of which they barricaded from within. But the insurgents beat down the doors, entered the church, and dislodged their antagonists, whose leader was killed on the steps of the altar.

One of the city gates, the Burgthor, still remained in possession of the Government troops. Three companies of sappers and miners, with four guns, entered this gate at three o'clock in the afternoon. They were at once attacked and routed, in spite of the grape and canister which they fired from their pieces. Many of them were captured, disarmed, and confined in the University buildings. Formidable barricades were constructed while this fight was going on, and the old fortifications of the city were occupied by the artillery of the National Guards.

In the afternoon the insurgents forced their way into the War Office between the hours of five and six, seized the cannon and arms deposited in that building, and captured the Minister of War, Count Latour. He was thrown into the street, and there mur-

dered with blows from axes and sledge-hammers. The people tore off the clothes and orders, and hung the naked corpse on a gibbet, where it remained suspended for a whole day, during which the National Guards fired at it with musket-balls.

At half-past six o'clock the people surrounded the Arsenal, and demanded from the garrison a surrender of the arms which it contained. They refused, and a combat commenced, in the course of which the garrison swept the Renngasse with grape and canister, and killed and disabled a great number of the insurgents, whose fury increased after each unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the building. The committee of students sent several flags of truce, summoning the garrison to surrender; but the bearers were shot dead on the spot. The people then commenced bombarding the Arsenal, and the firing continued all the night through, till six o'clock on the morning of the 7th, when the garrison surrendered. The arms were seized and distributed amongst the insurgents.

In the mean time the conduct of the Diet showed that it warmly sympathized with the rebels. On the 5th it met and elected Herr Smolken President, in place of the actual President, Herr Strobach, at the same time declaring its sitting permanent. In the evening a Committee of Safety (name of ill omen!) was appointed, and a deputation was sent to the Emperor to demand the formation of a new and popular Cabinet, with Messrs. Doblhoff and Hornbostl as members; the removal of Baron Jellachich from his Governorship of Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and an amnesty for those who were implicated in the riots of that day.

At eleven at night, the deputation from the Emperor returned with his answer. He said that he would form a new and popular Ministry, which should include the names of Doblhoff and Hornbostl; and would consult with that Ministry on the measures necessary for the welfare of the entire monarchy. This, however, did not satisfy the democrats, and they resolved that the Committee of Public Safety should immediately commence its duties, and that instructions should be given to the military commander, Count Auersperg, to obey no orders but those of the Diet; that despatches should be sent to the Southern Railway, and forwarded to Olmutz and Brunn, to bring no more troops into Vienna; and that orders should be issued to supply the Academic Legion with ammunition.

On the 7th, before day-break, the Emperor and the other Members of the Imperial family quitted Vienna, and took the road to Olmutz, escorted by a body of cavalry. He left behind him a sealed proclamation, which the Minister Kraus lost no time in communicating to the Diet. In this document, the Emperor said that he had done all that a sovereign could do: he had renounced the unlimited power which he had received from his forefathers; he had been obliged in May last to leave the castle of his late father; he had come back without any guarantee, and in full confidence, to his people. A small but audacious party, however, had gone to extremes in Vienna; murder and rapine had prevailed in that city, and the Minister of War had been assassinated. He trusted

in God and his own good right; and he now left the vicinity of his capital in order to find means to bring aid to his oppressed people. The Minister Kraus added, that he had refused to countersign "this unconstitutional and threatening proclamation." It was then resolved, that the House should invest itself with both the deliberative and executive powers; and that this determination should be communicated to the provinces by special commissioners.

The situation of the inhabitants, and the appearance of the city after the departure of the Court, are graphically described in the following passage from an Austrian Journal, published on the 11th.

"The bygone night was decidedly the most anxious one Vienna has witnessed since the bombardment by Napoleon in 1809. Till dawn the streets swarmed with armed men scattered in groups, and now and then a patrol. At the corners of the streets, in the public squares, before the cafés, crowds were assembled discussing the events. The silence of the night was interrupted at intervals by reports of fire-arms, especially in the direction of the Wieden and the high road, (Auersperg's quarters,) which attracted universal attention. On and behind the barricades men were sleeping in blouses, fully armed; women and girls, not of the most respectable appearance, were mingled amongst them, some laughing and talking, others, like the men, asleep upon heaps of stones. The walls and bastions of the city offered a most animated appearance. One line of watchfires stretched as far as the eye could reach, each surrounded by students in Calabresian cloaks, men in blouses, artisans with their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, National Guards, and others. Above the gates guns are pointed to sweep the approaches of the city; artillerymen, students, or workmen, on duty near them with lighted matches. Patrols of every description parade the walls in regular beats. There could not have been fewer than 10,000 men on the bastions."

The position occupied by the Commander of the Imperial forces, Von Auersperg, was near the gardens of Prince Schwarzenburg, in the vicinity of the Belvedere Palace. This is beyond the walls of Vienna, the suburbs of which encircle it, and form of themselves a populous town. The number of troops under his command was about 20,000 men. But the great dread of the Viennese was lest he should be joined by the renowned Ban, Jellachich, of whose rapid advance they received intelligence. The conduct and views of this remarkable man, at this juncture, are explained by himself in a letter which he addressed a few days later to his "Sclavonic brethren in Bohemia," in which he said—"It was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Sclavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party which hostilely rose against Sclavonianism. But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the main stay of our enemies would have been Vienna.

"Therefore I turned, with the whole of my army, to Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Sclavonianism in Austria's capital. I was led solely by the conviction

that I was approaching Vienna against the enemy of Sclavonianism."

A commissioner was despatched to communicate with the Ban, who was found to be at Schwadorf, at the head of a formidable body of Croatian troops. He gave evasive answers as to his intentions, but absolutely declined to receive any orders from the Diet. On the 10th, however, he sent a written reply to the anxious messages of the Diet, in which he said that the motives of his advance were his duties as a servant of the State, and a soldier. As a servant of the State, it was his duty to put down anarchy; as a soldier, the noise of the guns had pointed out his route. His object was to uphold the monarchy on a basis of equal national rights for all races. The troops were to be billeted. No Hungarian troops were pursuing him: on Austrian ground he recognised none but Austrian troops; if attacked, he should repulse force by force.

Next day Jellachich's troops arrived close to Vienna, and took up their position on the Weinerberg.

In the mean time the Minister Hornbostl had, at the request of the Emperor, who was on the 8th at Sieghartskirchen, left Vienna to join his royal master, and he accompanied him to Olmutz. Deputation after deputation was sent to entreat the Emperor to adopt a course of concession and conciliation; but, as no submission was tendered by his insurgent subjects, their efforts to extort promises in accordance with their demands were vain; and, on the 20th, an Imperial proclamation appeared, by which the seat of the Austrian Diet was removed from Vienna to Kremsir, and the members were summoned to meet at the latter city on the 15th of November, to finish the work of framing the constitution. Their chief reliance was now placed in the advance of the Hungarian forces, who, relieved from the presence of their formidable foe, the Ban, were rapidly approaching the capital; and, on the evening of the 12th, their videttes were descried from the steeples of Vienna at a distance of about six miles.

Let us here pause for a moment to consider the remarkable position of affairs at this critical juncture. The capital had risen in insurrection against its monarch, who had fled. The chief hope of the Emperor lay in the courage and devotion of the Ban Jellachich and his wild followers, who were a short time ago looked upon themselves with the greatest mistrust by the Court, as disguising under the pretext of asserting Sclavonic rights the project of throwing off altogether Austrian dominion. The inhabitants of Vienna, hitherto conspicuous for their loyalty, placed their reliance now upon the efforts of the Hungarian rebels, who were marching forward to force their entrance into the city, which was ready to welcome them so soon as they could succeed in piercing the girdle of troops under the several commands of Auersperg and Jellachich. Not many days had elapsed since there was every probability that the soldiers under the former general would be employed under the orders of the Emperor in attacking the forces of the latter; and now they were combined to save the monarchy from destruction, which was threatened by the Viennese and the Hungarians.

But another actor was about to appear upon the stage, whose presence decided the issue of the struggle, which up to this time seemed to hang trembling in the balance. Prince Windischgrätz was already on his way to the capital with a considerable army, and a large park of artillery. At the same time it became known that the Hungarian troops had retired from the neighbourhood of Vienna, within the limits of their own frontier. This was announced on the 14th of September, by Kossuth, their general, to the House of Representatives or Diet, at Pesth. The reason he assigned was, that he had received no *official* orders from Vienna, and that as an advance under such circumstances would be an invasion, he withdrew his army, and reserved it for the defence of his fatherland.

In the mean time important events had occurred at Prague. The Bohemian members of the Austrian Diet, to the number of about thirty, assembled at that capital on the 6th of September, and, in conjunction with the municipal authorities, proceeded to assert the cause of the monarchy against the rebels of Vienna and Hungary, declaring that the throne and dynasty could now be upheld only by the Sclavonians of the North and South. A proclamation was issued by the Town Council to the following effect:—

"Murder and violence in Vienna have succeeded, contrary to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants, in compelling the Emperor-King to take to flight, and in terrifying the Diet, the former minority in which are now acting in an illegal way. The municipal authorities of Prague protest against all the illegal acts of an Assembly which, transgressing the bounds of duty, has endeavoured to usurp the executive power. The violent overthrow of a Cabinet acting with the majority of the Diet is criminal and anarchic. The municipal authorities of Prague are deeply attached to the dynasty and to the constitutionally democratic monarchy. Bohemia can only prosper when Austria is independent."

Prince Windischgrätz soon appeared before Vienna, and on his arrival assumed the chief command of the troops by which it was beleaguered. His chief force extended in a semicircle round one half of Vienna, resting its flanks on the river above and below the city, and having his centre in advance of the wooded heights on its north. Pontoon bridges kept open the communication with the points on the south; and every road and strong place on that side was seized and occupied by troops. The Croatian army of Jellachich faced the east, and thus held the Hungarians in check in that quarter. It seemed nothing short of infatuation on the part of the citizens to resist any longer, and there is no doubt that the gates would have been thrown open but for the system of terrorism within the walls. The leaders of the revolt were too deeply implicated to hope for pardon or escape, and every expedient was resorted to, to stir up the passions of the ignorant multitude, and to prevent the voice and wishes of the more respectable inhabitants from being heard. The most conspicuous parties in organizing the insurrection, and opposing any idea of surrender, were Messenhauser, commandant of the National Guards; Bem, a Polish refugee, who as-

sumed the rank of general; and Blum, a Saxon, one of the members of the German Parliament at Frankfort, and well known as a radical and factious journalist at Leipsic.

On the 23rd Prince Windischgrätz announced to the Viennese the terms on which he would accept their submission. The most important of these were the three following:—

"1. Within forty-eight hours after receipt of this present, the city of Vienna, with its faubourgs and neighbourhood, are to surrender; and by detachments the inhabitants are to give up their arms at some place appointed for that purpose, with the exception of private fire-arms.

"2. The dissolution of all armed corporations, and of the Academical Legion; the University to be closed; the President of the Academical Legion and twelve students to be made hostages.

"3. Certain individuals, hereafter to be named, are to be given up to me."

The Diet replied that these propositions were illegal and unconstitutional, to which the Prince rejoined, that the only legal authority which he recognised in Vienna was the Communal Council, and that he gave the Diet twenty-four hours to consider whether they would accept his proposal. As no offer of surrender was made within the prescribed period, Prince Windischgrätz, on the 28th, began to cannonade the city, and the troops advanced to the assault. The attack was made upon a barricade situated at the entrance of the Jägerzeil, and defended by twelve pieces of artillery; which, after a sharp struggle, was carried and destroyed.

We think we cannot do better than here insert a most interesting account of the state of the capital, and the events that followed, written by an Englishman, an eyewitness, who escaped from the city, and communicated the narrative to the English journals about this time.

"The Jägerzeil, the beautiful street leading to the Prater, had been the scene of the hardest fighting of all, as it had been fortified by a succession of barricades, built up to the first-floor windows in a half-moon shape, with regular embrasures, and planted with cannon. This was strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses; but they, and the pools of blood all about, did not strike us so much as the horrid smell of roast flesh, arising from the half-burnt bodies of rebels killed in the houses fired by Congreve rockets, which we saw used by the troops with terrible effect. Half of the houses in this beautiful suburb are thus burnt down, while the other half are riddled with shell and shot. On every side you may see weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, picking literally piecemeal out of the ruins the half-consumed bodies of their relatives.

"On Sunday evening, the 29th, the city, dreading a bombardment from the Belvedere, agreed to surrender; but the capitulation was shamefully violated, when, early the next morning, the approach of the Hungarians to raise the siege was signalled from the tower of the cathedral. Then came the real crisis. Most of the troops and guns were removed from the Leopoldstadt to meet the enemy in the rear; while the remainder set to work to barricade the bridge which connects the suburb with

the city, so as to prevent a sortie. . . . . We were fired on continually from the ramparts; and I for the first time literally tasted blood, which was dashed over my face and clothes when a round shot carried off the head of an artilleryman by my side. All this time the roar of cannon, the whizzing of rockets, and the roll of musketry in our rear, told us that the Hungarian army had joined battle; while in our front, from all the ramparts, tops of houses and churches, the rebels were firing signal-guns and waving flags to cheer them on. It was a beautiful, clear, sunshiny, autumn day; and all felt that there were trembling in the balance, not only the fate of the grand old Austrian empire—'An Siegen und an Ehren reich,' the monarchy of Charles the Fifth and Maria Theresa, and so long the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks—but with it the peace and safety of Europe. At length the firing behind us gradually slackened, and then died away; and towards sunset the victorious Imperialists marched back from the field of battle, having utterly routed the Hungarians, and driven 3000 of them into the Danube, which will roll their bodies down to Pesth—a fearful tidings of their defeat. You may fancy what cheers now arose from the Imperialists, and what yells of despair from the rebels, whose offers of a conditional surrender were now scornfully rejected." The writer thus describes the appearance of Jellachich, the brave Ban of Croatia:—

"On that dreadful night of the 31st of October, I saw the glorious fellow, a young and magnificent looking man, by the blaze of the burning houses and the flashing of two hundred cannon, lead his wild Croats and Servians to the storm; his tall white plume shining like Henri Quatre's at Ivry, as the pole-star of the whole army. All agree that he is one of those remarkable men who are raised up from time to time to mould the destinies of nations."

During the conflict the following proclamation appeared at noon on the 30th, signed by Messenhauser, which showed how the hopes of the insurgents rested upon support from the Hungarians:—

"From the Spire of St. Stephen's.

"The battle appears to be drawing towards Oberlin and Ingersdorf. The fog prevents me from having a clear view. Hitherto the Hungarians appear to be advancing victoriously. In case a defeated army shall approach the walls of the city, it will be the duty of all armed bodies to assemble under arms, even without command."

On the night of the 31st the contest was over, and the city at the mercy of the victorious troops of the Emperor. The surrender had then taken place, and the efforts of the soldiers were immediately directed to the extinguishment of the flames which were raging in several quarters.

We have mentioned the name of Blum as one of the most active leaders in the rebellion. He was tried by a court-martial, and immediately shot, on the 8th of November. The official account of his execution was as follows:—

"According to sentence by court-martial of the 8th inst., Robert Blum, bookseller, from Leipsic, convicted by his own avowal, on the ground of seditious speeches and armed resistance against the Imperial troops, has been, in pursuance of the proclamation issued

by Prince Windischgrätz on the 20th and 23rd of October, sentenced to death, which sentence was executed by powder and lead, in the Brigittenau, on the morning of the 9th instant, at half-past eight o'clock."

On the following day Messenhauser, who had acted during the siege as the Commandant of the National Guard at Vienna, was also shot.

An attempt was made by some of the journalists on the continent and in this country to excite a false sympathy for the fate of Blum, on the ground that he had been the conductor of a newspaper, and as a literary character ought to have been more mercifully dealt with. We conceive, however, that he deserved death as much, if not more, than any hireling soldier taken in the act of rebellion. If he was gifted with superior intelligence, his crime as a reckless agitator was greater, and if he chose to exchange the pen for the sword, he knew well how likely it was that in his case the text would be verified, which says, that "those who take the sword shall perish by the sword." A graver question was, whether he was amenable to military law at Vienna, since he was a Member of the German Parliament—and this was seriously discussed in that Parliament—and much idle indignation was expressed at the prompt and decisive act of Windischgrätz. But there surely ought not to have been any doubt about the matter. He was found by the victorious troops of the Emperor in active co-operation with the rebels in the capital. It was proved that he had actually taken a part in the conflict, as well as inflamed the minds of the populace to resistance, and his life was therefore forfeited by the law of nations; nor could his representative character as a German Senator have any other effect than that of aggravating his guilt. He took part in an insurrection, and had no right to claim immunity from risk in the catastrophe.

The news of the execution of Blum caused, however, a great sensation in the Parliament at Frankfort, and a Committee was appointed to draw up a report on the subject. This was presented to the Assembly on the 16th of November, and it concluded by submitting the following resolution:—

"The National Assembly, solemnly protesting before all Germany against the arrest and execution of Robert Blum, which acts were consummated in total disregard of the Imperial law of the 30th of September ultimo, calls upon the Imperial Ministry to adopt the most strenuous measures for calling those parties to account who either directly or indirectly bear the guilt of the offence, and for securing their punishment."

A motion was then made that this resolution should be adopted, and it was declared by the President to be carried unanimously.

The Austrian arms were now turned against the rebels in Hungary, and a large and powerful force marched in that direction under the command of Prince Windischgrätz, who was accompanied by Jellachich occupying a subordinate post. The events, however, of this campaign will be properly reserved for our next volume, as the contest was not terminated at the end of the present year. In the mean time Vienna was occupied by 30,000 troop, sand placed under the mili-

tary command of Marshal de Welden.

A change took place about this time in the Austrian Ministry, and the following Cabinet was formed:—

Premier and Foreign Minister,—Prince Felix Schwartzenberg.
Interior, — Count Francis Stadion.
Finance,—Baron Kraus.
War,—General Cordon.
Justice,—Dr. Bach.
Worship,—M. Rhinnfeld.
Commerce and Public Works,—M. de Bruck.
Agriculture,—M. Thienfeld.

The Diet met on the 22nd of November, at Kremsir, according to the mandate of the Emperor, but during the rest of the year no incident occurred in connection with its proceedings which calls for historical notice.

A very important event however now happened, destined, we believe, to exercise a most salutary influence upon the fortunes of the Austrian kingdom. On the 2nd of December, while the Emperor was still at Olmutz, he resigned the Imperial crown in favour of his nephew, Francis John—the father of the latter, Francis Charles, who stood next in succession, renouncing his claim to the throne. The reasons assigned for this step are contained in the following passage from the instrument of abdication signed by Ferdinand:—

"The pressure of events, and the immediate want of a comprehensive reformation of our forms of state, and which we in the month of March last endeavoured to meet and promote, have more and more convinced us that more youthful powers are needed to complete this grand work."

On the 5th of December appeared a proclamation by the new Emperor. In this he said:—

"We are convinced of the necessity and the value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous reformation of the monarchy.

"On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their equally partaking in the representation and legislation, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storms of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues united under the sceptre of our fathers.

"Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privilege with the representatives of our people, we hope, by the assistance of God and the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had many trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in various parts of the empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion and the return of domestic peace are the first conditions of the great work which we now take in hand.

"In this we rely confidently on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation by its representatives."

What then, let us ask, was the position of the Austrian monarchy at the close of this memorable year? It might proudly claim for its motto, *Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit*, as it looked back on

the perils it had escaped and surveyed the successes it had won. It had crushed the rebellion in Lombardy, driven back the Piedmontese into their own territory, and planted the Austrian flag again in triumph over the city of Milan, which had been for centuries a fief of the House of Hapsburg. Compelled in self-defence to bombard his own capital, the Emperor had found his troops as loyal as they were brave, and the cannon of Windischgrätz and Jellachich had effectually silenced the voice of insurrection. In Hungary the Imperial troops were uniformly successful, and there was every reason to expect a victorious issue in the campaign. But beyond all this, fresh and healthy blood had been poured into the veins of the monarchy by the elevation to the throne of a young Emperor, whose disposition and capacity promised the happiest results for the kingdom; and he was surrounded by Ministers in every respect equal to the occasion—men who were determined to pursue a course of constitutional policy, and abandon the Metternich system of despotism and exclusion.

CHAPTER XV.

INDIA:—*The Sikhs in the Punjab—Moolraj Dewan of Mooltan—Murders of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson—Brave and spirited Conduct of Lieutenant Edwardes and Colonel Cortlandt—Engagement with the Rebels, and Defeat of the Latter—Obstinate Conflict at Noonanee—Flight of the Enemy—Defeat of Moolraj and the Sikhs at Sadoosam—Investment of Mooltan—General Whish takes the command of the Army before Mooltan—Disturbances in the Hazareh Country—Major and Mrs. Lawrence taken prisoners—Assault on Mooltan on the 12th of September—Sortie from the Garrison—Treacherous defection of Shere Singh—Troops ordered to assemble at Ferozepoor under command of Lord Gough—Shere Singh leaves Mooltan and marches to the North West—He is joined by his Father, Chuttur Singh—Position of the British Forces at Ramnuggur—Disastrous Attack on a Body of Sikh Cavalry in a "Nullah"—Death of General Cureton—General Thackwell ordered to turn the Flank of the Sikhs—Cannonade between them and the Detachment under General Thackwell—Shere Singh retires upon the Jhelum—General Assault upon Mooltan, on 27th of December—Explosion of Magazine in the Fort—Sortie of the Sikhs repulsed.*

CANADA:—*Opening of Session of New Parliament—Speech of Governor-General—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry.*

UNITED STATES:—*Treaty of Peace with Mexico—Message of the President to Congress on the subject—Discovery of Gold in California—Scene at the "Diggings"—Contest for the Presidency—Election of General Taylor—Opening of Session of Congress—Message of the President—Its Topics*—1. *General Review.* 2. *Treaty with Mexico.* 3. *Army and Navy.* 4. *Territorial Acquisitions.* 5. *Gold Mines in California.* 6. *Question of Slavery.* 7. *Territorial Survey.* 8. *Mexican Debt.* 9. "*American System.*" 10. *Presidential Veto.*

INDIA.—Although by the favour of Divine Providence Great Britain escaped throughout this eventful year the evils of intestine commotion, and was not involved in any continental war, as there seemed too much reason to apprehend might be the case after the explosion of the French revolution in February, her arms were not allowed to remain inactive in the East, where we were again challenged to the contest by a foe whom we thought we had effectually subdued.

The Punjab became a second time a cause of anxiety, and the banks of the Indus and its tribu-

tary streams the theatre of actual conflict. The Sikhs are the bravest enemies whom we have yet encountered in India, and they fight with the desperation of men inspired almost equally by military ardour and religious fanaticism. They are, in fact, a religious sect, tracing their descent from a Gooroo or priest named Nânuk, who formed a kind of eclectic system of faith out of the mazes of Brahminism, Buddhism, and Mahommedanism, and founded a new school of disciples in the Punjab. The most celebrated of his successors was Govind, who became Gooroo of the Sikhs at the end of nine generations from Nânuk, and was assassinated in the year 1708. He first taught his followers how to become a military and political power, but they were still known as the "Khalsa" or church, by which term they arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of the faithful.

In a previous volume we have recorded their bold and presumptuous invasion of the British territory in India, and the terrible overthrow of their whole army, but the perplexing question still remained, how we were to deal with the country, the acquisition of which seemed to be forced upon us. The events of the present year appear to leave us no alternative but to annex it as a conquered province to our dominions.

Mooltan is the capital of a district lying between the left bank of the Indus and the right bank of the Sutlej, and reaching to the point of junction of those two rivers. After sustaining many attacks from Runjeet Singh in the height of his power, it was at last taken by him, though not without great loss on the side of the conqueror. He placed the city under the rule of a governor, who was killed in a tumultuous affray soon after the death of Runjeet Singh. His son, Moolraj, succeeded him, and he was the dewan or governor of Mooltan at the time when we occupied Lahore. Negotiations between him and the *durbar* at Lahore had been going on for some time previous to the month of April in the present year, the object of which seems to have been to change the mode of government at Mooltan, and either induce or compel Moolraj to resign his authority. The intention was to substitute Sirdar Khan Singh as governor; and it was believed at Lahore that Moolraj acquiesced in this arrangement. Accordingly, Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal civil servant and assistant to the Resident at Lahore, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay Fusiliers, were deputed to proceed with the new governor, Sirdar Khan, and install him in his new authority. They were accompanied by a very small escort, and arrived at Mooltan on the 17th of April. The town was formally transferred by Moolraj to Sirdar Khan Singh, and the object of the mission seemed to be entirely accomplished, when, from some unexplained cause, whether the result of deep-laid treachery or a sudden impulse, both the Englishmen were attacked on the 18th, and desperately wounded. They were carried to a small fort outside the town, accompanied by Khan Singh, and a fire was opened upon their place of refuge from Mooltan, but the distance prevented the guns from having much effect. Three days afterwards the Mooltan troops

attacked the fort, and the Sikh garrison within immediately opened the gates and let in the assailants. Lieutenant Anderson was then in a dying state, but Mr. Agnew was able to defend himself for a short time. They were, however, both overpowered and murdered, and there is little doubt that Moolraj himself is responsible for this cold-blooded treachery, although he has always pretended that the attack was without his sanction or privity.

Immediately on intelligence of the assassination reaching Lahore, a body of 3000 Sikhs, horse and foot, was ordered to march to Mooltan, under the command of Raja Shere Singh. It happened that at this juncture Lieutenant Edwardes was engaged upon the Indus with a very small force, settling the country and collecting the land-tax due to Moolraj. He occupied the town of Leiah, on the left bank of the Indus, and when he heard of the affair at Mooltan, he crossed the river into the Deerajat, whence he wrote to the Khan of Bhawulpore (which lies to the S.S.E. of Mooltan) to make a demonstration which should prevent Moolraj from executing any design against him (Lieutenant Edwardes), or against Colonel Cortlandt, who commanded the garrison of Dhera Ismael Khan; and the Khan lost no time in preparing to act. A party of 300 horse had been left by Lieutenant Edwardes to complete the collection of the revenue at Leiah, where they were attacked, on the 18th of May, by 400 Mooltan horse, with ten zumbooruks (light field-guns), who were completely defeated, with the loss of their guns. Meanwhile, Colonel Cortlandt, with his force, amounting to about 4000 men, quitted Dhera Ismael Khan, and proceeded to the southward, by the base of the mountains, being joined on his way by a Belooche chief named Melah Khan, with 100 of his tribe, who were sent to take the fortress of Sunghur,—a place to the west of the Indus,—which surrendered after six hours' fighting, the garrison retreating upon Mooltan.

Lieutenant Edwardes now effected a junction with Colonel Cortlandt, and on the 20th of May a second engagement took place with the enemy, who were defeated with great slaughter, and lost two guns and five swivel pieces. The force of the revolted Sikhs at this time in the field consisted of about 3000 men and eight guns; while that of Edwardes and Cortlandt comprised three mixed Sikh regiments, 1500 Irregular Horse, eight guns, and 20 swivel pieces. Their levies fought bravely, and showed no disposition to fraternize with the rebels. A small body of Beloochees, also, under one of their chiefs, joined the English party, and behaved exceedingly well.

The smallness of the body serving under the command of the two British officers rendered it important that they should be reinforced by the troops sent by our ally, the Khan of Bhawulpore; and to effect this object, Lieutenant Edwardes and Colonel Cortlandt crossed the Indus on the 10th and 11th of June. Moolraj, however, determined, if possible, to prevent this junction; and he accordingly passed the Chenab on the 14th, leaving a strong detachment on the other bank, which marched to Khan Ghur, but crossed the following day, in consequence of the

advance of our force, Lieutenant Edwardes having, with his cavalry, reached Khan Ghur on the very day the Mooltanees quitted it. On the 16th he was joined by the guns and infantry under Colonel Cortlandt, and their camp was formed about a mile from the Chenab, the enemy being encamped on the opposite side. In the mean time, the Bhawulpore troops had arrived within twelve miles of the enemy, and Lieutenant Edwardes, being unable to procure boats to cross the river, on the bank along which those troops were marching, retired to Gungawallah, opposite to which place the Bhawulpore force was encamped, about three miles from the ghat. During the night about 3000 of his new levies joined the Khan's camp, while the enemy was stationed at Bugurarah, only four miles distant. Early on the 18th of June, Lieutenant Edwardes crossed the Chenab at Noonaree, about five miles from Soojabad, with the remainder of his force, leaving the horses and artillery to follow; and the Mooltan troops, who had marched up from Bugurarah, immediately attacked him, before Colonel Cortlandt had time to join him with his guns. The action commenced soon after sunrise and lasted for nine hours. The result might have been doubtful had not two of Cortlandt's regiments come up at a critical moment with six guns, and after an obstinate conflict the enemy gave way and fled, leaving behind them six guns, and all their baggage and stores.

Moolraj now fell back upon Mooltan, and was followed by the British and their allies, who were strengthened on the 28th of June by the accession of a body of 4000 soldiers under the command of Sheikh Emaum-ood-deen. This brought up our numbers to about 18,000 men.

On the 1st of July, Moolraj marched out of the town of Mooltan and entrenched his force behind a strong breastwork near the village of Sadoosam. Our columns soon came up, and a severe engagement of six hours' duration took place, which terminated in the complete defeat of the insurgents, who fled in disorder into the town. The loss on our side in this action consisted of eighteen killed and seventy wounded.

It was, however, impossible for Lieutenant Edwardes, with the inadequate force and material which he possessed, to undertake the siege of such a fortress as Mooltan, and he applied to Sir Frederick Currie, the British Resident at Lahore, for a reinforcement and some heavy artillery. In the mean time he encamped his troops in the vicinity of the place, and kept a close watch upon the movements of the enemy; until, on the 18th of August, General Whish arrived from Lahore, with H. M. 10th regiment, a troop of horse artillery, the 7th irregular horse, and the 8th and 52nd N. I. He assumed the command of the besieging forces, and was on the following day joined by a column from Ferozepore, consisting of H. M. 32nd foot, a battering train of 30 heavy guns, a troop of horse artillery, the 11th regular and the 11th irregular cavalry, and the 49th, 51st, and 72nd N. I. By means of this addition the force assembled round the walls of Mooltan amounted to about 28,000 men, of whom 6000 were British.

But disturbances now arose in another quarter. Early in Sep-

tember a mutiny broke out amongst the Sikh troops in the Hazareh country, which lies to the N.W. of the Punjab, and of which Sirdar Chuttur Singh, the father of Raja Shere Singh, was governor, and an attempt was made by them to seize the fortress of Attock; but this was defeated by the promptitude and energy of Major Lawrence, the Assistant at Peshawur, who despatched Lieutenant Nicholson at the head of a detachment of cavalry and infantry to take possession of the fort, which, by means of a forced march, he was enabled to do. Chuttur Singh, however, had now fairly thrown off the mask, and it was necessary to send reinforcements from Jullunder and Peshawur to enable Lieutenant Nicholson and our political agent in the Hazareh district, Captain Abbott, to hold their ground.

Subsequently, in the early part of November, Major Lawrence was obliged to fly from Peshawur, in consequence of the approach of Chuttur Singh, and the mutiny of the Sikh troops stationed in the fort. He retired, accompanied by Mrs. Lawrence and Lieutenant Bowie, to Kohat, where they sought refuge under the protection of Mahommed Khan. They were however afterwards given up as prisoners to Chutter Singh, who treated them with kindness and attention. On the 13th of December, Major Lawrence was brought to the camp of Shere Singh, with the view, no doubt, that he might be employed, if necessary, in negotiations with the British.

Several skirmishes and some sharp firing took place before Mooltan a few days previous to the 12th of September, on which day General Whish determined to make a general attack upon the outworks of the town. A party of the enemy had strongly entrenched themselves in a garden and village near the walls, and a body of our troops, 2500 in number, marched at daybreak under the command of Brigadier Harvey against this post, which, after a severe struggle and much loss, was carried, and all the defensible points on that side of the city were taken. The following narrative of the contest from an eye-witness appeared in the *Delhi Gazette*:—

"After taking this second intrenchment, and setting fire to it, away we went at the enemy's trenches; but, after advancing and firing into them for some time, and just as we had got close up to them, they brought out such a fire of guns, jingals, zumbooruks, bows and arrows, &c., upon us, that we were obliged to fall back *en masse* upon the second intrenchment we had taken, and when there the men, both European and native, mounted the walls, determined that not a soul should escape. Certainly the massacre that took place within a taeekhana (inclosed on all sides by loop-holed walls, and intrenched all round) was something awful to one who had never been on service before."*

Next day the Mooltanese troops made a desperate attack on Lieutenant Edwardes's camp, but were repelled, and our troops carried another important outwork. But at this critical juncture an unlooked-for circumstance occurred, which

* In this action were killed the following officers:—Col. R. T. R. Pattoun, 32nd foot; Major T. S. Montizambert, 10th foot; Quartermaster G. Taylor, 32nd foot; Lieut. T. Cubitt, 49th N. I.; and Ensign C. C. Lloyd, 8th N. I. (cut down while parleying with the enemy).

proved the folly of placing any reliance upon the fidelity of the Sikhs. Early on the morning of the 14th Shere Singh went over to the enemy with the whole of his troops, amounting to about 5000 men, and in consequence of this defection the siege was raised on the 15th, and the army was withdrawn to a position a few miles from Mooltan. What had at first been considered as an isolated act of contumacy on the part of Moolraj, assumed now a more serious aspect, and it became evident that we should have to engage in another struggle with the whole of the fierce soldiery of the Sikhs, whose spirit was noways disheartened by the terrible results of their former collision with British troops. A large force was ordered to assemble at Ferozepoor, under the orders of Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and preparations on a large scale were made for crushing this formidable rebellion.

On the 9th of October Shere Singh quitted Mooltan with a body of 5000 men and 12 guns, and proceeded along the line of the Chenab towards the N.W. His father, Chuttur Singh, at the same time marched southwards to join him, and about the 21st of October the two Sikh forces effected a junction in the neighbourhood of Wuzzeerabad.

It is supposed that the two chiefs were before long at the head of not fewer than 30,000 men, and their conduct proved their determination to try the issue of another great struggle for supremacy in the Punjab. Chutter Singh, however, soon afterwards returned to the Hazareh country, but left strong reinforcements with his son, Shere Singh. In the mean time, troops from the Bombay army were rapidly sent up to join the force collecting at Ferozepoor; but for some time no event of any importance occurred, and both parties were busied in preparing for the approaching contest.

About the middle of November our army was assembled at Seharun, and Lord Gough joined it there on the 21st of that month, when he immediately assumed the active command. The position of the British forces at this time was nearly the centre of the Punjab, the Chenab being the middle of the five rivers by which it is watered, and the scene of action being almost midway between the source of that river and its junction with the Indus. On its left bank, about a mile and a half from the stream, stands the town of Ramnuggur, at which point Shere Singh had taken up his position. Opposite Ramnuggur the river Chenab makes a bend, and its breadth is sufficient to allow of a small island in mid-channel, containing about two acres of ground. It was on the right bank of the river that the main body of the enemy was posted, but the island was held by a strong detachment of some 4000 men, with a battery of six guns; and Ramnuggur itself, together with a grove of trees on the left bank, opposite the island, had also been occupied and fortified.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, orders were issued for a strong force of cavalry and infantry to parade forthwith silently and in marching order, in front of the camp. After the word to advance had been given the troops moved forward in darkness to Ramnuggur, and passing that place, marched towards the left bank of the river, when the strength and situation of the enemy became ap-

parent. Their main force occupied the right bank, but, besides the detachment on the island, there still remained on the left bank some troops which had just retired from Ramnuggur. The main channel of the Chenab lay between the island and the right bank, and over this the communication between the main body and the troops in the island was kept up by boats. On the other side, that is to say, between the island and the left bank, the channel, or *nullah*, as it is called, was fordable, being, in fact, little more than a sandy watercourse, about 30 yards wide, partially filled, with a steep fall of four or five feet from the bank. This nullah was commanded by the cross-fire of two batteries on the right bank, and by the point-blank fire of the six guns on the island.

When the British troops came up, small parties of Sikhs, still remaining on the left bank of the river, were driven by the cavalry (the 3rd Dragoons and the 8th Light Cavalry) across it. The Horse Artillery pushed on through deep sand, opening their fire upon the enemy on the other side, but soon found that their 6-pounders were ill-matched with the heavy metal of the enemy, and they were compelled to retire, leaving behind one of their guns and two ammunition waggons, which were too deeply embedded in the sand to be moved. The enemy, seeing this, crossed over a large body of cavalry (3000 or 4000), under cover of his guns. And now a disastrous movement occurred. Our troops seem to have been quite ignorant of the real nature of the ground before them; and orders were most imprudently given to the 14th Dragoons, led by Colonel Havelock, and 5th Light Cavalry, to attack this strong body of Sikh cavalry, and follow them to their batteries. The troops with alacrity obeyed, and the Sikhs, giving way, retreated across the nullah, down the bank of which our cavalry charged; and although met by a murderous fire, they cut their way through the enemy, and then returning, reformed, and a second time charged. The Sikh guns were in the mean time playing upon these brave horsemen with destructive effect, and Colonel Havelock fell during the second charge. Colonel King then formed the line again, and a third time led them to the attack. At this moment General Cureton came up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief that they should retire; but he had hardly uttered the words before he was struck by two matchlock balls, and fell dead. Captain Fitzgerald was also mortally wounded.

The squadron was now withdrawn, and, although the left bank of the river was cleared of the enemy, we had to mourn the loss of three distinguished officers, and many brave soldiers, whose lives were lost in an useless and unmeaning combat.

On the 30th of November General Thackwell was ordered by Lord Gough to march with a strong body of troops and cross the river above Ramnuggur, in order that he might take the Sikhs in the flank and rear, while the Commander-in-Chief attacked them in front. But Shere Singh was too able a tactitian to be thus outmanœuvred. He did not wait to be assaulted by General Thackwell, but moved forward to meet him. The British troops crossed the river on the 2nd of December,

and on the following day, as they were marching upon the position which they thought the enemy still occupied in front of Ramnuggur, they were suddenly met by a cannonade from the Sikh force advancing along the left bank of the river. Our artillery replied, though not for some time, owing apparently to orders from Lord Gough, that General Thackwell's troops, in executing this manœuvre, were not to come to an engagement with the Sikhs. At last, after long and heavy firing, during which, however, we sustained only slight loss, the enemy retired, and at daybreak next morning it was found that the whole Sikh army had abandoned their position, and marched in a north-west direction upon the Jhelum.

Let us now direct our attention to the siege operations before Mooltan, where a strong body of Bombay troops joined General Whish on the 21st of December. Our force there now amounted to about 32,000 men, of whom 15,000 were British, and the rest consisted of the heterogeneous troops of our Indian allies. We had also 150 pieces of artillery. On the 27th, General Whish having determined on a general attack, ordered the besieging army to advance in four columns, and the enemy abandoned the suburbs, so that we were able to take up a position within five hundred yards of the walls. Batteries were constructed in every direction, and, on the morning of the 28th, a general cannonade and bombardment commenced. By the 29th, so close had the besiegers arrived to the city-walls that their heavy guns were breaching them at a distance of no more than eighty yards. Great damage was caused in the town by our shot and shell practice; and in the fort a granary was set fire to, and several small magazines exploded.

On the morning of the 30th, the principal magazine in the fort blew up with a terrific explosion, throwing a vast column of dust into the air. This seems to have been attended with the most destructive consequences to the besieged, and a serious conflagration immediately ensued. The following account is from the pen of an eyewitness.

"Yesterday I saw one of the most awful and grand sights I am ever likely to witness; the whole of Moolraj's principal magazine, which he has been five years collecting, was blown up by one of our shells. The shock two miles off knocked bottles off the tables, and the report was terrific. The prisoners we have taken say it contained 16,000 lbs. of powder. It all blew up with one frightful explosion. All his principal houses, temples, &c., as well as about 800 men, were blown up; but the city, where many of his troops were, was untouched; neither are the walls of the battlements of the fort injured. He kindly sent us word next day, to say he had still enough powder and shot to hold out the siege for twelve months, and we were to do our worst, as he would hold out as long as a single stone of his fort would stand. When we sent in to summon the fort to surrender, he very coolly rammed the letter down his longest gun, and fired it at us. But about the explosion. At first we felt a slight shock, like that of an earthquake, and then, a second or two afterwards, such a tremendous and prolonged report, that it was like an awful clap of thunder. I hardly know what to liken it to—it was

so inconceivably grand; then a mass of dust rose to the very clouds, yet so perfectly distinct was its outline, and it was so dense and thick, that nobody at first could tell what it was. It looked like an immense solid brown tree, suddenly grown up to the skies, and then it gradually expanded, and slowly sailed away."

During the night a breach was effected in the Delhi gate of the city, and next day another also at the Bohur gate. The cannonade was continued almost without intermission during the next two days; and on the 31st the Sikhs made a sortie from the south-west gate, and attacked the division under Major Edwardes (who had for his gallantry been promoted to that rank) and Lieutenant Lake, but they were driven back with great loss.

Here our narrative must close, and we reserve for our next volume an account of the further operations against Moolraj and Shere Singh.

CANADA.—On the 28th of February the first Session of the new Parliament was opened by the Governor-General, who delivered the following speech:—

"*Hon. Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly,—*

"I have called you together at the earliest period after the dissolution of the last Parliament, in order that I may avail myself of your advice and assistance in the administration of the affairs of the province. During the recess, I made an extensive tour through the province; and I have much satisfaction in informing you that I met with the most gratifying indications of general prosperity and contentment in all the districts which I visited. With the view of maturing a plan for placing the Post-office in British North America on an improved footing, Commissioners from the several provinces assembled lately at my suggestion in Montreal. I trust that it will be in my power, before the close of the session, to bring under your consideration a measure for effecting this important object. The information which I have received enables me to state that a good and practicable line of railway between Quebec and Halifax has been discovered by the officers to whom this exploration was confided. The distress and suffering by which last year's immigration to the province was attended have occasioned me the deepest concern. Her Majesty's Government have bestowed on the subject the most anxious consideration, with a view to the introduction of such provisions into the Imperial Passengers' Act as may afford a security against the recurrence of these disasters. It will be for you to determine whether it may not be advisable to pass some provincial enactment which shall have the effect of discouraging the introduction of diseased and helpless persons into the province; without, however, checking the tide of healthy immigration which so powerfully contributes to its advancement. The numerous projects for the construction of railways, introduced into the Legislature in each succeeding session, render it expedient, with a view to uniformity of legislation, and the protection of public and private interests, that an enactment should be passed embodying the provisions generally applicable to such

undertakings. I commend this subject to your consideration. On these and other important matters I shall lay before you communications which have been addressed to me by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. The constitution of the university of King's College, a more equitable mode of assessment in Western Canada, and the improvement of the system of judicature in both sections of the province, are among the subjects which will probably engage your attention.

"*Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly,*—

"I shall direct the public accounts, with the estimates for the present year, to be submitted to you. I feel confident that you will readily grant the supplies which are necessary for the public service.

"*Hon. Gentlemen, and Gentlemen,*—

"You may rely on my disposition to co-operate with you in all measures calculated to promote the public welfare. Canada possesses in singular abundance the elements of prosperity and social happiness, great natural capabilities, an enterprising, intelligent, and rapidly increasing population, institutions fitted to reconcile liberty with order, and the blessing of peace secured to her, under Providence, by the patriotism of her sons and her connexion with a State which is both just and powerful. The duty of turning these advantages to account, in so far as this object can be properly effected by legislation, devolves upon Parliament. God grant that we may acquit ourselves of the responsibility with fidelity and success."

In the debate which ensued, the following amendment was proposed and carried by a vote of 54 to 20, leaving Ministers in a minority of 34:—

"That the words, 'That we rejoice that His Excellency, during his recent tour through the province, has met with the most gratifying indications of general contentment and prosperity in all the districts which he visited,' be expunged, and the following inserted in lieu thereof,—'That we rejoice that His Excellency derived so much satisfaction from the tour which, during the recess, he was enabled to make through the province.'

"And that the words,—'That we agree with His Excellency, that Canada possesses in singular abundance,' to the end, be expunged, and the following inserted in lieu thereof,—'That, with the possession in singular abundance of the elements of prosperity and social happiness, resulting from her great natural capabilities; her enterprising, intelligent, and rapidly increasing population; from institutions which in their main characteristics are so well fitted to reconcile liberty with order; and from the blessings of peace secured to her, under Providence, by the patriotism of her sons, and her connexion with a State which is both just and powerful—Canada requires only that these advantages should be turned to account by an equitable and constitutional Government, and by wise and practical legislation, to secure those blessings permanently to her people.

"'That we feel deeply the responsibility devolving upon Parliament in the endeavour to accomplish these important objects; and we cordially join with His Ex-

cellency in the prayer that we may acquit ourselves of that responsibility with fidelity and success.

"'That we feel it, however, to be our humble duty to submit to His Excellency, that it is essential to the satisfactory result of our deliberations on the important subjects to which His Excellency has been graciously pleased to direct our attention, and on other matters of public concern, that Her Majesty's Provincial Administration should possess the confidence of this House and of the country, and respectfully to represent to His Excellency that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of His Excellency." In consequence of this defeat the Ministry resigned.

UNITED STATES. — The chief subjects of interest in the history of the United States during this year were three in number. 1. The termination of the war with Mexico, and treaty of peace. 2. The discovery of gold mines in California, which was ceded to the United States by the Mexican treaty. 3. The election of a new President.

The first two topics are so fully discussed in the extracts which we subjoin from the Message of Mr. Polk to Congress at the close of his Presidential career, that we need only mention that negociations for a treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico dragged their slow length along during the first six months of the present year; and it was not until the 6th of July that the President announced in a Message to Congress that he had received the ratification of the treaty. By this the territories of New Mexico and California were ceded to the United States, and the latter undertook the payment of the debt due from Mexico to American creditors. When the President sent the message he stated that the debt of the Union, including the amount of the sixteen million loan and all Treasury notes outstanding or authorized to be issued, amounted to sixty-five millions and three-quarters of dollars; of which about seventeen millions and three quarters were outstanding before the war—making the war debt amount to forty-eight millions of dollars. To this sum, however, in reckoning the whole cost of the war, had to be added the income of two years, the balances existing in the Treasury at the beginning of the war, and the price of the peace—three millions paid on exchange of the ratification, twelve millions to be paid in four annual instalments for the ceded territories of New Mexico and California, and three millions more for the debt of Mexico to American claimants, which the Government of the United States assumed. The President added his belief that these latter obligations would be discharged by the accumulation of the surplus revenue, without the necessity of any new recourse to loans.

The discovery of gold in the Sacramento and other rivers of the Californian district, in quantities which almost exceed belief, occasioned throughout America the wildest excitement. Thousands hastened to this new El Dorado, notwithstanding the enormous distance and great difficulty of access; and, although they certainly found gold in abundance, the price of everything rose in such a proportion that few really enriched themselves. The following de-

scription of the scene at the "diggings" is taken from an American paper.

"Money in coin, which was enough for all purposes before gold was discovered, had grown so scarce that the duties upon imported goods could not be paid except by hypothecating 'dust.' Those who could not procure better means of collecting gold, wandered off in its quest with tin pans, buckets, and whatever else could be used to separate the metal from the earth by washing. There are now about 4000 white persons, besides a number of Indians, engaged at the mines; and, from the fact that no capital is required, they are working in companies on equal shares, or alone with their basket. In one part of the mine, called the 'dry diggins,' no other implement is necessary than an ordinary sheath knife to pick the gold from the rocks. In other parts, where the gold is washed out, the machinery is very simple, being an ordinary trough made of plank, round at the bottom, about ten feet long, and two feet wide at the top, with a riddle or sieve at one end to catch the larger gravel, and three or four small bars across the bottom, about half an inch high, to keep the gold from going out with the dirt and water at the lower end. This machine is set upon rockers, which gives a half-rotary motion to the water and dirt inside. But the larger number use nothing but a large tin pan or an Indian basket, in which they place the dirt and shake it until the gold gets to the bottom, and the dirt is carried over the side in the shape of muddy water. It is necessary in some cases to have a crowbar, pick, and shovel; but a great deal is taken up with large horns, shaped spoon-fashion at the large end. From the fact that no capital is necessary, by a fair competition in labour without the influence of capital, men who were only able to procure one month's provisions have now thousands of dollars of the precious metal. The labouring class have now become the capitalists of the country. The effect produced in California by this new source of wealth has been anything but beneficial to the colony or advantageous to the public service. The New York Volunteers, as soon as they were disbanded, repaired to the gold region, Colonel Stevenson with them; and every article of merchandize, food, or clothing, had risen in value to an exorbitant extent. The epidemic was universal. The crews of whale ships and other commercial vessels had deserted for the enchanted region, as well as the enlisted men in the United States service."

During the great part of the present year the engrossing topic of interest in the United States was the forthcoming contest for the Presidency. There were three candidates—General Taylor, General Cass, and Mr. Martin Van Buren. General Cass was chiefly distinguished by his hostility to Great Britain, (a feeling which he had taken every opportunity to avow,) and moderate men were disinclined to support him, as they foresaw that, if he were elected, a war with this country would be no improbable contingency. Van Buren had the *prestige* of long civil service, but this weighed but lightly in the scale against military reputation, and General Taylor, who had brought the Mexican war to a successful termination,

was the decided favourite. The contest, in fact, lay between him and General Cass; and the result was, that General Taylor was elected in the month of November by a considerable majority. The electoral votes of the States were as follows:—

For General Taylor .	163
,, General Cass . .	127
Majority for Gen. Taylor	36

On the 4th of December a new Session of Congress was opened, which was to last for three months until the 4th of March, 1849, when General Taylor, the new President, will begin his term of office. On the 5th, Mr. James Knox Polk sent his annual message as President to Congress, and enormous as has been the length of similar communications previously, this outdistanced them all. It occupied upwards of nine columns of the *Times* newspaper. We select such passages as are likely to interest our readers:—

General Review.—"In reviewing the great events of the past year, and contrasting the agitated and disturbed state of other countries with our own tranquil and happy condition, we may congratulate ourselves that we are the most favoured people on the face of the earth. While the people of other countries are struggling to establish free institutions, under which man may govern himself, we are in the actual enjoyment of them—a rich inheritance from our fathers. While enlightened nations of Europe are convulsed and distracted by civil war or intestine strife, we settle all our political controversies by the peaceful exercise of the rights of freemen at the ballot-box. The great republican maxim, so deeply engraven on the hearts of our people, that the will of the majority, constitutionally expressed, shall prevail, is our sure safeguard against force and violence. It is a subject of just pride that our fame and character as a nation continue rapidly to advance in the estimation of the civilized world. To our wise and free institutions it is to be attributed, that, while other nations have achieved glory at the price of the suffering, distress, and impoverishment of their people, we have won our honourable position in the midst of an uninterrupted prosperity, and of an increasing individual comfort and happiness. I am happy to inform you that our relations with all nations are friendly and pacific. Advantageous treaties of commerce have been concluded within the last four years with New Granada, Peru, the Two Sicilies, Belgium, Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Pursuing our example, the restrictive system of Great Britain, our principal foreign customer, has been relaxed; a more liberal commercial policy has been adopted by other enlightened nations, and our trade has been greatly enlarged and extended. Our country stands higher in the respect of the world than at any former period. To continue to occupy this proud position, it is only necessary to preserve peace, and faithfully adhere to the great and fundamental principle of our foreign policy of non-interference in the domestic concerns of other nations. We recognise in all nations the rights which we enjoy ourselves to change and reform their political institutions according to their own will and pleasure. Hence we do not look behind ex-

isting Governments capable of maintaining their own authority. We recognise all such actual Governments, not only from the dictates of true policy, but from a sacred regard for the independence of nations.

"While this is our settled policy, it does not follow that we can ever be indifferent spectators of the progress of liberal principles. The Government and people of the United States hailed with enthusiasm and delight the establishment of the French republic, as we now hail the efforts in progress to unite the States of Germany in a confederation similar in many respects to our own federal union. If the great and enlightened German States, occupying as they do a central and commanding position in Europe, shall succeed in establishing such a confederated Government, securing at the same time to the citizens of each state local governments adapted to the peculiar condition of each, with unrestricted trade and intercourse with each other, it will be an important era in the history of human events. Whilst it will consolidate and strengthen the power of Germany, it must essentially promote the cause of peace, commerce, civilization, and constitutional liberty throughout the world.

"With all the Governments on this continent our relations, it is believed, are now on a more friendly and satisfactory footing than they have ever been at any former period."

Treaty with Mexico.—"Since the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace with Mexico, our intercourse with the Government of that republic has been of the most friendly character. The Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico has been received and accredited; and a diplomatic representative from Mexico of similar rank has been received and accredited by this Government. The amicable relations between the two countries, which had been suspended, have been happily restored, and are destined, I trust, to be long preserved. The two republics, both situated on this continent, and with coterminous territories, have every motive of sympathy and of interest to bind them together in perpetual amity."

Army and Navy.—"The war with Mexico has demonstrated not only the ability of the Government to organize a numerous army upon a sudden call, but also to provide it with all the munitions and necessary supplies with despatch, convenience, and ease, and to direct its operations with efficiency. The strength of our institutions has not only been displayed in the valour and skill of our troops engaged in active service in the field, but in the organization of those executive branches which were charged with the general direction and conduct of the war. While too great praise cannot be bestowed upon the officers and men who fought our battles, it would be unjust to withhold from those officers, necessarily stationed at home, who were charged with the duty of furnishing the army, in proper time and at proper places, with all the munitions of war and other supplies so necessary to make it efficient, the commendation to which they are entitled. The credit due to this class of our officers is the greater, when it is considered that no army in ancient

or modern times was ever better appointed or provided than our army in Mexico. Operating in an enemy's country, removed 2000 miles from the seat of the Federal Government, its different corps spread over a vast extent of territory, hundreds and even thousands of miles apart from each other, nothing short of the untiring vigilance and extraordinary energy of these officers could have enabled them to provide the army at all points, and in proper season, with all that was required for the most efficient service.

"It is but an act of justice to declare, that the officers in charge of the several executive *bureaux*, all under the immediate eye and supervision of the Secretary of War, performed their respective duties with ability, energy, and efficiency. They have reaped less of the glory of the war, not having been personally exposed to its perils in battle, than their companions in arms; but, without their forecast, efficient aid, and co-operation, those in the field would not have been provided with the ample means they possessed of achieving for themselves and their country the unfading honours which they have won for both.

"When all these facts are considered, it may cease to be a matter of so much amazement abroad, how it happened that our noble army in Mexico, regulars and volunteers, were victorious upon every battle-field, however fearful the odds against them.

"The war with Mexico has thus fully developed the capacity of republican governments to prosecute successfully a just and necessary foreign war with all the vigour usually attributed to more arbitrary forms of government. It has been usual for writers on public law to impute to republics a want of that unity, concentration of purpose, and vigour of execution, which are generally admitted to belong to the monarchical and aristocratic forms; and this feature of popular government has been supposed to display itself more particularly in the conduct of a war carried on in an enemy's territory. The war with Great Britain, in 1812, was to a great extent confined within our own limits, and shed but little light on the subject. But the war which we have just closed by an honourable peace evinces beyond all doubt that a popular representative Government is equal to any emergency which is likely to arise in the affairs of a nation.

"The war with Mexico has developed most strikingly and conspicuously another feature in our institutions. It is that, without cost to the Government or danger to our liberties, we have, in the bosom of our society of freemen, available in a just and necessary war, virtually a standing army of 2,000,000 of armed citizen soldiers such as fought at the battles of Mexico.

"But our military strength does not consist alone in our capacity for extended and successful operations on land. The navy is an important arm of the national defence. If the services of the navy were not so brilliant as those of the army in the late war with Mexico, it was because they had no enemy to meet on their own element. While the army had opportunity of performing more conspicuous service, the navy largely participated in the conduct of the war. Both branches of the service performed their whole duty to the

country. For the able and gallant services of the officers and men of the navy—acting independently as well as in co-operation with our troops, in the conquest of the Californias, the capture of Vera Cruz, and the seizure and occupation of other important positions on the Gulf and Pacific coasts, the highest praise is due. Their vigilance, energy, and skill rendered the most effective service, in excluding the munitions of war and other supplies from the enemy, while they secured a safe entrance for abundant supplies for our own army. Our extended commerce was nowhere interrupted; and for this immunity from the evils of war the country is indebted to the navy.

"High praise is due to the officers of the several executive *bureaux*, navy yards, and stations connected with the service, all under the immediate direction of the Secretary of the Navy, for the industry, foresight, and energy with which everything was directed and furnished to give efficiency to that branch of the service. The same vigilance existed in directing the operations of the navy as of the army. There was concert of action and of purpose between the heads of the two arms of the service. By the orders which were from time to time issued, our vessels of war on the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico were stationed in proper time and in proper positions to co-operate efficiently with the army. By this means their combined power was brought to bear successfully on the enemy.

"The great results which have been developed and brought to light by this war will be of immeasurable importance in the future progress of our country. They will tend powerfully to preserve us from foreign collisions, and to enable us to pursue uninterruptedly our cherished policy of 'peace with all nations, entangling alliances with none.'

"Occupying, as we do, a more commanding position among nations than at any former period, our duties and our responsibilities to ourselves and to posterity are correspondingly increased. This will be the more obvious when we consider the vast additions which have been recently made to our territorial possessions, and their great importance and value."

Territorial Acquisitions.—"Within less than four years the annexation of Texas to the Union has been consummated; all conflicting title to the Oregon territory, south of the 49th degree of north latitude, being all that was insisted on by any of my predecessors, has been adjusted; and New Mexico and Upper California have been acquired by treaty. The area of these several territories, according to a report carefully prepared by the Commissioner of the General Land Office from the most authentic information in his possession, and which is herewith transmitted, contains 1,193,061 square miles, or 763,559,040 acres; while the area of the remaining 29 states, and the territory not yet organized into states, east of the Rocky Mountains, contains 2,059,513 square miles, or 1,318,126,058 acres. These estimates show that the territories recently acquired, and over which our exclusive jurisdiction and dominion have been extended, constitute a country more than half as large as all that which was held by the United States before their acquisition. If Oregon be excluded from the estimate, there

will still remain within the limits of Texas, New Mexico, and California, 851,598 square miles, or 545,012,720 acres; being an addition equal to more than one-third of all the territory owned by the United States before their acquisition; and, including Oregon, nearly as great an extent of territory as the whole of Europe, Russia only excepted. The Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its centre. With the addition of the late acquisitions, the United States are now estimated to be nearly as large as the whole of Europe. It is estimated by the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, in the accompanying report, that the extent of the sea coast of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico is upwards of 400 miles; of the coast of Upper California, on the Pacific, of 970 miles; and of Oregon, including the Straits of Fuca, of 650 miles; making the whole extent of sea coast on the Pacific 1620 miles; and the whole extent on both the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, 2020 miles. The length of the coast on the Atlantic, from the northern limits of the United States, round the Capes of Florida to the Sabine on the eastern boundary of Texas, is estimated to be 3100 miles, so that the addition of sea coast, including Oregon, is very nearly two-thirds as great as all we possessed before; and, excluding Oregon, is an addition of 1370 miles; being nearly equal to one-half of the extent of coast which we possessed before these acquisitions. We have now three great maritime fronts—on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific; making, in the whole, an extent of sea coast exceeding 5000 miles. This is the extent of the sea coast of the United States, not including bays, sounds, and small irregularities of the main shore, and of the sea islands. If these be included, the length of the shore line of coast, as estimated by the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, in his report, would be 33,063 miles.

"It would be difficult to calculate the value of these immense additions to our territorial possessions. Texas, lying contiguous to the western boundary of Louisiana, embracing within its limits a part of the navigable tributary waters of the Mississippi, and an extensive sea coast, could not long have remained in the hands of a foreign power without endangering the peace of our south-western frontier. Her products in the vicinity of the tributaries of the Mississippi must have sought a market through these streams, running into and through our territory; and the danger of irritation and collision of interests between Texas, as a foreign state, and ourselves, would have been imminent, while the embarrassments in the commercial intercourse between them must have been constant and unavoidable. Had Texas fallen into the hands, or under the influence and control, of a strong maritime or military foreign power, as she might have done, these dangers would have been still greater. They have been avoided by her voluntary and peaceful annexation to the United States. Texas, from her position, was a natural and almost indispensable part of our territories. Fortunately she has been restored to our country, and now constitutes one of the states of our confederacy, 'upon an equal footing with the original states.' The salubrity of climate,

the fertility of soil, peculiarly adapted to the production of some of our most valuable staple commodities, and her commercial advantages, must soon make her one of our most populous states.

"New Mexico, though situated in the interior, and without a sea coast, is known to contain much fertile land, to abound in rich mines of the precious metals, and to be capable of sustaining a large population. From its position it is the intermediate and connecting territory between our settlements and our possessions in Texas and those on the Pacific coast."

Gold Mines in California.—"Upper California, irrespective of the vast mineral wealth recently developed there, holds at this day, in point of value and importance, to the rest of the union, the same relation that Louisiana did when that fine territory was acquired from France, 45 years ago. Extending nearly ten degrees of latitude along the Pacific, and embracing the only safe and commodious harbours on that coast for many hundred miles, with a temperate climate, and extensive interior of fertile lands, it is scarcely possible to estimate its wealth until it shall be brought under the government of our laws, and its resources fully developed. From its position, it must command the rich commerce of China, of Asia, of the islands of the Pacific, of Western Mexico, of Central America, the South American States, and of the Russian possessions bordering on that ocean. A great emporium will doubtless speedily arise on the Californian coast, which may be destined to rival in importance New Orleans itself. The depôt of the vast commerce which must exist on the Pacific will probably be at some point on the bay of San Francisco, and will occupy the same relation to the whole western coast of that ocean, as New Orleans does to the valley of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. To this depôt our numerous whale ships will resort with their cargoes, to trade, refit, and obtain supplies. This of itself will largely contribute to build up a city, which would soon become the centre of a great and rapidly increasing commerce. Situated on a safe harbour, sufficiently capacious for all the navies as well as the marine of the world, and convenient to excellent timber for ship-building, owned by the United States, it must become our great western naval depôt.

"It was known that mines of the precious metals existed to a considerable extent in California at the time of its acquisition. Recent discoveries render it probable that these mines are more extensive and valuable than was anticipated. The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service who have visited the mineral district, and derived the facts which they detail from personal observation. Reluctant to credit the reports in general circulation as to the quantity of gold, the officer commanding our forces in California visited the mineral district in July last, for the purpose of obtaining accurate information on the subject. His report to the War Department of the result of his examination, and the facts obtained on the spot, is herewith laid before Congress. When he visited the country, there

were about 4000 persons engaged in collecting gold. There is every reason to believe that the number of persons so employed has since been augmented. The explorations already made warrant the belief that the supply is very large, and that gold is found in various places in an extensive district of country.

"Information received from officers of the navy and other sources, though not so full and minute, confirm the accounts of the commander of our military force in California. It appears also from these reports that mines of quicksilver are found in the vicinity of the gold region. One of them is now being worked, and is believed to be among the most productive in the world.

"The effects produced by the discovery of these rich mineral deposits, and the success which has attended the labours of those who have resorted to them, have produced a surprising change in the state of affairs in California. Labour commands a most exorbitant price, and all other pursuits but that of searching for the precious metals are abandoned. Nearly the whole of the male population of the country have gone to the gold district. Ships arriving on the coast are deserted by their crews, and their voyages suspended for want of sailors. Our commanding officer there entertains apprehensions that soldiers cannot be kept in the public service without a large increase of pay. Desertions in his command have become frequent, and he recommends that those who shall withstand the strong temptation and remain faithful should be rewarded.

"This abundance of gold and the all-engrossing pursuit of it have already caused in California an unprecedented rise in the price of the necessaries of life.

"That we may the more speedily and fully avail ourselves of the undeveloped wealth of these mines, it is deemed of vast importance that a branch of the Mint of the United States be authorized to be established, at your present Session, in California. Among other signal advantages which would result from such an establishment would be that of raising the gold to its par value in that territory. A branch Mint of the United States at the great commercial depôt on the west coast would convert into our own coin not only the gold derived from our own rich mines, but also the bullion and specie which our commerce may bring from the whole west coast of central and South America. The west coast of America and the adjacent interior embrace the richest and best mines of Mexico, New Grenada, Central America, Chili, and Peru. The bullion and specie drawn from these countries, and especially from those of Western Mexico and Peru, to an amount in value of many millions of dollars, are now annually diverted and carried by the ships of Great Britain to her own ports, to be recoined or used to sustain her national bank, and thus contribute to increase her ability to command so much of the commerce of the world. If a branch Mint be established at the great commercial point upon that coast, a vast amount of bullion and specie would flow thither to be recoined, and pass thence to New Orleans, New York, and other Atlantic cities. The amount of our constitutional currency at home would be greatly increased, while

its circulation would be promoted. It is well known to our merchants trading to China and the west coast of America, that great inconvenience and loss are experienced from the fact that our coins are not current at their par value in those countries.

"The powers of Europe, far removed from the west coast of America by the Atlantic ocean which intervenes, and by a tedious and dangerous navigation around the southern cape of the continent of America, can never successfully compete with the United States in the rich and extensive commerce which is opened to us at so much less cost by the acquisition of California.

"The vast importance and commercial advantages of California have heretofore remained undeveloped by the Government of the country of which it constituted a part. Now that this fine province is a part of our country, all the states of the union, some more immediately and directly than others, are deeply interested in the speedy development of its wealth and resources. No section of our country is more interested, or will be more benefited, than the commercial, navigating, and manufacturing interests of the Eastern States. Our planting and farming interests in every part of the union will be greatly benefited by it. As our commerce and navigation are enlarged and extended, our exports of agricultural products and of manufactures will be increased; and in the new markets thus opened, they cannot fail to command remunerating and profitable prices.

"The acquisition of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the annexation of Texas, extending to the Rio Grande, are results which, combined, are of greater consequence, and will add more to the strength and wealth of the nation than any which have preceded them since the adoption of the Constitution.

"But to effect these great results, not only California, but New Mexico, must be brought under the control of regularly organized Governments. The existing condition of California, and of that part of New Mexico lying west of the Rio Grande, and without the limits of Texas, imperiously demand that Congress should, at its present Session, organize territorial Governments over them."

Question of Slavery.—"The immensely valuable possessions of New Mexico and California are already inhabited by a considerable population. Attracted by their great fertility, their mineral wealth, their commercial advantages, and the salubrity of the climate, emigrants from the older States, in great numbers, are already preparing to seek new homes in these inviting regions.

"Shall the dissimilarity of the domestic institutions in the different states prevent us from providing for them suitable Governments? These institutions existed at the adoption of the constitution, but the obstacles which they interposed were overcome by that spirit of compromise which is now invoked. In a conflict of opinions or of interests, real or imaginary, between different sections of our country, neither can justly demand all which it might desire to obtain. Each, in the true spirit of our institutions, should concede something to the other.

"Our gallant forces in the Mexi-

can war, by whose patriotism and unparalleled deeds of arms we obtained these possessions as an indemnity for our just demands against Mexico, were composed of citizens who belonged to no one state or section of our union. They were men from slaveholding and non-slaveholding states, from the north and the south, from the east and the west. They were all companions in-arms, and fellow-citizens of the same common country, engaged in the same common cause. When prosecuting that war they were brethren and friends, and shared alike with each other common toils, dangers, and sufferings. Now, when their work is ended, when peace is restored, and they return again to their homes, put off the habiliments of war, take their places in society, and resume their pursuits in civil life, surely a spirit of harmony and concession, and of equal regard for the rights of all and of all sections of the union, ought to prevail in providing Governments for the acquired territories, the fruits of their common service. The whole people of the United States, and of every state, contributed to defray the expenses of that war; and it would not be just for any section to exclude another from all participation in the acquired territory. This would not be in consonance with the just system of government which the framers of the constitution adopted.

"The question is believed to be rather abstract than practical, whether slavery ever can or would exist in any portion of the acquired territory, even if it were left to the option of the slaveholding states themselves. From the nature of the climate and productions, in much the larger portion, it is certain it could never exist; and, in the remainder, the probabilities are it would not. But, however this may be, the question, involving as it does a principle of equality of rights of the separate and several states, as equal co-partners in the confederacy, should not be disregarded.

"In organizing Governments over these territories, no duty imposed on Congress by the constitution requires that they should legislate on the subject of slavery, while their power to do so is not only seriously questioned, but denied by many of the soundest expounders of that instrument. Whether Congress shall legislate or not, the people of the acquired territories, when assembled in convention to form state constitutions, will possess the sole and exclusive power to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. If Congress shall abstain from interfering with the question, the people of these territories will be left free to adjust it as they may think proper when they apply for admission as states into the union. No enactment of Congress could restrain the people of any of the sovereign states of the union, old or new, north or south, slaveholding or non-slaveholding, from determining the character of their own domestic institutions as they may deem wise and proper. Any and all the states possess this right, and Congress cannot deprive them of it. The people of Georgia might, if they chose, so alter their constitution as to abolish slavery within its limits; and the people of Vermont might so alter their constitution as to admit slavery within its limits. Both

states would possess the right, though, as all know, it is not probable that either would exert it.

"It is fortunate for the peace and harmony of the union that this question is in its nature temporary, and can only continue for the brief period which will intervene before California and New Mexico may be admitted as states into the union. From the tide of population now flowing into them, it is highly probable that this will soon occur.

"Considering the several states and the citizens of the several states as equals, and entitled to equal rights under the constitution, if this were an original question, it might well be insisted on that the principle of non-interference is the true doctrine, and that Congress could not, in the absence of any express grant of power, interfere with their relative rights. Upon a great emergency, however, and under menacing dangers to the union, the Missouri compromise line in respect to slavery was adopted. The same line was extended further west in the acquisition of Texas. After an acquiescence of nearly thirty years in the principle of compromise recognised and established by these acts, and to avoid the danger to the union which might follow if it were now disregarded, I have heretofore expressed the opinion that that line of compromise should be extended on the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes from the western boundary of Texas, where it now terminates, to the Pacific Ocean. This is the middle ground of compromise upon which the different sections of the union may meet, as they have heretofore met. If this be done, it is confidently believed a large majority of the people of every section of the country, however widely their abstract opinions on the subject of slavery may differ, would cheerfully and patriotically acquiesce in it, and peace and harmony would again fill our borders."

Territorial Survey.—"As it is ascertained that mines of gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver exist in New Mexico and California, and that nearly all the lands where they are found belong to the United States, it is deemed important to the public interests that provision be made for a geological and mineralogical examination of these regions. Measures should be adopted to preserve the mineral lands, especially such as contain the precious metals, for the use of the United States; or, if brought into the market, to separate them from the farming lands, and dispose of them in such manner as to secure a large return of money to the treasury, and at the same time lead to the development of their wealth by individual proprietors and purchasers. To do this it will be necessary to provide for an immediate survey and location of the lots. If Congress should deem it proper to dispose of the mineral lands, they should be sold in small quantities, and at a fixed *minimum* price."

Mexican Debt.—"In pursuance of the provisions of the 13th article of the treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, with the Republic of Mexico, and of the act of July 29, 1848, claims of our citizens which had been 'already liquidated and decided against the Mexican republic,' amounting with the interest thereon to 2,023,832 dollars, 51 cents, have been liquidated and paid. There remain to be paid of these claims 74,192 dollars, 26 cents.

"Congress at its last Session having made no provision for executing the 15th article of the treaty, by which the United States assume to make satisfaction for the 'unliquidated claims' of our citizens against Mexico, to 'an amount not exceeding 3,250,000 dollars,' the subject is again recommended to your favourable consideration.

"The exchange of ratifications of the treaty with Mexico took place on the 30th of May, 1848. Within one year after that time the commissioner and surveyor which each Government stipulates to appoint are required to meet 'at the Port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte.' It will be seen, from this provision, that the period within which a commissioner and surveyor of the respective Governments are to meet at San Diego will expire on the 30th of May, 1849. Congress, at the close of its last Session, made an appropriation for 'the expenses of running and marking the boundary line' between the two countries, but did not fix the amount of salary which should be paid to the commissioner and surveyor to be appointed on the part of the United States. It is desirable that the amount of compensation which they shall receive should be prescribed by law, and not left, as at present, to Executive discretion."

Finances.—"The Secretary of the Treasury will present in his annual report a highly satisfactory statement of the condition of the finances.

"The imports for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June last were of the value of 154,977,876 dollars, of which the amount exported was 21,128,010 dollars, leaving 133,849,866 dollars in the country for domestic use.

"The value of the exports for the same period was 154,032,131 dollars, consisting of domestic productions, amounting to 132,904,121 dollars, and 21,128,010 dollars of foreign articles.

"The receipt into the Treasury, for the same period, exclusive of loans, amounted to 35,436,750 dollars, 59 cents; of which there was derived from Customs 31,757,070 dollars, 96 cents; from sales of public lands, 3,328,642 dollars, 56 cents; and from miscellaneous and incidental sources, 351,037 dollars, 7 cents.

"It will be perceived that the revenue from customs for the last fiscal year exceeded, by 757,070 dollars, 96 cents, the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report; and that the aggregate receipts during the same period, from customs, lands, and miscellaneous sources, also exceeded the estimate by the sum of 536,750 dollars, 59 cents, indicating, however, a very near approach in the estimate to the actual result.

"The expenditures during the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June last, including those for the war, and exclusive of payments of principal and interest for the public debt, were 42,811,970 dollars, 3 cents.

"It is estimated that the receipts into the treasury for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1849, including the balance in the Treasury on the 1st of July last, will amount to the sum of 57,048,969 dollars, 90 cents, of which 32,000,000 dollars, it is estimated, will be derived from customs; 3,000,000 dollars from the sales of the public lands; and 1,200,000 dollars from miscel-

laneous and incidental sources, including the premium upon the loan, and the amount paid, and to be paid, into the Treasury on account of military contributions in Mexico, and the sales of arms and vessels, and other public property, rendered unnecessary for the use of the Government by the termination of the war; and 20,695,435 dollars, 30 cents, from loans already negotiated, including Treasury notes funded, which, together with the balance in the Treasury on the 1st of July last, make the sum estimated.

"The expenditures for the same period, including the necessary payment on account of the principal and interest of the public debt, and the principal and interest of the first instalment due to Mexico on the 30th of May next, and other expenditures growing out of the war, to be paid during the present year, will amount, including the reimbursement of Treasury notes, to the sum of 54,195,275 dollars, 6 cents, leaving an estimated balance in the Treasury, on the 1st of July, 1849, of 2,853,694 dollars, 84 cents.

"The Secretary of the Treasury will present, as required by law, the estimate of the receipts and expenditures of the next fiscal year. The expenditures, as estimated for that year, are 33,213,152 dollars, 73 cents, including 3,799,102 dollars, 18 cents, for the interest on the public debt, and 3,540,000 dollars for the principal and interest due to Mexico on the 30th of May, 1850, leaving the sum of 25,870,050 dollars, 35 cents, which, it is believed, will be ample for the ordinary peace expenditure.

"The operation of the Tariff Act of 1846 has been such during the past year as fully to meet the public expectation, and to confirm the opinion heretofore expressed of the wisdom of the change in our revenue system which was effected by it. The receipts under it into the treasury for the first fiscal year after its enactment exceeded, by the sum of 5,044,403 dollars, 9 cents, the amount collected during the last fiscal year under the Tariff Act of 1842, ending the 30th of June, 1846. The total revenue realized from the commencement of its operation, on the 1st of December, 1846, until the close of the last quarter, on the 30th of September last, being 22 months, was 56,654,563 dollars, 70 cents, being a much larger sum than was ever before received from duties during any equal period under the Tariff Acts 1824, 1828, 1832, and 1842. Whilst by the repeal of highly protective and prohibitory duties the revenue has been increased, the taxes on the people have been diminished. They have been relieved from the heavy amounts with which they were burdened under former laws in the form of increased prices or bounties paid to favoured classes and pursuits.

"The predictions which were made, that the Tariff Act of 1846 would reduce the amount of revenue below that collected under the Act of 1842, and would prostrate the business and destroy the prosperity of the country, have not been verified. With an increased and increasing revenue, the finances are in a highly flourishing condition. Agriculture, commerce, and navigation are prosperous; the prices of manufactured fabrics, and of other products, are much less injuriously affected than was to have been anticipated from the unprecedented

revulsions which, during the last and the present year, have overwhelmed the industry and paralyzed the credit and commerce of so many great and enlighened nations of Europe.

"Severe commercial revulsions abroad have always heretofore operated to depress, and often to affect disastrously, almost every branch of American industry. The temporary depression of a portion of our manufacturing interests is the effect of foreign causes, and is far less severe than has prevailed on all former similar occasions.

"It is believed that, looking to the great aggregate of all our interests, the whole country was never more prosperous than at the present period, and never more rapidly advancing in wealth and population. Neither the foreign war in which we have been involved, nor the loans which have absorbed so large a portion of our capital, nor the commercial revulsion in Great Britain in 1847, nor the paralysis of credit and commerce throughout Europe in 1848, have affected injuriously, to any considerable extent, any of the great interests of the country, or arrested our onward march to greatness, wealth, and power.

"Had the disturbances in Europe not occurred, our commerce would undoubtedly have been still more extended, and would have added still more to the national wealth and public prosperity. But, notwithstanding these disturbances, the operations of the revenue system established by the Tariff Act of 1846 have been so generally beneficial to the government and the business of the country, that no change in its provisions is demanded by a wise public policy, and none is recommended.

"The operations of the constitutional treasury, established by the Act of the 6th of August, 1846, in the receipt, custody, and disbursement of the public money, have continued to be successful. Under this system the public finances have been carried through a foreign war, involving the necessity of loans and extraordinary expenditures, and requiring distant transfers and disbursements, without embarrassment, and no loss has occurred of any of the public money deposited under its provisions. Whilst it has proved to be safe and useful to the Government, its efforts have been most beneficial upon the business of the country; it has tended powerfully to secure an exemption from that inflation and fluctuation of the paper currency so injurious to domestic industry, and rendering so uncertain the rewards of labour; and it is believed has largely contributed to preserve the whole country from a serious commercial revulsion, such as often occurred under the bank deposit system.

"In my message of the 6th of July last, transmitting to Congress the ratified treaty of peace with Mexico, I recommended the adoption of measures for the speedy payment of the public debt. In reiterating that recommendation, I refer you to the considerations presented in that message in its support. The public debt, including that authorized to be negotiated in pursuance of existing laws, and including Treasury notes, amounted at that time to 65,778,450 dollars, 41 cents.

"Funded stock of the United States, amounting to about half a million of dollars, has been purchased, as authorized by law, since that period, and the public debt

has thus been reduced, the details of which will be presented in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

"The estimates of expenditures for the next fiscal year, submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, it is believed will be ample for all necessary purposes. If the appropriations made by Congress shall not exceed the amount estimated, the means in the treasury will be sufficient to defray the expenses of the Government, to pay off the next instalment of 3,000,000 dollars to Mexico, which will fall due on the 30th of May next, and still a considerable surplus will remain, which should be applied to the further purchase of the public stock and reduction of the debt. Should enlarged appropriations be made, the necessary consequences will be to postpone the payment of the debt. Though our debt, as compared with that of most other nations, is small, it is our true policy, and in harmony with the genius of our institutions, that we should present to the world the rare spectacle of a great republic, possessing vast resources and wealth, wholly exempt from public indebtedness. This would add still more to our strength, and give to us a still more commanding position among the nations of the earth."

American System.—"Nothing can retard the onward progress of our country, and prevent us from assuming and maintaining the first rank among nations, but a disregard of the experience of the past, and a recurrence to an unwise public policy. We have just closed a foreign war by an honourable peace,—a war rendered necessary and unavoidable in vindication of the national rights and honour. The present condition of the country is similar, in some respects, to that which existed immediately after the close of the war with Great Britain in 1815, and the occasion is deemed to be a proper one to take a retrospect of the measures of the public policy which followed that war. There was at that period of our history a departure from our earlier policy. The enlargement of the powers of the federal government by construction which obtained was not warranted by any just interpretation of the constitution. A few years after the close of that war, a series of measures was adopted which, united and combined, constituted what was termed by their authors and advocates the 'American system.'

"The introduction of the new policy was for a time favoured by the condition of the country; by the heavy debt which had been contracted during the war; by the depression of the public credit; by the deranged state of the finances and the currency; and by the commercial and pecuniary embarrassment which extensively prevailed. These were not the only causes which led to its establishment. The events of the war with Great Britain, and the embarrassments which had attended its prosecution, had left on the minds of many of our statesmen the impression that our Government was not strong enough, and that to wield its resources successfully, in great emergencies, and especially in war, more power should be concentrated in its hands. This increased power they did not seek to obtain by the legitimate and prescribed mode—an amendment of the constitution—but by construction. They saw Governments

in the old world based upon different orders of society, and so constituted as to throw the whole power of nations into the hands of a few, who taxed and controlled the many without responsibility or restraint. In that arrangement they conceived the strength of nations in war consisted. There was also something fascinating in the ease, luxury, and display of the higher orders, who drew their wealth from the toil of the labouring millions. The authors of the system drew their ideas of political economy from what they had witnessed in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain. They had viewed the enormous wealth concentrated in few hands, and had seen the splendour of the overgrown establishments of an aristocracy which was upheld by the restrictive policy. They forgot to look down upon the poorer classes of the English population, upon whose daily and yearly labour the great establishments they so much admired were sustained and supported. They failed to perceive that the scantily-fed and half-clad operatives were not only in abject poverty, but were bound in chains of oppressive servitude for the benefit of favoured classes, who were the exclusive objects of the care of the Government.

"It was not possible to reconstruct society in the United States upon the European plan. Here there was a written constitution, by which orders and titles were not recognised or tolerated. A system of measures was therefore devised, calculated, if not intended, to withdraw power gradually and silently from the states and the mass of the people, and by construction to approximate our Government to the European models, substituting an aristocracy of wealth for that of orders and titles.

"Without reflecting upon the dissimilarity of our institutions, and of the condition of our people and those of Europe, they conceived the vain idea of building up in the United States a system similar to that which they admired abroad. Great Britain had a national bank of large capital, in whose hands was concentrated the controlling monetary and financial power of the nation; an institution wielding almost kingly power, and exerting vast influence upon all the operations of trade, and upon the policy of the Government itself. Great Britain had an enormous public debt, and it had become a part of her public policy to regard this as a 'public blessing.' Great Britain had also a restrictive policy, which placed fetters and burdens on trade, and trammelled the productive industry of the mass of the nation. By her combined system of policy, the landlords and other property holders were protected and enriched by the enormous taxes which were levied upon the labour of the country for their advantage.

"Imitating this foreign policy, the first step in establishing the new system in the United States was the creation of a national bank. Not foreseeing the dangerous power and countless evils which such an institution might entail on the country, nor perceiving the connexion which it was designed to form between the bank and the other branches of the miscalled 'American system,' but feeling the embarrassments of the Treasury, and of the business of the country, consequent upon the war, some of our statesmen who had held dif-

ferent and sounder views were induced to yield their scruples, and, indeed, settled conviction of its unconstitutionality, and to give it their sanction as an expedient which they vainly hoped might produce relief. It was a most unfortunate error, as the subsequent history and final catastrophe of that dangerous and corrupt institution have abundantly proved. The bank, with its numerous branches ramified into the states, soon brought many of the active political and commercial men in different sections of the country into the relation of debtors to it, and dependants upon it for pecuniary favours; thus diffusing throughout the mass of society a great number of individuals of power and influence to give tone to public opinion, and to act in concert in cases of emergency. The corrupt power of such a political engine is no longer a matter of speculation, having been displayed in numerous instances, but most signally in the political struggles of 1832, 1833, and 1834, in opposition to the public will, represented by a fearless and patriotic President.

"The whole system was resisted from its inception by many of our ablest statesmen, some of whom doubted its constitutionality and its expediency, while others believed it was, in all its branches, a flagrant and dangerous infraction of the constitution.

"I entertain the solemn conviction that if the internal improvement branch of the 'American system' be not firmly resisted at this time, the whole series of measures composing it will be speedily re-established, and the country be thrown back from its present high state of prosperity, which the existing policy has produced, and be destined again to witness all the evils, commercial revulsions, depression of prices, and pecuniary embarrassments, through which we have passed during the last 25 years.

"To guard against consequences so ruinous is an object of high national importance, involving, in my judgment, the continued prosperity of the country."

Presidential veto.—"I have felt it to be an imperative obligation to withhold my constitutional sanction from two bills which had passed to the two Houses of Congress, involving the principle of the internal improvement branch of the American system, and conflicting in their provisions with the views here expressed.

"This power, conferred upon the President by the constitution, I have on three occasions during my administration of the executive department of the Government deemed it my duty to exercise, and on this last occasion of making to Congress an annual communication 'of the state of the Union,' it is not deemed inappropriate to review the principles and considerations which have governed my action. I deem this the more necessary, because, after the lapse of near 60 years since the adoption of the constitution, the propriety of the exercise of this undoubted constitutional power by the President has for the first time been drawn seriously in question by a portion of my fellow-citizens.

"The constitution provides that 'every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but, if not, he shall return it with his objec-

tions to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it.'

"The preservation of the constitution from infraction is the President's highest duty. He is bound to discharge that duty at whatever hazard of incurring the displeasure of those who may differ from him in opinion. He is bound to discharge it, as well by his obligations to the people who have clothed him with his exalted trust, as by his oath of office, which he may not disregard. Nor are the obligations of the President in any degree lessened by the prevalence of views different from his own in one or both Houses of Congress. It is not alone hasty and inconsiderate legislation that he is required to check, but if at any time Congress shall, after apparently full deliberation, resolve on measures which he deems subversive of the constitution, or of the vital interests of the country, it is his solemn duty to stand in the breach and resist them. The President is bound to approve or disapprove every bill which passes Congress and is presented to him for his signature. The constitution makes this his duty, and he cannot escape it if he would. He has no election. In deciding upon any bill presented to him, he must exercise his own best judgment. If he cannot approve, the constitution commands him to return the bill to the House in which it originated, with his objections; and if he fail to do this within 10 days (Sundays excepted), it shall become a law without his signature. Right or wrong, he may be overruled by a vote of two-thirds of each house; and in that event the bill becomes a law without his sanction. If his objections be not thus overruled the subject is only postponed, and is referred to the states and the people for their consideration and decision. The President's power is negative merely, and not affirmative. He can enact no law. The only effect, therefore, of his withholding his approval of a bill passed by the Congress, is to suffer the existing laws to remain unchanged, and the delay occasioned is only that required to enable the states and the people to consider and act upon the subject in the election of public agents who will carry out their wishes and instructions. Any attempt to coerce the President to yield his sanction to measures which he cannot approve would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution palpable and flagrant; and, if successful, would break down the dependence of the Executive department, and make the President, elected by the people and clothed by the constitution with power to defend their rights, the mere instrument of a majority of Congress. A surrender on his part of the powers with which the constitution has invested his office would effect a practical alteration of that instrument, without resorting to the prescribed process of amendment.

"But it is, in point of fact, untrue that an act passed by Congress is conclusive evidence that it is an emanation of the popular will. A majority of the whole number elected to each House of Congress constitutes a quorum, and a majority of that quorum is competent to pass laws. It might happen that a quorum of the House of Representatives, consisting of a single member more than half of the whole number elected to that

House, might pass a bill by a majority of a single vote, and in that case a fraction more than one-fourth of the people of the United States would be represented by those who voted for it. It might happen that the same bill might be passed by a majority of one, of a quorum of the Senate, composed of senators from the fifteen smaller states, and a single senator from a sixteenth state, and if the senators voting for it happened to be from the eight of the smallest of these states, it would be passed by the votes of senators from states having but fourteen representatives in the House of Representatives, and containing less than one-sixteenth of the whole population of the United States. This extreme case is stated to illustrate the fact that the mere passage of a bill by Congress is no conclusive evidence that those who passed it represent the majority of the people of the United States, or truly reflect their will. If such an extreme case is not likely to happen, cases that approximate it are of constant occurrence. It is believed that not a single law has been passed since the adoption of the constitution upon which all the members elected to both Houses have been present and voted. Many of the most important acts which have passed Congress have been carried by a close vote in thin houses. Many instances of this might be given. Indeed, our experience proves that many of the most important acts of Congress are postponed to the last days, and often the last hours of a session, when they are disposed of in haste, and by houses but little exceeding the number necessary to form a quorum.

"Besides, in most of the states, the members of the House of Representatives are chosen by pluralities, and not by majorities of all the voters in their respective districts; and it may happen that a majority of that House may be returned by a less aggregate vote of the people than that received by the minority.

"The power of the Executive veto was exercised by the first and most illustrious of my predecessors, and by four of his successors, who preceded me in the administration of the Government, and it is believed in no instance prejudicially to the public interests. It has never been, and there is but little danger that it ever can be abused. No President will ever desire unnecessarily to place his opinion in opposition to that of Congress. He must always exercise the power reluctantly, and only in cases where his convictions make it a matter of stern duty which he cannot escape. Indeed, there is more danger that the President, from the repugnance he must always feel to come in collision with Congress, may fail to exercise it in cases where the preservation of the constitution from infraction, or the public good, may demand it, than that he will exercise it unnecessarily or wantonly.

"Invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon your deliberations at your present important Session, my ardent hope is, that, in a spirit of harmony and concord, you may be guided to wise results, and such as may redound to the happiness, the honour, and the glory of our beloved country.

"James K. Polk

"Washington, Dec. 5, 1848."

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY, 1848.

1. MURDER AT NAILSEA.—A coroner's inquest was held at West Town, near Nailsea, Somerset, to inquire into the circumstances attending the death of John Wall. The murdered man, who bore the character of being a sober, industrious, and inoffensive man, was about 42 or 43 years of age. It appears from his statement, that, at between three and four o'clock in the evening of the 17th Dec., while it was quite light, he was in his cottage, engaged near the fire preparing some food for pigs; he was stooping down, and while in that position he heard the crash of a pane of glass in the window. He rose up, and saw a gun pointed through the broken glass, but before he could move the gun was discharged, and he received the contents in his thigh. In an instant after he saw a man looking in, evidently to see whether the murderous deed had been accomplished. The wounded man rushed out of the cottage and saw some young men running across the fields, but could not recognise them. He then contrived to reach the surgery of Mr. Bisdee, at West Town, by whom the wound was dressed; but, after lingering nearly a fortnight, he expired from lockjaw, arising from the wound. From the description given by the deceased, a youth named Manfield was on the following day apprehended by the constable of Nailsea, who also found the gun with which the crime was perpetrated, and traced it to Manfield's possession. The prisoner, when taken before the deceased, was at once recognised by him as the man whom he saw looking in through the window. He was subsequently taken before a magistrate of the county, and when about to be conveyed to prison he said that he ought not to be taken alone, but that his brother, Charles Manfield, and a relative named Robert Jakeways, ought to be taken with him. It appears, from a statement which he made, that the prisoner himself, his brother Charles, another brother, quite a boy, and Robert Jakeways, were out shooting in the neighbourhood of deceased's house, and, not being very happy in finding game, Jakeways said, "Come, let us shoot the old fellow." This was agreed upon; but either not wishing to implicate the boy, or probably from the fear that he might betray them, they sent him away under the pretence that he should gather some "Christmas"

in a neighbouring wood, they saying that they were going to shoot a wild duck down by the drain. Jakeways then took the gun and fired in at the window at the deceased, and the prisoner looked in to see the effect of the shot. These statements were corroborated by evidence, and the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against Charles Manfield, and against Robert and Anthony Manfield as accessories.

— Double Murder in Golden Lane.—Great excitement was created in this densely peopled neighbourhood by the discovery of a double murder, the victims of which were two children, Amina Blake, aged eight years, and Robert Blake, aged five years, whose father, Robert Blake, a grinder, resided at No. 3, Cupid's Court. A woman, named Harriet Parker, who had cohabited with Blake, was arrested on the charge of having committed the deed.

A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies.

The coroner and jury proceeded to view the bodies, which lay on a bed on a turn-up bedstead, in the front room on the ground floor at the house No. 3, Cupid's Court. They were in the exact position they were left by the accused. The elder child (the girl) was at the foot of the bed, with her head near the wainscot, in a position from which it was evident a struggle must have taken place. It was the opinion of the jury that the poor child had been suffocated by a pillow having been placed over its mouth. There was a scratch across her throat, about three inches in length. The other child was at the head of the bed, and presented appearances of his death having been caused in a similar manner. The bed-clothes were in a state which showed that a most violent struggle had taken place on the part of the murdered children for the preservation of their lives. There were no other marks of violence about the bodies.

It appeared by the evidence given by Robert Blake, the father, that the deceased children were born in wedlock, but that he had separated about four years ago from their mother; and had since, for two years and a half, cohabited with Harriet Parker, the person now accused, who is a widow. She passed for his wife. He saw his children last between five and six o'clock on Friday evening, when he put them to bed. Blake then left the house, intending to go to the theatre with a male friend. He and Parker had had no serious quarrel before, but she followed him out, intending to annoy him and to prevent him from going. She threatened to follow him step by step wherever he went; and she did follow him to several places. At the Duke of Bedford public-house he told her to go home, for he did not mean to go to the theatre. A person came in at the time, with whom she entered into conversation, and he took that opportunity of making his escape. He had not seen her since. He slept at the house of a friend in Goswell Street, and about 11 o'clock the next morning, as he was going down Golden Lane to his work with his shopmate, a person stopped them and told them of the murder.

Stephen Hewlett, Blake's companion, corroborated his statement, adding that when the woman Parker missed him she ran out greatly excited. She returned in about five minutes, and said, "It is

a good job you did not go out with him. He shall repent of this before the morning. I will do something that he shall repent of, and I will die like a trump at Newgate." She then went away. Some time after he went to her house, No. 3, Cupid's Court, Golden Lane. She opened the window, and he said to her, "Mrs. Blake, what is the matter with you?" She replied, "I have something very black on my mind, and I'll stop it before long."

The Coroner.—Did she say anything else?

Witness.—Yes; she said "You will hear of me before you see me."

A Juror.—What induced you to go to Parker's house?

Witness.—I pondered over what she had threatened, and I thought I had better go and see her.

Jane Moore, of No. 9, Cupid's Court, stated, that on Saturday morning, about four o'clock, she heard a knocking at the door. Her husband opened the window, when Harriet Parker called out, "It is me, Mr. Moore; I want to speak to your wife, and do not hinder her; I'll not detain her five minutes." Upon going down stairs she found Harriet Parker waiting at the door. She went into the lower room and sat down, exclaiming, "Oh! Mrs. Moore, I have done it." Witness asked what she had done? when Parker replied, "Blake came home last night to take me to the play, and on going out he met with a strumpet, who took his arm, and they ran away immediately; saying that she was Blake's mistress." Witness considered that she was greatly excited, and told her that it was not the proper time to call her up to tell her of it. Parker then got up from her seat and placed her hands on witness's shoulders, and said, "He has not come home, and what a pretty spectacle there is for him when he does." Witness asked what she meant; when she replied, "I have murdered his two children." Witness said, "You don't mean to say that?" when she replied, "I do, and I am now going to give myself up." She then went away. She afterwards saw her at the police-station, and heard her say that she hoped she should not be dragged through the streets to the police-office, but go in a cab, as she knew she must go to prison.

Lucy Matthews, of No. 8, Cupid's Court, said that Harriet Parker came to her house about eight o'clock on Friday night for a light. She was then trembling, and appeared in a very excited state. She said that Blake did not intend to go with her when he went out. The deceased Amina Blake came for another light between eight and nine o'clock, and witness heard at four o'clock the next morning the knocking at the street door. She heard Parker's voice, and asked her if she had not gone in doors yet? She (Parker) replied, "No, I have not; and I shall never go in again; my heart is bleeding." Witness got up, and heard from Mrs. Moore that Parker had murdered the two children.

Mr. F. Wright, surgeon, gave evidence as to his examination of the bodies, from which it appeared that death had in both cases resulted from a forcible compression of the mouth and nostrils by the hand of some party, such violence causing suffocation.

After a careful inquiry of three days' duration, the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against Harriet Parker in both cases.

Parker was tried on the 4th of February, and convicted, the jury accompanying their verdict with a strong recommendation to mercy; but the Court passed sentence of death, and she was executed.

2. Dreadful Suicides.—An appalling event occurred in Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square, in the simultaneous suicides of a man and wife, named Williams. Williams had been a serjeant in the E division of police, and was considered a most meritorious officer. About ten months ago he retired from the force, and, with his wife, took the Star Coffee House, in the above street, where they appeared to carry on a very prosperous business. A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies.

Henry Matthews said, he resided in the second floor front room of the deceased's house. On Sunday morning, about a quarter to one o'clock, he was awakened by hearing loud screams. He jumped out of bed, and on running down stairs he found Mrs. Williams standing in the passage, screaming and jumping like a mad woman. He asked her what was the matter? and she then said, "Oh my husband has hung himself!" Witness ran up to Mr. Williams's bedroom, and, finding him hanging to the bedpost, called in the police and ran for a surgeon. Mrs. Williams went up with him; the door was fastened by a small bolt on the inside, which was forced. Mr. Williams was hanging by a black silk handkerchief to the top of the bedpost, and on being cut down was apparently dead. Mr. Hatfield, a surgeon, came to see Mr. Williams, and while he was with him a great cry was raised down stairs that Mrs. Williams had cut her throat. She was found lying on a mat in the shop, with her head near the door, and her throat cut. A white-handled razor was lying by her side. The deceased were a most sober and affectionate couple. He believed they were tee-totallers. Mr. Williams had frequently complained of pains in his head, and latterly very much of a falling off in his business.

Martha Doig, a little girl 14 years of age, deposed to having been in the service of Mr. and Mrs. Williams from August up to Friday night last, when they dismissed her on account of the falling off in their business. She frequently heard Mr. Williams complain of his head and chest, and place his hand there.

Mr. Richard Hatfield, of No. 41, Cleveland Street, surgeon, deposed, that he was called to see Mr. Williams about one o'clock on Sunday morning. He found the man dead, and that he had been cut down previously. Whilst attending to the man, a cry was raised for him to come down stairs, as the deceased's wife had cut her throat. He found Mrs. Williams lying in the coffee-room, bleeding from a deep wound in the throat. She was not dead, and there was a guttural sound, but she could not speak. The trachea and gullet were divided, and the razor lay near her. He sewed up the wound, but she died in about half an hour.

The jury returned a verdict, "That the deceased, Susannah Williams, committed the act in an unsound state of mind; and that Alexander Toms Williams destroyed himself, but in what state of mind he was at the time there was not sufficient evidence for the jury."

THE NATIONAL DEFENCES.—The views of the "Great Captain" upon the military position and prospects of this country must ever be of the greatest interest and importance. A letter of the illustrious veteran, which may be considered his military testament, addressed to Sir John Burgoyne, has been published. It is a document of considerable length, and well deserving perusal. The following are some of the most striking passages:—

"Strathfieldsaye, Jan. 9th, 1847.

"My dear General,—Some days have elapsed—indeed, a fortnight has—since I received your note, with a copy of your observations on the possible results of a war with France, under our present system of military preparation.

"You are aware that I have for years been sensible of the alteration produced in maritime warfare and operations by the application of steam to the propelling of ships at sea.

"This discovery immediately exposed all parts of the coasts of these islands, which a vessel could approach at all, to be approached, at all times of the tide, and in all seasons, by vessels so propelled, from all quarters. We are, in fact, assailable, and at least liable to insult, and to have contributions levied upon us on all parts of our coast; that is, the coast of these, including the Channel Islands, which to this time, from the period of the Norman Conquest, have never been successfully invaded.

"I have in vain endeavoured to awaken the attention of different Administrations to this state of things, as well known to our neighbours (rivals in power, at least former adversaries and enemies) as it is to ourselves. . . . .

"I have above, in few words, represented our danger. We have no defence, or hope of defence, excepting in our fleet. . . . . .

"It is perfectly true that, as we stand at present, with our naval arsenals and dockyards not half garrisoned, 5000 men of all arms could not be put under arms, if required, for any service whatever, without leaving standing without relief all employed on any duty, not excepting even the guards over the palaces and the person of the Sovereign.

"I calculate that a declaration of war should probably find our own garrisons of the strength as follows, particularly considering that one of the most common accusations against this country is, that the practice has been to commence reprisals at sea simultaneously with a declaration of war, the order for the first of which must have been issued before the last can have been published.

"We ought to be with garrisons as follows at the moment war is declared:—

	Men.
Channel Islands (besides the militia of each, well organized, trained, and disciplined)	10,000
Plymouth	10,000
Milford Haven	5,000
Cork	10,000
Portsmouth	10,000
Dover	10,000
Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames	10,000

"I suppose that one-half of the whole regular force of the country would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison for Cork. The remainder must be

supplied from the half of the whole force at home stationed in Great Britain.

"The whole force employed at home in Great Britain and Ireland would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defence and occupation, on the breaking out of war, of the works constructed for the defence of the dockyards and naval arsenals, without leaving a single man disposable.

"The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different Administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years, is to raise, embody, organize, and discipline the militia of the same numbers for each of the three kingdoms united as during the late war. This would give a mass of organized force amounting to about 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This alone would enable us to establish the strength of our army. This, with an augmentation of the force of the regular army, which would not cost 400,000*l.*, would put the country on its legs in respect to personal force, and I would engage for its defence, old as I am.

"But, as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence, we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.

"I am accustomed to the consideration of these questions, and have examined and reconnoitred, over and over again, the whole coast from the North Foreland, by Dover, Folkestone, Beachy Head, Brighton, Arundel, to Selsey Bill, near Portsmouth, and I say that, excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore, at any time of tide, with any wind and in any weather, and from which such body of infantry, so thrown on shore, would not find, within the distance of five miles, a road into the interior of the country through the cliffs practicable for the march of a body of troops.

"That in that space of coast (that is, between the North Foreland and Selsey Bill) there are not less than seven small harbours or mouths of rivers, each without defence, of which an enemy, having landed his infantry on the coast, might take possession, and therein land his cavalry and artillery of all calibre, and establish himself and his communication with France.

"The nearest part of the coast to the metropolis is undoubtedly the coast of Sussex, from the east and west side of Beachy Head and to Selsey Bill. There are not less than twelve great roads leading from Brighton upon London, and the French army must be much altered indeed since the time at which I was better acquainted with it, if there are not now belonging to it forty *chefs d'état* Major-Generals capable of sitting down and ordering the march to the coast of 40,000 men, their embarkation, with their horses and artillery, at the several French ports on the coast; their disembarkation at named points on the English coast, that of the artillery and cavalry in named ports or mouths of rivers, and the assembly at named points of the several columns; and the march of each of these from stage to stage to London.

"Let any man examine our maps and road-books, consider of

the matter, and judge for himself.

"I know of no mode of resistance, much less of protection from this danger, excepting by an army in the field capable of meeting and contending with its formidable enemy, aided by all the means of fortification which experience in war and science can suggest.

"I shall be deemed foolhardy in engaging for the defence of the empire with an army composed of such a force of militia. I may be so. I confess it, I should infinitely prefer, and should feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops. But I know that I shall not have these. I may have the others; and if an addition is made to the existing regular army allotted for home defence of a force which will cost 400,000*l.* a year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command to defend the country.

"This is my view of our danger and our resources." . . . .

The illustrious writer then reviews the state of our arsenals.

. . . . .

"I have done more. I have looked at and considered these localities in great detail, and have made up my mind upon the details of their defence.

"These are questions to which my mind has not been unaccustomed. I have considered and provided for the defence, the successful defence, of the frontiers of many countries. . . . . .

"I quite concur in all your views of the danger of our position, and of the magnitude of the stake at issue. I am especially sensible of the certainty of failure if we do not, at an early moment, attend to the measures necessary to be taken for our defence; and of the disgrace —the indelible disgrace—of such failure.

"Putting out of view all the other unfortunate consequences, such as the loss of the political and social position of this country among the nations of Europe, of all its allies, in concert with and in aid of whom it has in our own times contended successfully in arms for its own honour and safety, and the independence and freedom of the world.

"When did any man hear of allies of a country unable to defend itself?

"Views of economy of some, and I admit that the high views of national finance of others, induce them to postpone those measures absolutely necessary for mere defence and safety under existing circumstances, forgetting altogether the common practice of successful armies, in modern times, imposing upon the conquered enormous pecuniary contributions, as well as other valuable and ornamental property. . . . . .

"Do we suppose that we should be allowed to keep—could we advance a pretension to keep—more than the islands composing the United Kingdom, ceding disgracefully the Channel Islands, on which an invader had never established himself since the period of the Norman Conquest?

"I am bordering upon seventy-seven years of age passed in honour.

"I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert.

"Believe me
"Ever yours sincerely,
"WELLINGTON."

6. Accident at the Euston Square Station.—An accident of a serious nature occurred, about half-past 10 A. M., in the new buildings erecting by Messrs. William Cubitt and Co. at the Euston Square station of the London and North-Western Railway, by which eleven workmen were injured, two of them fatally. It appears that at the end of a large vestibule, lying between the company's old offices and a range of new offices, a screen of double columns, with an entablature and attic over them, was in progress of construction. Between twenty and thirty men were at work on the scaffolding above the columns, when four of the pillars gave way. The scaffolding at the same time yielded and fell, precipitating the workmen to the ground, and many of them into an elliptical space intended to form a staircase. It is supposed that, from the great expedition which had necessarily been used in carrying up the building, the brickwork of the columns had not become sufficiently set before the weight which they were intended to support was placed upon them, and the consequence has been the accident which now occurred.

7. Fatal Accident to Earl Powis.—A very distressing accident, resulting in death, occurred to this respected nobleman, in the grounds surrounding his residence in Montgomeryshire. The noble Earl, his eldest son (Lord Clive), the Hon. R. H. Clive, brother to the Earl, and the Hon. Robert Charles Herbert, his Lordship's third son, were shooting in the preserves near Powis Castle. It appears that a pheasant suddenly rose, at which Mr. Herbert fired, when the contents of the gun most unfortunately struck the Earl, who was standing on an eminence within range. His lordship being wounded in the thigh, instantly fell; but, aid being at hand, he was immediately conveyed to the Castle, and medical gentlemen were quickly summoned to his assistance. At first the opinion of the surgeons was that there was no imminent danger, and that the case was proceeding favourably; his family, nevertheless, thought it necessary to send to London for Sir Benjamin Brodie. The event, however, excited but little attention, for sanguine hopes were entertained that his lordship's wound would not prove dangerous; it was, therefore, with the utmost surprise and regret that the intelligence of his death was received. The suddenness of this distressing event, the painful circumstances under which it occurred, and the respect in which the character of the noble Earl was held, created deep sympathy in the loss that his family and immediate friends have sustained. For a brief summary of the events of the noble Earl's career, see the "Obituary" of this volume.

8. The Mirfield Murders.—The trial and conviction of Patrick Reid and Michael McCabe for the triple murders at Mirfield is given at length in the "Law Cases" of the Annual Register for 1847, pp. 309–319. In consequence of the representations of the magistracy and some favourable circumstances which appeared in the case of McCabe, his sentence was commuted to transportation; but Reid was this day executed, pursuant to his sentence, at York. An extraordinary concourse of people attended from the surrounding districts; so that from 30,000 to 40,000 spectators encompassed the

scaffold—a number said to have been unprecedented except at the execution of Eugene Aram. Reid was attended by a Roman Catholic priest, and they knelt and prayed on the platform. The convict did not address the multitude; but he said to the officers around him—"Well, gentlemen, I wish to say that I alone am the guilty person; that M'Cabe is entirely innocent; that no human being in the world had anything to do with it but myself."

Destruction of Chagres, and of Augusta.—The town of Chagres, on the Spanish Main, has been nearly totally destroyed by fire. The Custom-house, with its stores and bonding warehouses, containing merchandise to a large amount in value, chiefly the property of British merchants, were entirely consumed.

About the same time intelligence was received that the maritime city of Augusta, in Sicily, had been wrecked by earthquake. A first shock of great violence drove the people from their houses; the fatal second shock then worked such destruction that only twenty-seven houses remained standing. Where the mole lately stood the sea now gives no bottom at fifty fathoms. Fifty-nine citizens had been drawn out of the ruins, wounded, but alive; thirty-five dead bodies had been recovered.

10. Great Robbery of Sovereigns.—A great robbery was committed on the Great Western Railway. A box containing 1500*l.* in sovereigns was despatched from a London bank to their correspondent at Taunton. The box, which was well secured by iron clamps, and with its contents weighed 125 lbs., was sent by a special and confidential messenger to the Paddington terminus, who delivered it into the hands of the guard immediately before the train started. The guard himself placed the box of coin in the compartment adjoining his own box, the said compartment being occupied with parcels only, and between the two there was a communication by means of the aperture over the break. The guard, on receiving the box, said, "All right—I'll take care of it." The messenger remained on the platform till the train was in motion, and not more than a minute elapsed between the delivery of the box and the departure of the train. On the arrival of the train at Bristol the box was discovered to have been broken open and the contents abstracted. How it was effected, or how it could have been effected without exciting attention, is unexplained, as it could not be done without great force and noise.

10. Confirmation of the Bishop of Manchester.—The ceremony of the confirmation of Dr. Lee as Bishop of Manchester led to a very unusual scene. The proceeding took place in the church of St. James, Piccadilly, where a citation of opposers had been published on the previous day. The requisite documents having been read, a proclamation for opposers was made by an officer; whereon Mr. Gutteridge, a known vehement enemy of the bishop elect, stood forward and announced himself as an opposer; he was immediately stopped and informed that no opposition would be allowed. Proclamation for opposers was again made, and Mr. Gutteridge again stood forward, and was again refused. Whereon all opposers were pronounced contumacious, and the bishop was declared rightly and

lawfully elected without opposition. Mr. Gutteridge had published a series of libels against Dr. Lee, for which a criminal indictment had been preferred against him. (See April 6.)

11. Confirmation of the Bishop of Hereford.—The Queen having been pleased to recommend the Reverend Renn Dickson Hampden, D.D., to be Bishop of Hereford, and the Dean and Chapter having elected him to be their bishop and pastor in conformity thereto, the ceremony of the confirmation of the election was appointed to be performed this day in Bow Church, Cheapside. When some years ago Dr. Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, the appointment met with great opposition from a large and influential party in the Church, who alleged that Dr. Hampden had held opinions far from orthodox in some of his writings, and in consequence an attempt was made to give preference to the Margaret Professor of Divinity, and to pass over the higher dignitary. Although this opposition met with no success, and the controversy had long gone to sleep, the selection of Dr. Hampden to fill the see of Hereford aroused it in full force, and it was known that opposition would be made by some eminent divines to the confirmation of the election. In consequence of this and of the interest occasioned by the scene which had occurred the day preceding at the confirmation of the election of the Bishop of Manchester, Bow Church was densely crowded by an assembly of clergy and others. The ecclesiastical officers having arrived and service having been performed, the Queen's Letters Patent were read; after which proclamation was made, commanding all objectors to come forward and make their objections in due form of law.

Hereon Mr. Townsend, proctor, stood forward and announced that he appeared for the Rev. R. W. Huntley, the Rev. J. Jebb, and the Rev. W. F. Powell, to oppose the election. The Vicar-General refused to receive the libel proffered, and a discussion ensued; after some controversy, Dr. Addams was allowed to argue the point, that, under the 25 Henry VIII. c. 20, the Vicar-General was bound to receive the objection. Dr. Addams and Dr. R. Phillimore argued the point very learnedly; but the commissaries immediately overruled the argument. Proclamation was then again made, that all objectors should come forward; as none came forward, they were pronounced contumacious, a proceeding which was received with a good deal of derision by the persons who crowded the church. The confirmation was then proceeded with and completed, and the new bishop took the oaths.

The objectors brought the matter before the Court of Queen's Bench by seeking a *mandamus* to compel the archbishop to receive the objections. (See Law Cases.)

11. Fire at St. Saviour's, Southwark.—This venerable fabric, which a few years ago was the object of so much interest from the threatened destruction of its beautiful Lady Chapel, had a narrow escape from destruction from a very singular cause. St. Saviour's Church consists of two distinct edifices under one roof, respectively called the old church and the new church. The eastern end of the building, in the south-east corner of which the far-famed "Ladye

Chapel" is situate, is the older portion of the building, and this is separated from the new church by a wall running up to the summit of the roof, the west front of which forms the eastern end of the later edifice. Under the pavement of the old church are situated the vaults, in which respectable inhabitants of the parish have been interred for the last two or three centuries, and which at present contain, probably, about 400 coffins. This vault is entered by a flight of steps immediately opposite the doorway, the opening over which, on ordinary occasions, is covered with a massive iron plate, which fits into the aperture.

On Monday afternoon, the body of Mr. Atkinson, a parishioner, was interred in this vault. As on all similar occasions, that portion of the religious service performed under ground was read by the chaplain by candlelight. Eight candles only were used, each being placed in an iron candlestick. After the funeral had been concluded, the sexton closed the outer doors, leaving, as he believed, everything perfectly safe.

On the following morning, when the sexton entered the new church, he immediately perceived a strong smell of fire, and saw wreaths of smoke curling above the upper portion of the building. On arriving at the wall separating the two churches he opened one of the doors, when the smoke rushed out in a dense volume. He closed the door again directly, and sent for the engines. An entrance to the old church was made through one of the windows, the hose was conveyed into the building, and water was very soon directed at the seat of mischief, which was found to be the great vault, from the entrance of which dense volumes of black smoke were rapidly issuing. A large quantity of water having been thrown into the vault, after the lapse of a very considerable time, the fire raging beneath was so far subdued as to allow the firemen to descend into the vault. It was then discovered that the immediate locality of the fire was near the spot where Mr. Atkinson's coffin had been deposited on the previous day. The outer cases of six or eight coffins were almost wholly consumed, the leaden portion of some melted, and, in a few instances, the bodies within them burnt. All the coffins in the vicinity were more or less scorched and otherwise injured, and the sawdust with which the floor of the vault was covered was in some places entirely consumed. The fire is supposed to have originated by a spark from one of the candles having fallen among the dry sawdust between the tiers of coffins.

13. Enthronization of the Archbishop of York.—The ceremony of the enthronization of Dr. Musgrave, as Archbishop of York, was performed in his archiepiscopal cathedral, with great splendour. No similar ceremony had occurred for the long period of thirty years, Dr. Vernon Harcourt, the late reverend Primate, having been translated in 1808. In consequence, the cathedral was crowded with the *élite* of the northern gentry.

The Dean and Chapter first entered the sacred edifice, when the letters mandatory were read. They then went in procession to the western entrance to receive his Grace, whom they conducted to the Chapter House, where the petition for enthronization was read, which was thereon decreed. The Archbishop was then

conducted to the cathedral, where the petition and decree were read. His Grace then took the usual oath, and was invested with the pastoral and archiepiscopal dignity. A short service being performed, the Archbishop pronounced the blessing, and dismissed the congregation, from the throne.

14. Accident on the South Western Railway.—A serious accident occured on the London and South-Western Railway. The up-train, which left Southampton at six o'clock, came to a standstill at Frimley, in consequence of some disarrangement in the machinery of the engine. While the engine-driver repaired the defect, a guard was sent back with a red light, to stay the progress of the usual night luggage-train from Southampton; in twenty minutes a train was heard approaching, and another person was sent back with a red lamp; but the approaching luggage-train continued its career, running into the passenger-train with a tremendous crash.

Markland, the engine-driver of the passenger train, was underneath his own locomotive, repairing the damage; the noise made by the steam in blowing-off prevented him from hearing the approach of the train, and there was no time to warn him; he was crushed to death in an instant. The guard of the luggage train suffered severely, as he was pitched from his carriage on to the road, falling on his head: his recovery was from the first hopeless, his arm was fractured, and he was other wise much injured. Mr. Hutchins, of Jesus College, Cambridge, had his leg broken, and several other passengers were dreadfully injured and bruised. The driver and the stoker of the luggage train, and the second guard of the other train, were taken into custody. It was alleged by these that the night was dark and foggy, and the rails slippery, and that they could not see the signal lamps.

A Coroner's inquest was held upon the body of Markland, and after a very lengthened inquiry the jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter" against Jones and Fleming, the driver and stoker of the luggage train. They were tried at Kingston, and found "Not guilty."

19. Coroner's Inquest on Sir Henry Mildmay.—A coroner's inquest was held at the Bedford Arms, Cadogan Place, to inquire into the cause of the death of Sir Henry St. John Mildmay.

Thomas Tremer, *valet de chambre* to the deceased, deposed, that his name was Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, and that he resided at 6, Halkin Terrace. The deceased was 62 years of age. He was found dead in his bed about a quarter to 6 o'clock on Monday morning last. He was undressed. Witness had called him at five o'clock, by his own desire, and deceased acknowledged the call. Witness had put the deceased's clothes out for him to dress, and packed his own clothes, to leave town. After putting the deceased's clothes out he went back to his room, and deceased asked for his box, which witness gave him, and left him. That was about half-past 5, and he heard nothing more of him until he went, 20 minutes before 6, to see if he was getting up. Deceased looked very strange. Witness took the box away from him, and deceased desired witness to put it back again, as he had not done with it. He said something which witness did not understand—he spoke very strange and not at all in his usual

tone of voice. Witness put the box on the bed again, and he then said something about not going, or he would tell him presently. Witness then left him, and went down stairs, and in about three minutes heard a noise which appeared to him as if deceased had upset the table. In about two minutes he went up to his room and found him dead in bed. He had a pistol, which he held in both hands. Witness then called the landlord, and went for deceased's surgeon, who was not at home, and he then went to Mr. Trevany, but his attendance was quite useless. The body was in the same position as it then was, with the pistol in his hands and the finger on the trigger. He did not know where deceased had got the pistol from; he had never seen the pistol before. Has lived nearly seven years with the deceased. For the last two or three days noticed a great change in his conduct; his orders were inconsistent, and his manner different from what it usually was. On Saturday and Sunday he began to doubt the soundness of his mind. On Sunday he went out early, and returned at 8 o'clock in the evening. Witness noticed that he was very low and undecided in his manner. He told witness to get ready to go into the country, and witness stated there was not sufficient time to do so by to-morrow morning. He told him that he had met with an accident which detained him an hour and a half—the shaft of the Brougham had been broken. He said, that his brother had gone down that night, and he wished to go down to his seat at Dogmersfield, in Hampshire. All this was very unusual. He had never wished to go to the country so suddenly. His manner was most undecided and peculiar. Other evidence was given corroborative of the change in deceased's manner.

Augustus Warren, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, solicitor to the deceased, had frequent intercourse with him. Saw him on Sunday, about half-past 6 o'clock. He was then distressed in consequence of his pecuniary embarrassments, and he called to speak to him on the subject, which was unusual on a Sunday, and said he was quite sure "he could not face his difficulties." He was hesitating as to his going abroad. He was in fear of being arrested on Monday. He said something about its being good for him to be out of the world, but he did not appear to meditate suicide. He appeared not to know well what he was doing. A change appeared in his manner both on Friday and Saturday. His (deceased's) difficulties were such that he could not prevent the execution being put in force—it was not for a large sum. His judgment was not then in a sound state, although he could not say that he was insane. He put his hand to his head two or three times, as if he was suffering very much.

The Jury returned a verdict, that "The deceased was found dead; that his death was caused by discharging a loaded pistol by his own hand; and that at the time he discharged it he was of unsound mind."

20. Murder at Leeds. — A most deliberate act of homicide was committed at the Cavalry Barracks, Leeds. About 7 o'clock, a married man, samed William Garratt, a private in the 57th Regiment, was in his room at the barracks with his wife, private Michael Stokes, sergeant Keenan, private Dooley or Doolan, and other soldiers.

Without any angry words or the slightest observation, Michael Stokes got his musket from the rack in which it was usually kept, and took it for a moment or two to a table, as if he was about to clean it. He, however, suddenly turned round, put the piece to his shoulder, pulled the trigger, and shot Mrs. Garratt. She fell to the ground mortally wounded, the bullet from the musket having entered her abdomen, and passed out at her back. Mr. Jackson, the regimental surgeon, was immediately called and in attendance upon the poor woman, but she expired in about an hour and a half afterwards.

Stokes was instantly taken into custody. A coroner's inquest was held on the body of the murdered woman.

William Garratt, the husband of the deceased said:—I am a private in the 57th Regiment. Michael Stokes is a private in the same regiment. The deceased was 28 years and 4 months old. I did not know the prisoner until about four months ago, when I and my wife came to the Leeds barracks. Since we have been in Leeds, Stokes has slept in the same room with me and my wife. About 7 o'clock on Thursday evening, the prisoner was in the room with us. The prisoner came up to Michael Dooley and asked for a piece of bees'-waxed rag. Dooley said there was some in his haversack. The next time I saw the prisoner he was standing at a table in the middle of the room, and he appeared to me to be doing something with his musket. About a minute afterwards my wife came up to me and asked me what o'clock it was? I took out my watch and told her. She was laughing and joking with me, and I had scarcely got the watch into my pocket when I heard the report of the musket. I was standing with my back to the fire, and she was standing on my left. As soon as I heard the report I turned and saw the musket drop from the prisoner's hand upon the floor. I saw my wife stagger backwards, and she exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon us, what have you done?" I ran up to the prisoner and said, "You scoundrel, what have you done? Have you shot my wife?" I thought at first my wife was fainting, owing to the report of the musket. I said to the prisoner in my excitement, "I'll load my piece, and shoot you." He said, "Load it;" and my wife, who was lying upon her back, called to me for assistance, and I went and lifted her up. There were two or three more men in the room, who took the prisoner into custody. I placed my wife on a form, and she begged to be carried to bed. I carried her to bed, and found a wound in her belly, from which she bled a great deal. Mr. Jackson, surgeon, was in attendance immediately, but my wife died about half-past 8 o'clock. No conversation had taken place that evening, before this happened, between the prisoner and me, or between him and my wife. I do not think my wife had been out of my sight for three minutes during two hours before this happened. I don't think she was five minutes out of my sight from half-past 12 o'clock at noon to 7 o'clock in the evening. The prisoner had been in the room, but I do not think I had spoken to him during the time, nor do I think my wife had. There had been no quarrel with the prisoner on that day. I do not know that my wife had ever quarrelled

with him, or said anything to him, except telling him that he was more nice than any other man was. It is not the custom in the barracks to keep the muskets loaded, except when on duty, or on escort. It is against the general rule of the army. Stokes was at the parade in the morning. The pieces are all examined during parade. I can give no explanation of this occurrence. I do not recollect my wife ever saying an angry word to the prisoner.

William Mustard, sergeant in the 5th Dragoon Guards, stated that while the prisoner was in charge of a sergeant, in the guard-room, a man named Jones asked him if he was sorry for what he had done. He replied, "No." Jones asked him if it was his intention to shoot the woman? He said, "Yes, it was his intention to shoot her two months ago, but he was prevented, and he took a second thought." I then asked him if he had any spite against the sergeant in the room? He said, "No." The man then asked him if he had any spite against the woman, or any falling out with her? He said, "No; but that she had said some words to him which no one should ever know except the priest." Jones asked him if he knew the woman was dead? He said, "No; but he thought he heard them talking about it." About half-past eight o'clock he asked if she was dead, and Jones told him that she died about half-past eight. He then said, "I can now be happy; I could not have died happy if she had lived." I then asked him if he had any animosity against any one in the company? He said, "Yes, there is one man off on furlough, and if he had been at home I would have shot him too." I asked him when he loaded the piece? He said, "He had had it in his mind at two o'clock to shoot the woman, but he could not get a chance, and he thought it was about five o'clock when he loaded his piece." He said he loaded it with ball cartridge. Jones asked him if it was actually loaded when he put it into the arm-rack? He said he loaded it and put it into the rack. He said he did not get a chance until about seven o'clock, when he ran over, took out the musket, and shot the woman. Jones asked him if he would tell the secret? He said, "No, I will not; I will go and lie down, and no one on earth shall know it except the priest." By "the secret" was meant his reason for doing the act. This ended the conversation, and the prisoner lay down on the guard bed.

Other evidence was given corroborative of the above. The prisoner, on being asked by the coroner if he had anything to say, replied, "No, sir; I have nothing to say." The jury returned a verdict of "Wilful murder" against Michael Stokes.

The prisoner was tried at York, in March following, and convicted. He was executed on the 13th of May.

Extensive Frauds. — George Whiston, a young jeweller of Birmingham, has been committed for trial there for a long series of frauds. The man had been in the habit of taking for sale bars of a mixed metal, gold and silver, to Messrs. Alston and Macfarline, refiners. When the ingots were offered, two pieces were cut out for the purpose of assaying them, the places being then marked by the refiners with a punch. Pending the assay, Whiston took away the bars; he then cast ingots of a

spurious metal, cut two pieces out, and with a punch forged the marks of the refiners. These ingots he took for sale; and the assay having shown that the original bars were of a certain value, the base metal was purchased at a high rate—14*s.* per ounce, while not worth more than 2*s.* 6*d.* At length the fraud was discovered; but not, it is calculated, until the rogue had made a large sum by his trickery.

22. Fire in Burlington Arcade.—Shortly before five o'clock, the inhabitants of Burlington Arcade were suddenly aroused from their slumbers by the outbreak of a fire of a serious character in the centre of that fashionable but very confined place of business. The flames began in the house numbered 14, in the tenure of Mr. Russell, a walking-stick dealer.

The discovery was made by Gardner, the night porter, who noticed smoke pouring forth from the building before mentioned. He immediately ran to the premises, when he saw flames issuing through the apertures in the front door. He shouted "Fire," and knocked violently at the shutters. Whilst so doing, the inmates, who had been sleeping on the premises, appeared at the upper window. The porter told them to get upon the roof, and he would assist them through the next house. They did as requested; but before they had time to reach the adjoining building flames shot upwards, apparently from the basement, and nearly suffocated them. By a desperate effort, however, they succeeded in getting into the house of Mr. Jeff, the bookseller, next door. By the time they had done so the building, from the basement to the roof, presented one immense sheet of fire, and it became apparent that the work of devastation would not be confined to one house. The fire speedily broke through the skylights of the arcade, and ascended so high that the district was rendered as light as at noon. The flames speedily reached the houses on the opposite side of the Arcade, and spread with such rapidity as to portend the destruction of the entire property. Fortunately the engines speedily arrived, and by great exertions the fire was got under; but not before fourteen houses had been destroyed or greatly damaged, and an immense quantity of valuable property consumed.

23. Collision at Sea.—A fatal collision occurred, during the night, off the south-east coast of Ireland, about forty miles below Tuskar. The auxiliary screw steamer *Aram* was on her voyage from Liverpool to Malta, when she came in contact with the Philadelphia packet-ship *Susquehanna*, on her way to Liverpool. The night was rough and cloudy, and the disaster appears to have been quite unavoidable. The accounts vary as to which vessel drove into the other, but the *Aram* was the more damaged. The water entered rapidly, and the people were obliged to take to their boats, two in number: unhappily, in the darkness and confusion, the boats parted from the steamer while there were yet six hands on board, and the vessel could not be regained. After a perilous navigation, both boats reached the *Susquehanna*, and the people were taken on board. The packet then bore down for the wreck; but a light which had been burning on it suddenly vanished, doubtless from the vessel's foundering. Nothing more was seen of her, though the *Susquehanna* cruised about during the night and the next morning.

— The Caffre War.—A private letter from an officer of the Royal Artillery, dated Fort Hare, November 18, 1847, gives an account of the loss of five officers, in the miserable warfare now waging with the Caffres. After recounting several skirmishes with the enemy, and the capture of some thousands of cattle, the writer proceeds:—

"Not having seen anything of the Caffres for a week, we suspected they had retired up the country, and taken all the cattle, &c. But not a bit of it, they were close to us all the time. On the night of the 14th a sentry placed over the horses at grass was murdered, and seven horses stolen, my only remaining one amongst the number, all of them being officers' horses. We were on the spoor, or track, of them the next day; but, after five hours' tracking, we lost it in the high grass. Coming back, hot as furnaces and smothered with sand, the 73rd fellows proposed a bathe in the Kei; and this is the most marvellous escape I ever had. The fellows had been laughing about people not being able to swim; so I made an excuse for not going with them to the Kei, it being out of my depth. Those who went were Captain Baker, Lieutenant Faunt, Ensign Burnop, and Dr. Campbell, of the 73rd, and Dr. Loch, of the 7th Dragoon Guards. I went to bathe in a little stream close to our camp; and when I came back to the camp, after talking to the officers a short time, we thought it time the other officers should have returned. We went down to see whether any accident had happened, and, as a precaution, took a guard of the Cape Corps. On proceeding to the banks of the Kei, we found the whole of them with their throats cut, and mutilated in the most dreadful manner. You may imagine our horror at finding five men, who had been living with us day and night, and whom I had not left two hours, thus suddenly pounced upon by these infernal rascals and brutally killed. The Kei was not three-quarters of a mile from our camp, but some bush permitted the approach of the Caffres without being seen. If I had been a swimmer, I should certainly have been one of the number, although I should not at the time have cared much about it, being so disgusted at the loss of both my horses, &c.; but such is the fortune of war."

— Consecration of the Bishop of Manchester.—The consecration of Dr. Lee, as Bishop of Manchester, by the Archbishop of York, took place in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. At eleven o'clock a procession of mace-bearers and diocesan officers, preceding the Bishop-elect of Manchester, the Bishops of Chester and Worcester, and the Archbishop of York, entered the Chapel. The Archbishop took his seat on the right of the communion table, and the other prelates to the left. Morning prayer concluded, the Archbishop commenced the Communion service; the Bishop of Worcester read the Epistle, and the Bishop of Chester the Gospel. The sermon was preached by the Reverend John Garbett, Rural Dean of Birmingham and Honorary Canon of Worcester. At the conclusion of the sermon, the new bishop, vested with his rochet, was presented to the Archbishop by the Bishops of Chester and Worcester; and, the Queen's letters patent having been read with the usual formalities, Dr. Lee took the oath of allegiance and

supremacy, and also the oath "professing and promising all due reverence and obedience to the Archbishop." The consecration then proceeded according to the form in the Prayer-book.

— Abd-el-Kader.—A private letter from Toulon recounts some interesting facts respecting Abd-el-Kader. "I have seen the Emir. It is quite a mistake that his eyes are black; they are of a decided grey, shaded by very long black eyelashes. He speaks very fluently; which is a proof of high distinction among the Arabs. Whatever may be the reputation of Abd-el-Kader as a soldier, politician, or Mahometan priest, it is much greater as a literary man. He is said to be as learned as an Arab can be. Two leather trunks, containing his library, have always accompanied him, even during the last months that preceded his submission; they also made part of his personal baggage on board. But every one is ignorant of the real cause of his submission; which was love. He is another Antony. After having endeavoured with heroic courage to make a passage through the Moorish camp, he succeeded, with a considerable number of his followers, in sufficiently disengaging himself to be able to gain the desert; but at the moment he was about to profit by the liberty this last *coup de main* gave him, he heard the firing which had reached his deira. Then, like the lion of the desert who sees his lioness entrapped and his cubs carried away, he retraced his steps and fell upon the Moors with the rest of his faithful followers, whilst the cries of his wives, whose tents the enemy had commenced pillaging, exalted his courage. Twice the Emir was rolled to the ground, with his horse wounded under him; twice surrounded and seized, he released himself by his extraordinary agility, and gained a victory by hard fighting in the midst of a victorious retreat. . . . . At last, abandoning his deira, which inclosed all his affections, to our generosity, he departed, in order to regain the South. After two nights' march, though certain of saving himself, his heart softened at the idea of his isolation, and, preferring captivity with his friends, he returned to treat with us. . . . . The Emir is still confined in his sad prison. He reads the Koran to his faithful followers. During the prayers, they open the windows, and make a large fire in the middle of the room. His mother cries, his wives sob, and he is almost broken-hearted. It is said, the only thing which consoles him is that the unfaithfuless of his enemy aggravates his misfortune."

31. Commercial Affairs.—The aspect of commercial affairs, which at the close of the year had exhibited a remarkable alteration for the better, assumed a yet more cheerful appearance as the year commenced, an improvement probably due to the conviction that the crisis had passed over. Consols continued to rise; and although they experienced occasional retrogressions, steadily advanced from $86\frac{1}{8}$ to $88\frac{1}{4}$, and reached at the end of the month $89\frac{7}{8}$. Exchequer Bills experienced even a disproportioned rise from 12*s*. premium to 27*s*., 28*s*., and lastly to 36*s*. The rate of money for mercantile purposes was occasionally as low as 2 or 3 per cent., and was so plentiful at that price, that the Bank Directors were compelled to lower their rate to 4 per cent. The

quantity of bullion in the Bank coffers continually increased from 12,236,526*l.* on the 1st Jan., to 13,176,812*l.* on the 28th Jan. The value of railway shares and other speculative investments participated in the general improvement. It must not, however, be supposed that the condition of the general trading world experienced the full benefits of these more favourable circumstances. They were, on the contrary, confined to the dealers in money and the highest commercial circles, and the rise was, in fact, in some degree owing to the caution and reserve of these classes, who, sternly refusing to enter into commercial transactions, were content to invest their capital in secure funds at a low rate, rather than make a free use of them among the secondary classes of traders, and, by thus competing with each other for Government Securities, they greatly raised the value of these funds. The distress among the trading classes was very great. The failures in this country were few, and not of great amount, but many commercial houses on the Continent were unable to stand the continued pressure, and several very heavy failures occurred, which were severely felt here. Among these may be named M. Granier, banker, of Montpellier, whose liabilities were rated at a million sterling; M. Maring and Co., of Offenbach; MM. Baert and Heidelburgh, of Frankfort. Several heavy failures of houses in India were also reported.

FEBRUARY.

3. Melancholy Shipwreck.—Intelligence was received at Liverpool of the total wreck of the brig *Phœnix*, from Bahia for Greenock, and the probable loss of all hands, off the Cove of Cork. On the evening of this day, the ill-fated vessel beat out of the Cove, and was left by the pilot about 8 o'clock off the lighthouse. At that time it was blowing a strong gale from S.S.W., with heavy rain, which continued unceasingly till the following morning. As early as daybreak a large quantity of wrecked materials was found strewn about the rocks outside of the point, opposite the lighthouse. On one of the boards picked up was the name "*Phœnix*," and from some portions of sugar, her cargo, it was feared that the vessel, which had left on the previous evening, had met with some disaster. During the whole of Friday considerable portions of the wreck continued to reach the shore, but, from the boisterous state of the sea, no intelligence could be gained as to the real name of the unfortunate craft. However, on Saturday, the hull of the vessel was reached, and all doubts as to identity were then dispelled. A part of the figure-head, a phœnix, painted green, and a portion of the stern of a boat, with "Phœnix, of Greenock," painted in white letters, were still remaining. When the pilot left the vessel, she had only to make a few tacks to clear the lighthouse; the sea was then rolling high, and an apparent continuance of bad weather prevented him going any further. It is presumed that, in standing to the westward, the vessel missed stays, drifted, and was driven by the violence of the sea upon the rocks.

4. Murder of a Soldier in St. James's Park.—A deliberate murder, accompanied by singular

circumstances, was perpetrated in St. James's Park.

The deceased, who was scarcely 21 years of age, and whose name was Henry Ducker, was a private soldier belonging to the 5th company of the 2d battalion of the Coldstream Guards. About half-past 4 o'clock, Ducker left the barracks, and proceeded along Birdcage Walk in the direction of Storey's Gate. On his arrival within a few yards of the entrance to Queen Square, the attention of several persons near the spot was attracted by the loud report of a pistol. At the same moment the deceased was observed to fall heavily to the ground, while a young woman of very respectable appearance, who shortly before had been observed by his side, was seen walking away in an opposite direction. The report of the pistol was heard by several persons, and among others by police constables Paul and Richards, both officers of the A division, who were on duty near the spot. One of these officers having observed the woman throw down a pistol, ran towards her, and, touching her arm, inquired whether she had not fired off a pistol just before. She at once admitted the fact, and resigned herself into the custody of the officer.

When Ducker was raised up, he breathed heavily once or twice, and then expired. A large horse-pistol, which had evidently just been discharged, was found lying on the pavement close by the side of the deceased, and, on examining his body, a small orifice, through which a bullet had entered, was discovered in the lower part of the back of the neck, a corresponding wound being visible on the face, immediately under the left orbit of the eye.

The murderess was a young foreigner, named Annette Meyers, a domestic servant in a very respectable family. It appeared that she had been seduced by Ducker, who was a very dissipated man, and who had several mistresses, from whom he extorted large sums, which he spent in debauchery. The woman Meyers, who appears to have been otherwise respectable, refused to supply him with money, which he urged her to procure by infamous means, and he thereupon deserted her. The miserable woman, frantic with shame and jealousy, sought another interview, and Ducker proving obdurate to her prayers and caresses, she shot him with a pistol she had procured for that purpose. Annette Meyers was tried at the Central Criminal Court on the 3rd of March, and found guilty, the jury accompanying their verdict with a strong recommendation to mercy. Compassion for the unfortunate woman being greatly excited, the capital part of the sentence was not carried into execution.

— Papal Rescript to the Irish Roman Catholic Prelates. —A circular in Latin, of which the following is a translation (supposed to be official), has been addressed to the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, demanding an explicit explanation with respect to the charges preferred against certain of the clergy, and admonishing the clergy to abstain from political agitation:—

"Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord—The reports now for some months circulated by the English newspapers, concerning the political party strifes in which some ecclesiastics have allowed themselves to be carried away, and the dese-

cration made of some of the Irish churches for the purpose of aiding and promoting secular concerns—nay, more, the reports which have reached us relative to the murders which, we are informed, are so frequent, and by reason of which the clergy have been stigmatized, and some of them charged with imprudence, and as giving indirect provocation from the pulpit, or, at least, extenuating the guilt of these murders—these reports must surely awaken the solicitude of the Sacred Congregation.

"This Sacred Congregation cannot bring itself to believe that such reports, so extensively noised abroad, can be true; nor can it believe that ecclesiastics have forgotten that the church of God should be the house of prayer, not of secular concerns or the meeting-place of politicians; neither can the Sacred Congregation believe that ecclesiastics have ceased to recollect that they are the ministers of peace, dispensers of the mysteries of God—men who should not involve themselves in worldly concerns—in a word, men who should abhor blood and vengeance. Nevertheless, this Sacred Congregation deems it its duty to require satisfactory and speedy information concerning all these matters, that it may know what importance it should attach to the above-mentioned damnatory reports. Wherefore, at the suggestion of his Holiness, I have deemed it my duty to forward this letter to your Lordship, praying you to satisfy this most reasonable solicitude of the Sacred Congregation; and, meantime, it exhorts you to admonish the clergy, that, seeking the things which are of Jesus Christ, they sedulously apply themselves to watch over the spiritual interests of the people, and in nowise mix themselves up with worldly affairs, in order that their ministry may not be brought into disrepute, and those who are against them may not have wherewith to charge them.

"I pray God long to preserve your Lordship.

"Rome, from the Congregation of the Faith, Jan. 3, 1848.

"J. Ph. Card. Fransoni."

9. Joseph Ady.—This notorious personage, who has for so many years made a good livelihood by sending circular letters pretending to afford information very much to the advantage of the person addressed, provided he inclosed to him (Ady) a sovereign, has at length been checkmated. So ingenious had this worthy proved, that he contrived to evade every attempt to punish him, and although repeatedly brought before a magistrate, he always bore himself with the cheerfulness of conscious rectitude, and escaped conviction by the most ingenious evasions, and proceeded in his course of practice, to which no exposure succeeded in opening the eyes of his dupes. Every direct attempt at suppression failing, he was attacked in an indirect manner, being summoned to Bow Street Police-office for 16*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, the postage of letters which had been sent by him, and refused; these missives had all been posted since he last appeared before the magistrate. Joseph did not speak for himself on this occasion, but instructed Mr. Pelham, the counsel, to appeal for mercy, and to promise that his aged client, having seen the error of his ways, would forthwith amend them. But the magistrate, Mr. Henry, was obdurate; the money must be paid, or

a distress-warrant for the amount would be issued. Ady left the police-office much chapfallen, and it is hoped that the repetition of this plan upon every fresh occasion will at length put an end to this public nuisance.

— Explosion of Firedamp.— An explosion of fire-damp occurred in a coal-mine near Westbromwich which proved very fatal. Nearly thirty men descended in the morning to work; the explosion occurred soon after; six or seven of the colliers escaped into another pit, but the remainder suffered frightfully. As soon as it was practicable to descend the shaft, it was found that four men were dead; two more died next day; and others were not expected to recover.

— Protectionist Demonstration.—A demonstration in favour of protection to the shipping interest, by nearly three thousand persons, masters, mates, and seamen of the mercantile marine, ascended the river Thames in a procession of boats from various stations below London Bridge, landed at Whitehall, and presented to Sir George Grey a petition for the Queen, against the repeal of the Navigation-laws. The procession was collected in three divisions, at North Fleet Hope, Long Reach, and Limehouse. The first was prevented by unfavourable wind from ascending beyond Woolwich; those that proceeded made a good show; altogether, there were 192 boats, each with its union flag, manned by about 1150 men, and drawn by three steamers, containing from 1000 to 1200 masters, mates, and petty officers. As the procession moved up the Thames, guns were fired on the shore and aboard many ships; the ships generally had their colours flying, and the crews were loud in their cheers. The spectacle of nearly two hundred boats gliding in mid-stream in a stately line, and with colours flying, was picturesque and imposing; an immense crowd of spectators thronged the shores and the bridges. The procession reached Westminster Bridge at two o'clock, and, disembarking, marched in ranks of four abreast to Trafalgar Square, the whole body headed by a band of music. The procession turned in Trafalgar Square, and marched back to the water, halting at certain official points to cheer for the Duke of Wellington, the Navy, and the Queen. A deputation filed off to present the memorial at the Home Office. Sir George Grey promised to lay the document before the Queen.

10. The Cricket Steamer.— An account of the fatal explosion which occurred in this vessel on the 27th of August last, will be found in the "Chronicle," p. 113. An action had been brought by one of the sufferers, to recover compensation for damages suffered from the explosion: the damages were laid at 500*l*. Judgment having been allowed to go by default, a writ of inquiry was now executed in the Sheriff's Court for the assessment of damages.

Mr. Edwin James, in stating the case to the jury, described the plaintiff, one Redgrave (a boy of 13), as having been most seriously injured by the explosion in question, which had been occasioned by the gross negligence of the defendant, Mr. Octavius Henry Smith, who was a gentleman of fortune living in Bedford Square, and owner of the steam-boat. The boy was with his father and mother on board the vessel on the

27th of August, when the explosion took place, and he should show, by the highest medical testimony, that from the injuries received he would probably be a cripple for life. It was by a wonderful interposition of Providence that all on board the vessel had not been killed. The plaintiff was the son of a tailor, and he should show that he was still suffering from the accident, and it would therefore be the duty of the jury to award such substantial damages as would compensate him for the injuries sustained.

Evidence was then given to the same effect as that given at the time of the accident, showing the incredible carelessness and recklessness of the parties in charge.

Mr. Bramwell, for the defendant, objected to this evidence.

The learned Under-Sheriff told the jury that the plaintiff was entitled to damages for the injury he had received. It was a question of damages, and as to the admissibility of the evidence he had permitted, he could only say that it was, in his opinion, essential that the degree of negligence on the part of the defendant should be ascertained in order to estimate the amount of compensation to be awarded. That evidence had not been admitted to terrify proprietors of steam-boats, nor to punish the defendant. They were not assembled to give vindictive damages, but they were empanelled to give such fair and reasonable damages as would compensate the plaintiff; and in so doing they would take into their consideration the degree of negligence on the part of the defendant.

The jury assessed the damages at 200*l*.

11. Murder by Highwaymen.—A desperate conflict with two highwaymen took place near Macclesfield, which resulted very fatally to two men who undertook the pursuit. The two robbers, Walmsley and Bates, stopped a tradesman, presented each a pistol at him, and demanded his money; they snatched at his watch, but, missing it, they became exasperated, knocked him down, threw him into a ditch, and made off. An alarm was raised, the ruffians were pursued, and hunted into a wood. There they made a stand, declaring that they would shoot any one that approached to seize them. The people advanced; the robbers fired two pistols; two brothers named Wyatt were struck down by the bullets, and one, William, was wounded so badly that he died a few days after. The highwaymen were eventually captured. On them were found two more pistols, with a store of powder and bullets. An inquest was held on William Wyatt, and a verdict of "Wilful murder" returned against Walmsley and Bates. They were both found guilty at the next Chester Assizes, Bates, who fired the fatal shot, was executed; Walmsley, whose shot was not equally deadly, was reprieved.

12. Will Forgeries.—At the Mansion House, Lieutenant Peregrine Bowen, R.N., who has charge of the mails between Liverpool and Dublin, was accused of forging a will. Lieutenant William Musgrove Bowen, R.N., brother of the prisoner, died in China, in March, 1846; before leaving England, he made a will, apparently in favour of a Mr. Richards; and, when the tidings of his death arrived, this will was proved by the executor, Richards. After a time another

will was produced at the Prerogative Office, purporting to be made by the deceased in China, on the 16th of March, 1846, and leaving all the testator's property to his brother Peregrine. The will appeared to be attested by "John Bell" and "John Wood." A person calling himself John Wood attended at Doctors' Commons to prove the will, on the 2nd instant; and he made affidavit accordingly. The witness was dressed like a sailor, chewed tobacco, and had a great deal of hair on his face—more than Lieutenant Bowen when he appeared at the Mansion-house. But suspicion having been excited, a police officer followed him, and went in his company to Liverpool, where he found the sailor John Wood was Lieutenant Peregrine Bowen. Other witnesses gave evidence implicating the accused. When he was arrested, a piece of paper was found on him upon which some one had been writing repeatedly "John Wood," as if to acquire a facility in making the signature. He was remanded until Wednesday, but on the gaoler entering his cell, in the Giltspur Street Compter, he found that his prisoner had committed suicide by hanging himself.

— In the Perth Court of Justiciary, six persons of respectable station in life have been tried for destroying a testamentary deed. Four sisters—two of them single, named Duffus, of Erichtbank, the other two married to Rattray of Coralbank and Pringle of Graymount—had life interests under a deed of trust disposition and settlement executed by their uncle, William Hutchinson, writer in Forfar, in property worth 1000*l.* a year. The children of the sisters were named to succeed their mothers after their death. On the death of Mr. Hutchinson, the nieces and their husbands, in concert, burned the deed, with the object of defeating the interests of the children; and they informed the trustees under the deed of the act. The accused, who had been out on bail, pleaded "guilty" at the trial, alleged ignorance of wrong in what they had done, and gave proofs of their morality and respectability of character. The Court sentenced the whole six to imprisonment for four months.

14. The Slave Trade—*Buron* v. *Denman.*—This case, which arose out of our abortive attempts to destroy the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa, was brought by Mr. Buron, a Spanish merchant and dealer in slaves, against the Hon. Captain Denman, commander of a division of ships of war employed in cruising on that coast. The Crown being the real defendant, the case was tried at bar, before a full bench of four judges —Barons Parke, Alderson, Rolfe, and Platt.

The plaintiff's case was in effect this. M. John Thomas Buron is a Spanish merchant at the Gallinas, a port and the chief town in a small African monarchy under one King Siacca, about 150 miles from Sierra Leone. M. Buron has a large establishment of merchandise-warehouses situated on the main land and on a number of islands close to Gallinas. In autumn, 1840, there was a great collection of goods of every description in these stores, worth in the whole between 400,000 and 500,000 dollars. M. Buron had at the same time about 300 slaves, worth about 10*l.* each: in fact, he was engaged in the slave-trade with Havanna; that trade being

a perfectly lawful trade in the dominions of King Siacca. M. Buron's trade in goods was very large. A cargo of goods arrived for him in June, 1840, by the *Crawford*, from Havanna, worth 113,000 dollars; and in the same year the *Alexander* left the Gallinas with a cargo of natural produce, including 150 tuns of palm-oil. On the 19th November, 1840, Captain Denman landed a body of 100 seamen and 50 Kroomen; took possession of all the warehouses, and afterwards burnt them down, with all the goods they contained; he also marched his men on the barracoons, threw them open, took from them and placed on his own ships 300 slaves, and afterwards destroyed the barracoons by the fire of military rockets. He spiked several cannons, and destroyed other munitions of defence, including many hundred barrels of gunpowder, which had been brought for trade, or for defence of M. Buron's property in the event of native wars, which are frequent in those parts. M. Buron's whole property was destroyed or taken from him, and his trade ruined. The present action, however, was brought for no more than 180,000 dollars of damages, as the courts of this country are not by the comity of nations available to the plaintiff for the restoration of his houses or buildings and other property of an immovable nature.

The defendant alleged that he acted under the directions of his Government, and was further authorized by King Siacca, under a treaty with him. He also alleged that the actual burning and destruction of the goods was not done by himself or his men, but by King Siacca and his people. He admitted the taking away 900 slaves, among them some 90 of the plaintiff's. The defendant's version of that part of the case was this. In the year 1840, Captain Denman was the senior commander of that portion of the British Navy employed off the Gallinas and Sierra Leone in the prevention of the slave-trade. On the 30th October, 1840, he received directions from Sir Richard Doherty, the Governor of Sierra Leone, to procure the release of a woman named Try Norman, a British subject, who had been detained as a slave by Manna, the son of King Siacca: Manna had detained Norman to secure by her ransom a debt owed him by the woman's mistress, who resided at Sierra Leone. Captain Denman was glad to make the instructions given him an opportunity of laying personally before King Siacca some complaints respecting the conduct of the Spanish slave-traders in Gallinas to the sailors of a ship of Captain Denman's when in distress. He accordingly landed the force which has been mentioned, and put himself in communication with the king; taking possession, it is true, of the property of M. Buron, but placing sentinels over it for protection. The king being bedridden, he was represented at the interviews by his son Manna and "the family of the Rogers," who are aristocrats of power in Gallinas. A treaty was formed, under which King Siacca engaged to destroy forthwith all the factories of the white slave-dealers, and give up all the slaves in the barracoons at the time of Captain Denman's landing, but who had been carried off into the bush. The treaty had a memorandum at foot, stating that Captain Denman had

at first required all the goods in the stores of the slave-traders to be destroyed; but that King Siacca having declared that those persons had acted in defiance of the laws, and thereby forfeited all their goods, Captain Denman had withdrawn that demand, on condition that the king removed them to some place far from the coast. Try Norman was to be liberated, with some other British subjects found in captivity; and in return for being rid of the Spanish usurpers, the people of Gallinas were to assist the English ships, and trade with English merchants. This treaty was immediately and faithfully acted on. The king caused the goods to be removed from all the stores, the slaves to be recovered from the bush, and the barracoons to be destroyed by fire, with the slave-trading establishments of the Spaniards. Captain Denman then departed with the slaves he had liberated, and landed them, free men, at Sierra Leone. The whole of these exploits and services have been acknowledged and rewarded by Her Majesty's Ministers since they occurred.

The chief point of the cause seems to have been the question, whether the ratification of the acts of Captain Denman, which was fully proved to have since been given by the Queen through her Ministers, was equivalent to an order given before the acts were done? — whether, in fact, the maxim of commercial jurisprudence, "*Omnis ratihabitio retrotrahitur, et mandato priori æquiparatur*," which was well known to apply in cases between individuals, was applicable also between sovereign and servant. Mr. Baron Parke was not himself free from doubt on this point—not enough to allow him to dissent from the other members of the Court; who were of opinion that the ratification here *was* equivalent to a prior command. The special jury gave a verdict substantially for the defendant, Captain Denman. The trial occupied the court three days.

20. Attempted Murders.—A resolute attempt to commit a double murder was made in Dudley Street, St. Giles's. James Parker, a young man, an idle tailor who earned money by dancing at concert-rooms, had been living for some time with a girl named Burgess; but they had recently parted, and Burgess was staying with her mother. Parker called on them during Sunday morning; a quarrel arose, and he left the house. He asked a shoemaker living next door to lend him a knife, as he wanted to cut off the sole of a dancing-pump which was loose; he complained that the knife was rather blunt in the point, and the shoemaker sharpened it for him. Armed with this, he returned to Burgess's, and ferociously assailed both mother and daughter, inflicting many wounds. Persons went to the assistance of the women, and Parker hurried from the house; but he was captured by a neighbour. The women were taken to Charing Cross Hospital. The mother was not seriously hurt. The daughter was far advanced in pregnancy, but recovered.

21. Funeral of the Archbishop of Canterbury.—At half-past ten o'clock this morning the head of the procession issued through the portal of Lambeth Palace. The children belonging to the charitable school foundations

of the parish were arranged in one line skirting the outer wall of the churchyard. The first part of the procession consisted of four mutes on horseback – their horses being suitably caparisoned; next followed the beadles of the parish of Lambeth, the parish clerk, sexton, vestry clerk, and four churchwardens; then came 14 clergymen of the parish of Lambeth, attired in their gowns, bands, &c., walking two and two. The next portion of the procession consisted of a man on horseback, bearing a plume of black feathers; and to this the hearse (on which were the proper escutcheons) immediately succeeded, drawn by six black horses, caparisoned with velvet and adorned with feathers: then came five mourning coaches, each drawn by four black horses, fully caparisoned. The first of these carriages contained the two sons-in-law and two grandsons of the deceased archbishop. The family coach belonging to his Grace, drawn by four horses, immediately followed the mourning coaches, and next to that the chariot which he himself ordinarily used. The bell of the church of St. Mary, Lambeth, had been tolling from an early hour in the morning, and notwithstanding the heavy rain the crowd did not seek shelter, but almost lined the streets from the palace to Kennington. The procession reached Croydon about one o'clock, where the inhabitants, closing their houses, came forth in great numbers to evince their sentiments of veneration for one who had always been to them a liberal patron. At Croydon the procession was joined by the Rev. Mr. Hodgson, vicar of that parish, the Rev. Mr. Harding, of Norwood, the Rev. Messrs. Cole, Barr, and Ward, clergymen acting in that district, as well as by the churchwardens and other parochial authorities. At three o'clock the cortège reached the village of Addington, in which stands the little parish church, in a vault beneath which were deposited the mortal remains of the deceased primate. The service appointed for such occasions was read by Archdeacon Harrison and Dr. Mill. The church was hung with black, and a large proportion of the people who attended from Croydon and the surrounding district were attired in mourning. The pall-bearers were the Hon. and Rev. Leslie Courtenay, private chaplain to the Queen, the Rev. Sir Charles Farnaby, vicar of West Wycomb; the Rev. T. G. Hodgson, rector of Croydon; the Rev. F. B. Wells, rector of Woodchurch; the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury; the Hon. and Rev. Douglas Gordon; the Rev. W. Farrer, rector of Addington; and the Rev. William Streatfield. On the ceremony being concluded, the crowd, which assembled outside the church, and who could not gain access till after the solemn service was over, were then freely admitted to view the coffin and the vault. In conformity with the desire of the deceased prelate, the remains of two of his children, buried in London, were on Friday last transferred, as were likewise the remains of a third from Fulham, to the vault at Addington, there to mingle with him in the decay from which no created being escapes.

— The Revolution in France. —The history of the third revolution in France will be found narrated in the department of the

"ANNUAL REGISTER" appropriated to the record of national events. A few incidental occurrences may be commemorated in this "CHRONICLE." The London journals of this date contained, under the head of Foreign News, calm speculations as to the reception of the Reform Banquet, which attracted little notice, the more particularly since no accompanying events seemed to betoken the probability of anything further arising than a squabble with the police sent to forbid it. The *Times* of the 22nd (Tuesday) merely said "that the feeling of security so general on Sunday had given way yesterday; but that, nevertheless, all would, it was expected, pass off quietly," and some details are then added of the precautions taken by the Government to prevent the assembly at the banquet. Side by side with this announcement (so rapidly were events hurried on) was a despatch, by the electric telegraph, from Dover, announcing the convulsion which was destined to change the face of Europe; it was then expected that tumults would arise, but that the garrison of Paris had been increased to 80,000 men; that military possession would be taken of all points in the capital, and that hopes were therefore entertained that all would remain tranquil for the present. The French funds opened at 73f. 65c., and rose to 73f. 95c.; on Tuesday they were at 73f. 90c. The newspapers of the 24th announced the commencement of the struggle, but apparently with little anticipation of any formidable insurrection; the funds actually rose—"a sure proof that the *émeute* is there (on the Bourse) expected to subside or be suppressed without any very grave incident." The electric telegraph of the same day announced that the National Guards had sided with the people; the 25th announced that the fighting was general; and the 26th the abdication of Louis Philippe and the overthrow of the Orleans dynasty! The Bourse was closed, but the price of the 3 per cents. was stated to be 73f. 35c. The immediate effect upon the English Funds was more considerable than on the French Stocks. Consols opened on Wednesday at 89; on the arrival of the French news they fell to $88\frac{5}{8}$: on Thursday they had fallen to $88\frac{3}{4}$, but on Friday, when the abdication of Louis Philippe was announced, they receded to $85\frac{1}{4}$. The news received during Sunday produced a frightful effect. Consols opened on Monday at $81\frac{3}{4}$ to $81\frac{1}{2}$, and fell to $79\frac{3}{4}$, which was the lowest quotation; they then rose to about $82\frac{1}{2}$ to 83, and fluctuated about those prices.

22. BUNN *v.* LIND — *Court of Queen's Bench.* — This was an action brought by Mr. Alfred Bunn against Madlle. Jenny Lind, for breach of her engagement to sing at Drury Lane Theatre.

The plaintiff's case was substantially as follows. Madlle. Lind had become celebrated throughout Europe; in 1844, in the middle of a London season, Mr. Bunn started to Berlin, procured an introduction to her from Lord Westmoreland, the English Ambassador, and M. Meyerbeer, the composer, and effected an agreement. Madlle. Lind was to sing twenty times at Drury Lane in the year 1845, at her choice of the seasons, between the 15th of June and 31st of July, or the 30th of September and the 15th of November. The terms

were to be fifty louis-d'ors for each singing, and half the net proceeds of a benefit; the payment to be made within 24 hours after each representation. Madlle. Lind was to appear first as Vielka in Meyerbeer's "Camp of Silesia;" afterwards, if Mr. Bunn insisted, as Amina, in the "Sonnambula." Leave was reserved to Madlle. Lind to alter any of the terms except those relating to period and payment. This reserved power she never in any way exercised. On the 22nd of February, Madlle. Lind wrote to Mr. Bunn, that her efforts to learn English were fruitless; and that, as she could not fulfil this, the principal condition, she considered the agreement null. She besought Mr. Bunn not to credit that she was going to sing at the Italian Opera in the Haymarket; and gave her word of honour no more to do that, in 1845, than she would appear at Drury Lane. It was stated that she could then already sing in four languages, and had a singular facility of acquiring foreign pronunciation. On the 20th March, Mr. Bunn wrote back, that he believed she was deterred from fulfilling her contract by the falsest representations: he was willing to deposit her salary with a banker before she left Berlin: the English would be as glad to hear her sing in German as in English: she must keep her faith. Receiving no answer to this letter, in October Mr. Bunn busied himself in preparations for the appearance of Madlle. Lind. On the 18th of October a letter arrived, in which she definitively declared she could not come to England. She said that she neither possessed the personal advantages, the assurance, nor the charlatanism of the other prima donnas, and feared the ordeal of an English stage; the language, too, remained an insuperable obstacle. She said she had been surprised into the agreement; and she concluded by asking Mr. Bunn, in the name of humanity and generosity, to give her back her agreement. Mr. Bunn replied in a letter angrily accusing the lady of evasion and violation of contracts, and complaining of expenses already incurred; but offering, that if she would not appear at the Italian Opera-house in London next August, and would pay such a sum as would cover heavy expenses, and in some measure compensate him, he would annul the contract.

The counsel of the plaintiff represented that the reason for Madlle. Lind's refusal to perform her engagement was the expectation of making one more profitable with the managers of the Royal Italian Opera. Madlle. Lind in effect did make such an arrangement, and on her appearance met with unexampled success; the managers of that establishment and Mademoiselle Lind had reaped immense profits from that success, and it was for the damage, direct and consequential, thus received, that Mr. Bunn brought the present action.

Damages were laid at 10,000*l*.

The defendant was represented by the Attorney-General and Sir Frederick Thesiger; Sir John Jervis stating the case. Among other pleas, it was alleged that Mademoiselle was to appear first as Vielka, in Meyerbeer's German opera; it was the plaintiff's duty to procure the opera music, and put it before her to be learnt; the

opera, however, has never been printed, published, or sold; and plaintiff did not give her the music for learning.

Evidence was given by Mr. Fitzball, that he had been paid by Mr. Bunn 150*l.* for translating and adapting "The Camp of Silesia;" and by Mr. Dunn, of the profits of Drury Lane when "full," during the engagement of a "great attraction." The house holds 650*l.* per night, at present prices, when full. The expenses, including Madlle. Lind's salary, would have been 200*l.* per night. The net profits during Malibran's engagement were from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* for 35 nights.

Mr. Justice Erle left it to the jury to say, whether the plaintiff could have performed all that it was his duty to perform if the defendant had come over and offered to sing. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff—damages 2500*l.*

The dispute was ultimately arranged by the fair vocalist paying the sum of 2000*l.* to Mr. Bunn.

23. Inquest on Romeo Coates. —A coroner's inquest was held at 28, Montague Square, on the body of Mr. Robert Coates, aged 76, who some 30 years ago was well known as "the amateur of fashion" and "Romeo Coates." It appeared from the evidence of Mary Ann Castle, lady's maid, that the deceased gentleman had been brought home early on the morning of the 16th, by Mr. Burton, of King's College Hospital, and a policeman; and that he was much injured. He told witness that he had been run over by a cab. He did not blame any one, but spoke of the reckless driving by street cabmen in general. He died in the presence of witness on the 21st, at noon. Mr. T. Tatum, of 3, George Street, Hanover Square, surgeon, proved that he was called in to see the deceased, who had nearly recovered from a state of collapse. He was suffering but little pain, and seemed cheerful. He told witness that he had been knocked down and run over by a street cab (Hansom's) near the Hummums, Covent Garden, about one o'clock that morning. He said that, having left his opera-glass at Drury Lane Theatre, he was returning to fetch it, when the accident occurred. Witness found several ribs broken on both sides of the deceased, there was also a slight injury of the knee; the wound afterwards sloughed, and there was diffused inflammation; mortification came on, and death was the consequence. The jury returned a verdict of "Died from injuries received from being run over by a street cab—manslaughter against some person or persons unknown." The deceased gentleman had long since retired into private life, and was held in universal esteem for his charitable character.

29. Extensive Embezzlement. —At the Winchester Assizes Mr. Bishop, formerly manager of the Christchurch branch of the Wilts and Dorset Banking Company, was tried for embezzling 1000*l.*, the property of the company. There were other indictments against him, charging him with embezzlements to the amount of 8000*l.*, and with forging an I O U for 8470*l.* In last August 1476*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* was paid into the Christchurch branch, to the account of Mr. Skipwick. The clerk entered it correctly; but Bishop changed the first figure into a cipher, and thus made the amount to be accounted for less by 1000*l.* It appeared from the evidence that the prisoner gambled in railway

shares, and employed the money of the bank for that purpose, hoping, it would seem, to make his accounts correct if his dealings prospered. Testimony was given respecting the I O U: this was signed by a Mr. Welsh, who had a connection with Bishop in his railway share transactions. It was given to the prisoner to fill up for any amount of loss that might accrue from a certain dealing, but not with the intention that it should be filled up with the large sum written in by Bishop. This I O U was presented, by direction of the accused, at the bank with which Mr. Welsh was connected: of course payment was refused. He was found guilty.

Commercial Affairs.—During the earlier part of the month a continued improvement was observable in all the public funds and securities; not, however, without such fluctuations as marked that the limit which the foresight of prudent men had assigned as the real value had been reached. Consols varied at 89¼, 88⅝, 89⅜. Exchequer bills, owing to a rumour that Government contemplated a funding after rising to 40*s.*, fell to 33*s.*, 28*s.*, 24*s.*, and 18*s.*; but rose when that design was abandoned. The share market was rather on the decline; but upon the whole the aspect of affairs was not discouraging. The news of the revolution in Paris produced a terrible effect on the commercial barometer: the funds fell rapidly to 87⅞, 85, 84, 83¼, and, when the tidings were received of the flight of the king, to 79¾. Exchequer bills fell to 12*s.* and 6*s.* The foreign funds fell enormously, and the share market, particularly railways, experienced a fearful depreciation. This decline was accompanied by the failure of many foreign houses and dealers in foreign funds. The bullion in the Bank increased from 13,176,812*l.* to 14,760,815*l.*

MARCH.

2. The Royal Family of France.—The following are the movements of the ex-King and Queen from the period of their arrival at Honfleur:—

A passage having been secretly secured for them in the *Express* steamer, on the afternoon of the 2nd they went in an open fishing-boat to Havre, the ex-King passing as an Englishman. The *Express* brought them over to Newhaven, in Sussex. They landed early on the following morning. They were accompanied on their journey, which had been full of adventure, by Generals Dumas and Rumigny, M. Thuret, the King's valet, and a German lady attending on the Queen.

One Mr. Thomas Stone signalized himself by recognising the ex-King afar off in the boat which brought him ashore, and pledging to him the protection of the British nation. The reported colloquy on landing was serio-comic. *Stone*—"Welcome to England, your Majesty." *Louis Philippe*—"I thank you, I thank you; I have always felt pleasure in coming to England. Thank God, I am in England once more!" *Stone*—"We will protect your Majesty." *Ex-King* (*much agitated*)—"I thank you, I thank you."

The ex-King was scantily attired. He wore a rough pea-jacket—borrowed of the captain of the *Express*—and grey trousers; had on his head a close blue cloth cap, and

round his neck a common red-and-white "comforter." His beard was apparently of about a week's growth. The Queen was muffled in a large plaid cloak, and carefully concealed her features with a thick veil.

The ex-King and Queen took up quarters in the Bridge Inn, kept by one Widow Smith. The ex-King's first act was to pen an autograph letter to Queen Victoria, and give it to trusty hands for soonest possible delivery. This done, Mr. West was privileged to proffer successfully his dressing-case for the use of the ex-King. A lady, also, was desirous to place a chest of clothes at the disposal of the ex-Queen; but the offer was respectfully declined. The village barber was summoned to the ex-King, to remove the week-old beard, an operation which he was at first unequal to, from nervousness, but ultimately performed with commendable skill. In a short time the ex-King was perfectly at home under good hostess Smith's assiduities, and declined the offered hospitalities of the gentry, who soon arrived in numbers. The ex-Queen busied herself in letter-writing, and seemed less open to impressions of the present. Mr. Packham, a protégé of Louis Philippe's, who had been summoned from his English residence at Brighton, was master of the ceremonies, and introduced the visitors; among others, deputations who had come pilgrimages of compliment from Brighton and from Lewes. Three gentlemen were introduced, one being the Reverend Theyre Smith, Rector of Newhaven. "Mr. Smith!" exclaimed the King, "that is curious indeed! and very remarkable that the first to welcome me should be a Mr. Smith, since the assumed name was 'Smith' by which I escaped from France; and, look, this is my passport, made out in the name of 'William Smith'!"

The ex-King and Queen seemed gratified with the cordial sympathy evinced. On the 4th, the early breakfast was prolonged by calls from more visitors: Mr. Lawrence and Lady Jane Peel had a long interview. On this day, too, M. Duchatel, the late Home Minister, had an interview with his fallen master.

At nine o'clock the ex-King and Queen proceeded on their journey, and, by the help of a special train, were soon at Croydon. Here they were met by their children, the Duke of Nemours and the Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, with the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who had reached London on the 27th of February. At the moment the train was brought to a stand-still, the Duke de Nemours rushed towards the window of the carriage in which his exiled parents were seated, and, grasping his father's hand, covered it with kisses. The Queen, who was sitting on the right of her royal husband, and was consequently further from the platform, on observing the Duke, gave utterance to a scream, apparently from excessive joy, and then fell back in her seat. The door of the carriage having been opened, the ex-King alighted, and immediately embraced his son with great apparent fervency, kissing him again and again, while the tears poured down his furrowed cheeks. The next moment the ex-Monarch clasped in his arms the Princess Clementine, who was standing close to her brother. The Princess, who up to this moment had maintained an admirable self-possession, now gave vent to her

stifled feelings, and sobbed convulsively. The ex-King kissed her unceasingly for some moments, and then, turning to her august husband, embraced and greeted him affectionately. The Queen, recovering herself in a few moments, stepped out of the carriage after the King, and successively embraced, with intense feeling, her royal children. The whole party were for some time much agitated, and apparently altogether unconscious of the presence of strangers. The first burst of emotion over, the royal fugitives were conducted into the waiting-room, where they remained for some time in seclusion.

Claremont was reached by three o'clock. At five Prince Albert arrived by a special train to pay his respects.

The ex-King and Queen have assumed the title of the Count and Countess of Neuilly since their arrival at Claremont.

The Duchess de Montpensier, after narrowly escaping the pursuit of a mob at Abbeville, was brought over from Boulogne on the 6th, by her husband's aide-de-camp, General Thierry.

The Duchess de Nemours, with her three children, accompanied by the Duke de Montpensier, made for Granville. By a fee of 400*l.* they induced the commander of the *Princess Alexandrina* to convey them to Jersey, where they remained incognito until they came to Portsmouth, on the 9th.

Prince Leopold, Count of Syracuse, nephew of the ex-Queen of France, arrived also in London, having escaped from Paris disguised as a labourer.

The Prince and Princess de Joinville, and the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, arrived, on the morning of the 22nd, at Dartmouth, by the *Solon* steamer. They landed on the same day, and joined the refugees at Claremont.

On leaving Algeria, the Duke d'Aumale issued the following valedictory address to the colonists:—

"Algiers, March 3.

"Faithful to the duties of a citizen and soldier, I remained at my post as long as I considered my presence useful to the service of the country.

"That obligation no longer exists. General Cavaignac has been appointed Governor-General of Algiers. Until his arrival at Algiers, the functions of Governor-General *ad interim* will be filled by General Changarnier.

"In obedience to the national will I quit the country; but from the depth of exile all my wishes shall be for your prosperity and the glory of France, which I should have been anxious to serve for a longer period. H. D'ORLEANS."

On the same day M. H. d'Orleans issued a similar address to the army.

The Duke d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville, with the Princesses and their families, embarked on board the *Solon* steamer on the 3rd, for Gibraltar.

— FRAUDULENT MARRIAGE.—At the Central Criminal Court, Samuel Brown, a well-dressed man, about 50 years of age, was brought up in custody of a tipstaff belonging to the Queen's Prison, to which place he had been committed under an attachment of the Court of Chancery for contempt of its jurisdiction in marrying one of its wards, to take his trial upon an indictment framed upon the statute of the 6th and 7th William IV., known as the Births, Marriages, and Deaths Registration Act, charging him with misdemeanour, in having wilfully given a false statement

upon the occasion of his marriage with one Hester Field, and caused the same to be inserted in the marriage register, whereby he had incurred the penalty affixed to the crime of wilful perjury.

The Attorney-General, who instituted the prosecution in his official capacity, under the authority of the Vice-Chancellor, stated the facts of the case, which, he said, although very short, and, as appeared to him, very clear, still, they would see, involved a question of very considerable importance. There had been prosecutions of a similar character referring to false statements respecting births and deaths; but he believed the present was the only instance in which there had been a prosecution for a false statement respecting a marriage. It was very essential, however, for the protection of the public, that the intention of the Legislature with regard to these matters should be strictly carried out, as the correctness of the entries in the registers were the only protection the public had to rely upon. Formerly, if persons made false statements with regard to their position and condition, it would have the effect of invalidating the marriage, and therefore they had an interest in stating the truth; but that was not the case as the law stood at present, and there was now no mode of annulling a marriage contracted under such circumstances except by an appeal to the Legislature, and through the medium of a divorce bill. The learned Attorney-General then stated that the prosecution was instituted by authority of one of the Vice-Chancellors of England. In the year 1840 the prisoner lived in the service of a gentleman in Wimpole Street, as butler; but he left that service, and went to reside with his brother, at Tring, in Hertfordshire. The marriage in question was contracted in June, 1847, between the prisoner and Miss Hester Field, the daughter of a gentleman living at Berkhamstead, and who, under the will of her mother, would, upon coming of age, be entitled to very considerable property, amounting, he believed, to 1100*l.* a year. It was considered advisable that this young lady, who was now only eighteen years old, should be made a ward of Chancery; and, while she was in that position, the prisoner induced her to accompany him to Trinity Church, Marylebone, where the ceremony of marriage was performed between them; and upon that occasion he made statements which he must have known to be false; and it was upon these false statements that the present indictment was founded. They separated very soon after the marriage, and the defendant was subsequently committed to prison for a contempt of the Court of Chancery; and the circumstances being laid before one of the Vice-Chancellors, it was referred to him, as Attorney-General, to see whether there were grounds for a prosecution being instituted; and, upon ascertaining the facts, he felt it his duty to direct the present prosecution as a first step to annul the marriage, and thus to restore the property to the unfortunate young lady. Evidence was then given fully bearing out the facts stated, and the jury, after a short deliberation, returned their verdict, finding the prisoner guilty of making a false statement with regard to his residence.

A suit was also instituted for declaring the marriage a nullity; but the House of Lords ultimately

decided that the marriage was valid.

4. Robbery of Gold-Dust.—At Wandsworth Police-office, John William Thompson, the master of the Medora steamer, was charged with stealing gold-dust to the value of nearly 7000*l.* Mr. Hutton, a city merchant, stated that he had despatched the accused with his ship the Medora to the Gold Coast of Africa, to bring to England palm-oil and other freight. Among the lading was a quantity of gold-dust, consigned principally to the witness. When the ship arrived at Portsmouth, Thompson sent him a letter, stating that on leaving the Gold Coast he had been seized with fever, and during the delirium had thrown all the gold-dust overboard. Clerks sent to Portsmouth by Mr. Hutton found that the prisoner had left his ship, sold some gold-dust to a Mr. Emanuel, and departed for London. He was captured at a house in the Clapham Road. He gave up all he had to the constable, 116 pounds avoirdupois of gold-dust in bags, twenty five-pound Portsmouth notes, a check for 142*l.*, and some foreign coin. The officer found a belt made to fasten round the body; it was filled with gold-dust; and it seemed that by means of this the prisoner had conveyed the gold on shore. The gold-dust, valued at 3*l.* 17*s.* per ounce, or 6,400*l.*, was produced in court. Thompson said he had broken and destroyed the original packages; mixed the dust and put it in bags; that he had sold sixty ounces to Emanuel, receiving 60*s.* per ounce for one lot and 65*s.* for another: he also sold some doubloons.

As to the prisoner's assertion that he had thrown the gold-dust overboard, in a fit of delirium, on the coast of Africa, on his re-examination evidence was produced to show that he had appeared to do so: he was ill, or pretended to be ill, for some time; on the night of the 3rd February, he rushed on deck in his shirt, apparently delirious, threw a box into the sea, exclaiming, "There! you shan't have that—you may kill me now!" and fell on the deck. The crew thought the box contained the freight of gold. Mr. Emanuel Emanuel, bullion-merchant, of Portsmouth, detailed the purchase of gold-dust and foreign coin from the accused. He showed that the transaction was a fair one, and that Thompson had misled him cleverly as to his character. Thompson made no defence, and was committed for trial.

When tried at the Central Criminal Court, the prisoner pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to be transported for seven years on the first indictment, and to a further term of seven years on the second.

6. Disturbances in the Metropolis.—The triumph of the populace of Paris was the signal for disturbances in every part of Europe. London was not exempt from the scourge; but, fortunately, the nature of the proceedings of the mob were eminently calculated to bring popular émeutes into contempt. On Monday, the 6th of March, Trafalgar Square and Charing Cross were the scene of one of these burlesque émeutes. Mr. Charles Cochrane, late a candidate for Westminster, had proposed a grand assemblage at noon, in the open air, as a demonstration against the Income-tax, and had extensively placarded the proposal. The Act 57 George III., c. 19, expressly prohibits, during the session of Parliament, any open-air meeting to petition the Legis-

lature for any measure affecting church or state, at any place within a mile of Westminster Hall, excepting the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. This law the Commissioners of Police felt it their duty to enforce. They advised Mr. Cochrane of the illegality of his project; and on Monday Mr. Cochrane issued notices of this fact, and used some means to prevent the meeting. The measures were taken so late, however, that they only served to excite the indignation of a large crowd who had already assembled. By one o'clock, 10,000 persons were gathered in the square; and mob-mischief of a playful sort — "bonneting," and pushing people into the fountains —filled up the time. A few orators then appeared, and made inflammatory allusions to the revolution in Paris. By the time the speeches were over, the crowd had increased to some 15,000—artisans and labourers out of work, idle spectators, and thieves. In so great a multitude, the police were overwhelmed: after vigorously attempting to resist the crowd with their staves, they were fain to retreat to the station in Scotland Yard. Meanwhile, the mob tore up the wooden fence round the Nelson pillar, used the pieces as weapons, and took possession of the spot. The police, largely reinforced, re-entered the square, attacked the crowd at various points, and ultimately regained possession of the place; though without dispersing the crowd. Fights were frequent and general. These scenes continued, with slight intermission, until night. Occasionally were heard shouts of "*Vive la République!*" About eight o'clock, a party, under a lad who wore epaulettes, marched off down Pall Mall "for the palace," breaking lamps as they went. At Buckingham Palace, the guard turned out; and the mob, alarmed at the sight of the bayonets, evaded them; going round by Westminster to their starting-point, Trafalgar Square. The general intent seemed to be mere wanton mischief; but on the way, a baker's and a publican's shop were beset, with oaths of distress and starvation, and rations of bread and ale were exacted. Several ringleaders were arrested; among them the hero of the epaulettes—who began to cry! By midnight all was quelled, and soon afterwards the streets resumed their usual aspect.

For some days afterwards these disturbances were renewed, chiefly by the parade of a few hundreds of ragamuffin boys, whose chief object seemed to be the fun of stealthily smashing valuable panes of glass in the shop windows. The exasperation of the tradesmen in the chief thoroughfares at this despicable nuisance was such, that, had it been continued, the mob would probably have been well thrashed by a sally of the enraged shopkeepers and their assistants, armed with the most domestic weapons. Fortunately, a secret sense of their disfavour, and the formidable appearance of the police, extinguished these vagabonds without resort to force. The nuisance had, however, one favourable effect, in rousing the inhabitants of London to meet the more formidable dangers of the 10th of April.

— Disturbances in the Provinces.—The idle and discontented in the principal manufacturing towns did not omit the opportunity of a little rioting. The mob at Manchester were very troublesome to the police, and were not dispersed without hard blows and

some wounds. The mob appeared to have no particular, at least no political, object.

At Glasgow the disturbances assumed a much more formidable character. On Tuesday, March 6, a large mob assembled on the Green, and instantly attacked the gunsmiths' shops, from which they armed themselves with guns, pistols, swords, and other weapons, with which they proceeded through the streets, doing much mischief. The shops of the provision dealers and silversmiths were the first objects of attack. Many of them were completely sacked, and property to the value of many thousands carried off. The military were sent for, and a large number of special constables were sworn in. The mob increased in audacity, and the military were ordered to fire, which they did with fatal effect. This checked the mob, which rapidly dispersed from that neighbourhood.

The magistrates had now taken alarm, and large bodies of soldiers had been poured in from many quarters, by railway, and upwards of 10,000 special constables had been sworn in. By the judicious posting of these forces, and the firmness and energy of the magistrates, the disturbances were effectually suppressed. The damage done was very great; 500 lamps were broken; thirty shops forced and ransacked; and injury and robbery committed estimated at 50,000*l*. There appeared to be no political object in this proceeding of the mob, although a few cries of "Down with the Queen," "*Vive la République*," were heard; the whole affair appeared to be a most audacious robbery, committed by common thieves, under colour of a political row. Upwards of 100 prisoners were taken during the riot; but the most effectual captures were those made by the police, in the following days, of vagabonds who had been marked by the police as leaders, and who were arrested at leisure.

Disturbances of less importance took place at Edinburgh, Newcastle, and other places. But the whole proceedings of the mob, wherever disturbances occurred, were of so contemptible a character, that they served to no other purpose than to awaken the respectable part of the community to a sense of the character of mob law. Nothing could have been better calculated to exemplify the loyalty and good sense of all classes of the people, excepting only the worst and most degraded.

9. Commercial Crisis at Paris.—As might be expected, the political revolution of France has been accompanied by a total overthrow of all commercial credit. All Paris, and indeed the whole community, has been thrown into a state of bankruptcy. The first important intimation of these disasters was the failure of the great banking-house of Gouin and Co., (successors to Jacques Lafitte and Co.), which brought down with it a multitude of minor establishments. Immense numbers of the small tradesmen of Paris banked with this Company; and its failure caused little short of a new émeute in its neighbourhood when first published. The debts of the house are stated to be 55,000,000 francs. The alarm was heightened by a government notice closing the Bourse till further orders. The Bourse was reopened in a few days.

On Wednesday there was so great a run on the Bank of France, that the applicants were obliged to

place themselves *en queue*, as at the entrances to theatres. Even then, each comer was an hour and a half before reaching the cash-office. In the course of the day, this pressure forced the directors to consider the question of stopping payment; and, in consequence, the Provisional Government issued a decree stopping cash payments, and making general currency alterations—

"Art. 1. From the date of the publication of the present decree, the notes of the Bank of France shall be received as a legal tender by the public officers and private individuals.

"Art. 2. Until further orders, the Bank is dispensed from the obligation of paying its notes in specie.

"Art. 3. In no case shall the issue of the Bank and its branch banks exceed 350,000,000 francs.

"Art. 4. In order to facilitate the circulation, the Bank of France is authorized to issue small notes; which, however, shall not be of a lower denomination than 100 francs."

On Saturday the banking-house of Lafitte, Blount, and Co. followed that of Gouin and Co., in its suspension of payments. This company had the banking business of four great lines of railway—the Rouen, Havre, Dieppe, and Boulogne, and is extensively connected also with England. Subsequently, other important banking-houses also failed, and more were expected to follow. By the breaking of one house, that of Messrs. Estrenne and Co., a large additional number of labourers engaged in buildings were thrown out of work.

11. Confirmation of the Archbishop of Canterbury.—The ceremony of the confirmation of the new Primate and Metropolitan, Dr. John Bird Sumner, late Bishop of Chester, took place in Bow Church. The little edifying occurrences which had accompanied the confirmation of the Bishops of Manchester and Hereford had excited public curiosity, and the church was filled by a crowd of the curious. It had been rumoured that a similar opposition was contemplated, but with the exception of some slight derision when the opponents who did not appear were pronounced contumacious, nothing occurred to disturb the solemnity of the proceeding.

— The Kirton Lindsey Murder.—At Lincoln Assizes, Joseph Travis was tried for the murder of Charles Copeman, at Blyborough, on the 19th December last. The particulars of the murder, and of the fidelity of the deceased's dog, were given in the "Chronicle," p. 163. Copeman, a farmer, was found murdered in a lane; he had been robbed; a broken penknife was lying near him; and his dog, wounded, was beside the body. There were very suspicious circumstances against Travis; he had been in deceased's company; the penknife had belonged to him; he was flush of money; there was blood on his clothes. He endeavoured to account for these things. The inculpatory evidence did not convince the jury; and they acquitted the prisoner.

— The Robbery at Bridgend.—At the Swansea Assizes, John Lloyd and Richard Mahony, the men who robbed Mr. Bowring of 1000*l*., in November last, (particulars of which were given in the "Chronicle," p. 142,) pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to transportation for life. Evan Evans and Richard Thomas were tried for feloniously receiving a portion of

the money: they were found guilty, and sentenced, Evans to be imprisoned for eighteen months, and Thomas for six.

Mr. Bowring saw the robbers in prison; they told him where the silver—some 60*l.*—was concealed. He went to a wood, and there he found the money tied up in a handkerchief.

13. Meeting on Kennington Common.—A Chartist meeting, preannounced as "great," and expected to be troublesome, was held at Kennington Common. It turned out a most despicable affair. The numbers on the Common have been estimated at from 13,000, to 15,000, but those who participated in the business by listening to speeches were not above a half. The rest were spectators, who stood respectfully aloof, and a predacious crowd of the lowest mob of London. The speakers were raised on waggons; the speeches were of the most ordinary description of low political abuse.

Just as the meeting concluded its business, a heavy rain came on, and saved all exertions of the police to disperse the unoccupied crowd; the Common was perfectly cleared in about an hour. There were slight commotions during the afternoon, arising from assaults on peripatetic provision-dealers and bakers' carts: a baker's and a pawnbroker's shop were assaulted, and suffered some losses before the police could interfere. The chief offenders were taken and borne off in custody. The most serious affair was the sacking of a pawnbroker's and other shops, from which upwards of 1000*l.* in value of convertible articles were stolen.

Immense preparations had been made to prevent serious outbreaks. Upwards of two thousand police, foot and horse, were posted in buildings close to the neighbourhood of Kennington Common; and some twelve hundred more were posted in masses at the approaches to the bridges, with instructions to prevent the passing of processions or large combined bodies of men, and to act as a reserve. Further reserves were in waiting at the central police stations, and the military were under arms in readiness to act.

18. Birth of a Princess.—"*Buckingham Palace,* March 18, 1848.—"This morning, at eight o'clock the Queen was safely delivered of a Princess.

"In the room with her Majesty were his Royal Highness Prince Albert, Dr. Locock, and Mrs. Lilly, the monthly nurse. And in the rooms adjoining were the other medical attendants, Sir James Clark and Dr. Ferguson; and also her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, the Lady in Waiting on the Queen, and the Ministers and Officers of State summoned on the occasion."

Her Majesty's progress to recovery was happily so favourable, that very few bulletins were issued.

The following "Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving" was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels in England and Ireland, on Sunday, the 26th instant.

"Almighty and merciful God, by whose providence the whole world is governed and preserved; we yield Thee hearty thanks that it hath pleased Thee to deliver thy servant our Sovereign Lady the Queen from the perils of childbirth, and to make her a joyful mother. We humbly beseech Thee to keep her under thy fatherly care and protection; and enable her in the hour of weakness to feel the

support of thine everlasting arm. Defend the infant Princess from all dangers which may happen to the body, and from all evil which may assault and hurt the soul; and grant that as she grows in years she may grow in grace and in every Christian virtue. Let thy continual help preserve our Queen and her Royal Consort; that Thou being their ruler and guide, they may so pass through things temporal that they finally lose not the things eternal.

"And grant, O Lord, that thy goodness to our land may so affect the hearts of us thy people, that we may show our thankfulness by ready obedience to thy will, by dutiful allegiance to our Sovereign, and by Christian charity one towards another; that so living in the faith of thy dear Son, who loved us and gave himself for us, we may be indeed a holy nation, a peculiar people, and show forth thy praise, who hast called us to thy kingdom and glory. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen."

20. Burning of the Benares Steamer. — This fine steamer, which plied on the Ganges between Calcutta and Benares, has been totally destroyed by fire, with great loss of life. A letter from one of the passengers gives an account of the catastrophe.

"Off Rajmahal, March 21.

"I sit down to acquaint you with one of the most awful calamities that has befallen the above vessel that it is possible to imagine, and which is still more distressing as it has been attended with serious loss of life and property. About seven o'clock, while under steam within three miles of Rajmahal, the after part of the vessel, where the horses and conveyances are, was discovered to be on fire. Owing to the combustible materials close at hand the fire raged furiously, and the confusion consequent thereon baffles all description. The vessel was run on a sandbank, and immediately the majority of the passengers jumped into the water, and 15 or 16 persons were drowned. Several more are missing, and I fear they have all met a watery grave. All the cargo in the after-hold is burned, also the conveyances and eight horses; the latter were literally roasted alive. Every one on board has suffered more or less. I have lost nearly all my clothes, and some of the passengers have lost money and property to the extent of some thousands of rupees. I stuck to the vessel throughout, and have got off pretty well. I tried all I could to persuade the passengers not to leave the vessel until there was no chance of saving her, but it was useless, and hence the loss of life. The fire extended as far as the engine room, and was then got under, but not until everything in the after part of the vessel was consumed. It is supposed that the fire was caused by one of the Syces on board smoking the hookah close to the straw for the horses."

24. Trial for Murder.—Exeter.—Ann Fisher was indicted for having wilfully murdered Richard Fisher, by administering arsenic, and Mary Hodge was indicted for inciting and commanding Ann Fisher to commit the murder.

It appeared that the deceased, Richard Fisher, was a farmer residing at Stubbon, about eight miles from Tiverton, and four from Witheridge; he was 71 years of age. The prisoners are sisters, and are between 30 and 40 years

of age. Ann Fisher was formerly the wife of a person of the name of Leigh, who died in February, 1847, leaving the prisoner Ann his widow. After the death of her husband (Leigh), old Fisher, and a person of the name of Thomas Leach, a young man, paid her attention. On the 2nd of June, 1847, Richard Fisher married the prisoner Ann Fisher, and, before three months had passed over his head, he was in his grave, and it was discovered that he had died poisoned. Two days after the marriage Fisher made a will, giving everything he possessed, about 500*l*., to his wife. On Thursday, the 26th of August, there had been some reaping in one of Fisher's fields, and Thomas Leach was one of the reapers. Leach attempted to kiss Mrs. Fisher, and some disagreement arose in consequence between Mr. and Mrs. Fisher—he became angry, and went to bed. The rest of the party, including Mrs. Fisher and Thomas Leach, afterwards came into the house. They remained there supping and drinking till one or two in the morning, and then they all, including Mrs. Fisher and Leach, got into a cart, and went to Witheridge. When the old man awoke in the morning he found that his wife had gone off in the same cart with Thomas Leach. He expressed great anger, and went to Witheridge, and called on a Mrs. Partridge, with whom he had formerly lived, and told her not to pay his wife a sum of money that was due to him. He came back to his house about nine o'clock the same morning, and by that time his wife had arrived; some little altercation took place, but afterwards she gave him some marshmallow tea. He was unwell during the morning and day, and went to bed early in the evening, and died in the course of the night or morning, but at what time there is no one to tell.

Such is the general outline of this extraordinary case. In support of the charge there was an immense number of witnesses, chiefly people of the lower class, by whose testimony a long series of details were elicited, making one of the most extraordinary cases of circumstantial evidence ever known in a court of justice; could the allegation have been substantiated, it would have shown a murder so deliberate in its perpetration as hardly to be paralleled in the annals of crime.

The trial, which commenced at an early hour on Friday morning, did not terminate until past one o'clock on Sunday morning.

The jury, after careful deliberation, found the prisoners "Not Guilty."

27. Regina *v.* Latimer.—*Exeter Assizes.*—This trial, which excited very great interest in the west of England, was on an indictment in which the Bishop of Exeter prosecuted Mr. Latimer, the proprietor of the *Western Times*, for a libel in his paper. It declared the Bishop to be so notorious a brawler, that any story not imputing to him the milder virtues, concerning his rule and discipline, was received without question, and circulated as gospel: it also said the Bishop had once in the House of Lords "stood branded as a consecrated careless perverter of facts, and one who did discredit to the mitre which he was paid 200*l*. a week to wear." It seems that, in 1832, the Duke of Somerset built a church in his manor of Bridgetown, and that the Duke and the Bishop had personal negotiations on the subject of its consecration. The church was filled for some years by the Reverend

Mr. Shore, who has lately been battling with the Bishop in the Ecclesiastical Courts. In 1843, Lord Brougham presented a petition from Mr. Shore to the House of Lords; and on that occasion the Bishop of Exeter told the House that the Duke of Somerset had made engagements in respect to the use of the church which he afterwards broke: he had registered the church as a dissenting chapel for Mr. Shore to preach in, after he seceded from the Church of England. On occasion of this charge by the Bishop against the Duke, Mr. Latimer published in his paper the language now impugned, and the Bishop brought his indictment. The defendant put in two pleas—namely, a formal one denying the charge of publishing a libel, and a plea of justification. The latter compelled the jury to judge between the Bishop and the Duke on their relative veracity. The Bishop was personally put in the witness-box, and examined on all the circumstances of the negotiations about the church. Mr. Cockburn proposed to the Judge to ask the Bishop if he had not been, by Lord Grey and others, charged on particular occasions with misrepresentations and the making of unfounded statements. Baron Platt, however, would not allow this course. The jury, after an hour's consideration, gave a verdict of "Guilty" on the first plea, and of acquittal on the plea of justification. The verdict was received in the court with irrepressible applause; and bands of music paraded Exeter and many of the towns of Devonshire in triumph.

28. Trial for Murder, Monmouth.—Mary Howells and James Price were indicted for the murder of William Howells, at the parish of Llanellan, in this county, on the 10th of November last, by poison.

This case had excited considerable interest in this county, and consequently many jurors were challenged on both sides.

The prisoner Mary Howells was a woman of 32. The other prisoner was a young man of 26, who was not particularly well-looking. The former prisoner was the wife of the deceased, who was a man of 55 at the time of his death, and had been for years so deaf that he was commonly communicated with by means of signs. He had been, till within a year of his death, on rather bad terms with his wife, in consequence of feelings of jealousy. Recently his health generally had been much better, and he was less jealous than before. He and his wife lived on a small farm in the above parish. They had no children, and the family consisted of themselves and a male servant, the prisoner Price, and a female servant, Jane Morgan, who was the principal witness. For ten or eleven months before the 9th of November, the deceased had been in particularly good health. On that day he had breakfast, dinner, and tea as usual. For supper, he, his wife, and servants had apple dumplings, which had been made and prepared and served up by the witness Morgan, who swore that she put no poison into any of them. The deceased helped himself to the first dumplings which he ate. His wife presented him with the last he took; she having first cut it open and put some sugar and cream upon it. She put the cream and sugar on those also which the servants ate. This was about nine o'clock. He went to bed soon afterwards,

and about ten o'clock was seized with severe pains, cramps, purging, and vomiting; and continued ill all night and next day, and died the following evening about 11 o'clock. No doctor had been sent for, and the only thing which he had got was warm milk and water and a little brandy. The funeral took place on the 13th. Suspicions soon after began to be entertained that he had been poisoned; and, on the 7th of January, the body was exhumed, and examined by Mr. Stell, a surgeon at Blaenavon, who analyzed part of the viscera, and sent the rest to Mr. Herapath, the celebrated chemist at Bristol. Both gentlemen agreed that the cause of death was, beyound all doubt, the administration of white arsenic.

The circumstances principally relied on to show the prisoner's guilt, were her neglect to send for the doctor; her opposition to the raising the body for examination; her terror, and the remarks she had made, lest "anything should be found in him." It appeared, however, that the accused had shown very great compassion at the sufferings of her husband; and had several times fainted when his appearance betokened great agony. It was strongly urged against her that she had procured the body to be buried without a certificate; but it appeared that a certificate had been applied for, which the registrar had refused to give, because no inquest had been held to inquire into the cause of death. It also appeared not impossible that a servant girl might, probably innocently, have been the cause of death by mixing arsenic, used for dressing sheep, with the flour used in making the dumplings.

The learned judge summed up; and, the jury having retired, the female prisoner, who understood English only imperfectly, observed to her attorney that the judge had urged it against her that she had not sent for the coroner, whereas she had done so; and the coroner had sent word back that it was unnecessary to hold an inquest. This was communicated to Mr. Huddleston, who, on inquiry, finding the statement to be correct, called his lordship's attention to the fact. The jury were then recalled, and James Powell, the first witness, who had been examined for the prosecution, to prove the identity of the body buried with that exhumed, swore that, on the day of the death of Howells, he told the wife that she ought to send for the coroner; that she begged of him to go if he thought it necessary; that he went and told the facts to Mr. Hughes, the coroner, who said it was not necessary to hold an inquest, and that he then told this to the clergyman, and that was the reason the clergyman buried the deceased without a certificate from the registrar.

The coroner and the clergyman were examined, and corroborated this statement.

His lordship observed that it was extraordinary that so important a circumstance had not been communicated before.

The jury again retired, and, after an absence of half an hour, returned, with a verdict of "Not Guilty."

29. Mining Accidents.—Several accidents, attended with dreadful loss of life, have recently occurred in the mining districts.

Nineteen men were killed, and seven more nearly scorched to death, by an explosion in the Eagle's Bush colliery, at Neath,

on the 29th instant. Complaints have before been made of the mine; and Sir Henry de la Bêche is commissioned to inquire into the cause of the accident.

Eight men were killed on the 4th April in the shaft of a coal-pit at Malinslee, called the Lodge. Some machinery broke as they were descending the shaft. Falling to the bottom, the winding-chain, 200 yards long and two tons in weight, came down upon them and crushed them to death.

State of Ireland.—Although the south of Ireland has not exhibited that fearful succession of cold-blooded assassination which was recorded in the Chronicle of the "Annual Register" of last year, yet many dreadful crimes have been recently committed, and the whole of that district seems surrendered to every description of lawless violence and predial outrage.

The celebrated Father Macguire appears to have fallen a victim to some private revenge, calculated to escape notice amid the general chaos of crime and outrage. His remains having been exhumed, it appeared clear that his death had been caused by poison; and five of his relatives and domestics were arrested on suspicion.

In January three men were committed to Ennis gaol, having been arrested while lurking with arms with the avowed purpose of assassinating Colonel Vandeleur and Captain Kennedy. Serjeant-major Read was stopped in the streets of Limerick by a man who presented a pistol to his breast. The pistol fortunately would not go off, but the man escaped.

In Leitrim, a man named Quin was stopped by a man dressed in woman's clothes. who presented a gun at him and ordered him to kneel down and be shot. Quin refused, and pelted his assailant with stones so vigorously that the fellow was not able to get a steady shot, and Quin escaped.

At Castletown Roche, a widow who kept a lodging-house was found, with a little girl, her niece, strangled in bed. The murders are supposed to have been committed by two men who had slept in the house. The gaols of the Galway district were crowded with prisoners committed for agrarian robberies, chiefly perpetrated on the small classes of farmers; one industrious man had lost two cows, and sixty-two sheep; others had lost every cow and sheep they possessed.

A catastrophe of a different kind, reminding the reader of the state of society among the gentry as depicted by the earlier Irish novelists, occurred on the 26th January. Mr. Peyton, one of the county coroners, proceeded, with some bailiffs and policemen, to execute a law process against Mr. Herbert Kelly Waldron, a justice of the peace, residing at Ashford, near Drumsna. Mr. Waldron had prepared himself for resistance by arming several of his retainers, who were stationed behind the entrance-gate of the property. The coroner vainly endeavoured to persuade Mr. Waldron to submit quietly to the execution. When an attempt was made to force open the gate, Mr. Waldron fired through the bars, and wounded one of the coroner's party. The shot was immediately returned by the police, and Mr. Waldron fell dead. A general engagement ensued, in which several were wounded on both

sides; but at length a forcible entry was effected, and the seizure was made.

The evils of this state of society are vividly depicted by a writer from Ireland:—"Shops are being abandoned, the shopkeepers flying. The number of houses to be let, at all sides, is quite frightful. The building trade is at a stand. With decreasing population, there are already more houses than inhabitants to occupy them. House property has fallen immensely in value; partly because of the general decline in the value of all property, but especially on account of the poor rates and the high taxation on houses."

Commercial Affairs. — The first movements of alarm consequent on the French Revolution being over, the English funds rallied with surprising readiness; and, although they underwent frequent fluctuations, kept within the range of 83 to 81, the result being a fall. Exchequer Bills rose considerably, from 25*s.* to 29*s.*, 30*s.*, 32*s.*; and there was also a considerable improvement in most of our public stocks. Railways unfortunately experienced a considerable depression. The bullion in the Bank increased from 14,760,815*l.* to 15,316,794*l.* But, although the English money market was affected to a surprisingly slight degree by the continued convulsions on the Continent, the effect on the commercial classes abroad was frightful. At Paris all monetary transactions were at an end; some of the greatest houses in France stopped payment, among them may be named MM. Gouin and Co. (formerly Lafitte's), Baudon and Co., and Ganneron and Co., the three principal joint-stock banks in Paris, and the great private bank of Lafitte, Blount, and Co.; there was a large host of others who succumbed, but the suspension of all payments by direction of the Government prevented their fall from being distinguished amid the general crash. The Bank of France itself was saved from a declaration of insolvency by an especial decree of the Government for a suspension of cash payments. The exchanges turned against France to a fearful extent, being not less than 27. The notes of the Bank of France were offered at 30 francs, being a depreciation of 20 per cent. The fall in French railway shares was terrific; those of the Paris and Rouen line, which on the 29th February were at 29, fell to 15½, or nearly 50 per cent. In the Dutch Funds the fall was considerable; and in those of Austria, and other disturbed states, the consequences were nearly as terrible as in those of France. Under these circumstances the flow of capital to this country was very great, and tended, in a very great degree, to keep up the price of the funds, and to restore confidence to every class of our community, and finally, this country being preserved free from revolutionary convulsion, reacted upon the condition of the states of the Continent.

APRIL.

1. Republican Invasion of Belgium.—The invasion of Belgium by Republicans from Paris came to a signal and ludicrous failure. The Government had been timely warned of the intended descent by M. Delesclazes, Provisional Commissioner of the Departement du Nord, who came from Lille to Quiverain, just within

the Belgian frontier, especially on the friendly office. A large body of troops and armed peasants (who are violently opposed to the notion of invasion by French Republicanism) assembled at the station, ready to pounce on the train. The first train started from Paris on Friday; and, by some misarrangement of commissariat, the travellers were disappointed of food at Douay. A few loaves were got in some way, and scrambled for by the famished patriots. They left Douay half frozen and starved, with a faint attempt at the "Marsellaise." They had arranged to stop at Valenciennes; but an instant after their arrival an engine, which had approached from the Belgian frontier, attached itself to the train, set off with it, and, despite the curses of the travellers, drew them on to the station of Quiverain. About a hundred of them, shouting "*Sauve qui peut!*" leaped desperately from the train: some broke their legs, and were captured; others, more fortunate or more agile, scampered back to the French territory, and escaped. Upwards of eight hundred were safely drawn into the siding at the station, and quietly taken into custody by the troops and peasants: they were marched off in gangs of half a dozen, some to confinement, others to the obscurity of their native villages, others (chiefly French and English) back to the French frontier. Subsequent trains were served in the same way; but, the trap becoming known, the later arrivals were stopped safely at Valenciennes; about three thousand have arrived there, and were scattered on the frontier villages, unable to get on to Antwerp or back to Paris.

Some of the Belgian artisans professed to have joined the expedition simply as a means of travelling home gratis.

— Shipwreck.—The *Waratah*, bound to Sydney, was encountered by the *Norwegian* bark, in a desperate condition, on the 24th of March; but, in consequence of the state of the weather, it could render no assistance. The vessel was driven about for five days after the *Norwegian* was compelled to leave her, and she eventually went ashore on the island of Molene, 20 miles from Brest. In a few hours she was dashed to pieces. Eight only of the crew reached the land, which they gained by swimming. Ship and cargo are said to have been insured for 25,000*l*. The *Norwegian* only saved two cabin passengers.

The packet *West Point*, while on her passage from Liverpool to New York, on the 12th of February, was struck by lightning seven times within an hour, the electric fluid passing down the main-mast. The people felt the shocks severely, and by one of them two seamen were struck dead.

6. The Queen *v.* Gutteridge —*Warwick.*—This was a criminal information, on the prosecution of Dr. Lee, Bishop of Manchester, against Thomas Gutteridge, a surgeon of Birmingham, whose pertinacious opposition to his reverend opponent has been already mentioned (*See* Jan. 10). The misdemeanour alleged was the publication of a series of libels, charging the bishop, while head master of King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School at Birmingham, with intoxication, malversation, falsehood, and cruelty. The defendant pleaded "Not Guilty," and justification.

The trial occupied the court four entire days, when the evidence pro-

duced on behalf of the plaintiff was such as not only to show that the charges were utterly void of foundation, but to prove that the reverend gentlemen, by his piety, charity, learning, and meekness, was well worthy the apostolic charge to which Her Majesty has been pleased to nominate him. The defendant called a few witnesses, the chief of whom were a schoolmaster and his wife, who had been discharged for improper conduct.

The jury instantly found the defendant "Guilty" on all the issues.

8. THE DUNDRY MURDER, TAUNTON.—Benjamin Hazell, aged 18, and James Hazell, aged 15, were indicted for the wilful murder of Walsingham Hazell, on the 17th of January last, at Dundry.

The deceased was a farmer, about 64 years of age, residing at a farmhouse at Dundry; the inmates of his house being himself, his sisters, the two prisoners at the bar, who were his nephews, his grandchild, and a farm workman of the name of Vowles. On Monday, the 17th of January, the deceased dined with his two nephews about one o'clock. After dinner, according to his usual custom, he took his cup of cider and smoked his pipe; and shortly afterwards he left his house, and, as it turned out, never to return to it alive. About half-past three o'clock that afternoon he was seen to go along the rick-barton in the direction of the colt-house, where he joined the two prisoners. That was the last time he was seen a living man. As the deceased did not come into his house that evening, persons were sent in search of him, and that search was continued during the following day; no tidings, however, could be heard of him. On the Thursday, however, it seemed that some man had had a dream that the body had been found in an old well on the premises. This well had not been searched, because it had a wooden covering, upon which was a very large stone, and, as this did not appear to have been removed, and as no suspicion was then entertained about a murder, it was evident that the deceased could not have fallen in or have thrown himself into that well. This dream was communicated to a man named Capel, who worked upon Hazell's premises, and, in consequence, he and others went to the well and took away the stone and removed the wooden covering, and upon looking down into the well they perceived something which induced them to let Capel down, and at the bottom he found the body of his deceased master. It was drawn up, and a surgeon was sent for. He examined the head, and found upon it several very severe wounds, many of which would have caused death. There was a great deal of blood upon the clothes and face, and in the blood were sticking a quantity of hay seeds, which induced the surgeon to consider that the death must have taken place in the stable, or somewhere where there was hay. This led to a minute examination of the stable, which was very dark. Under the manger blood was seen. Upon scraping there a loose brick was found, and upon taking that up a pool of blood was seen under the spot where the brick had been. The lower parts of the stone wall were saturated with blood. It was now evident that the deceased had been murdered in the stable, and afterwards thrown into the well. The search now, therefore, was renewed with far greater particularity than heretofore. The original search had been to discover the deceased,

either dead or alive; it was now with a view of finding out a most fearful scene of blood and murder. In the stable there was a kind of ladder, which appeared to have been used in dragging or carrying the body from the stable to the well. In the thatch of the loft above the stable the umbrella of the deceased had been thrust, and this umbrella the deceased was carrying at the time he was last seen in the rick-barton. In a dungheap in the yard a very large stick – a most formidable weapon —was found; on it was blood, and two or three gray hairs were sticking to the blood.

The prisoners were in custody at Bedminster, they were confined in two separate cells, which were 44 feet apart—the officers were instructed not to listen to what prisoners said, but, if they spoke so loud that they could not avoid hearing them, the officers were to take down what was said in writing. On one occasion the prisoners were talking very loud, and then the officer drew near and listened, and heard James say, "They 've not found out anything against us yet, have they?" Benjamin said, "No; nor they can't do it, and I hope we shall be at liberty to-morrow." James said, "I hope to the Lord we shall." Benjamin said, "Mind, if they ask us anything, we did not see him after he left the colt-house door and went out of the barton-gate, between 3 and 4 o'clock; and if they ask us whether we know the umbrella, we don't know it; and if they ask us what colour it is, we don't know." James said, "It 's that Paul Stallard that 's getting all he can against us." Benjamin said, "Any one else could put that stick and umbrella where Jack Hull found them, to make people believe we did it." On a subsequent occasion, the 31st of January, James said, "I hope we shall be let loose on Wednesday." Benjamin said, "I hope we shall." James said, "They can't bring it right yet, can 'em?" Benjamin said, "They can't bring it in that we did it." On the 1st of February Benjamin said, "Mind what he told us." It was stated that there had never been any quarrel between the deceased and the prisoners, but that the deceased had, shortly before his death, expressed his satisfaction of the prisoners' conduct. No motive whatever was suggested as inducing the prisoners to commit such an act.

The Jury found the prisoners "Not Guilty."

— The Chartist Rioters.—*Central Criminal Court.*—Fifteen persons, mostly youths of from 13 to 20 years of age, were indicted for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Thomas Gray, and stealing eight gold chains, value 22*l.*; 16 pairs of spectacles, value 13*l.*; 28 brooches, value 48*l.*; 200 watches, value 300*l.*; 187 rings, value 100*l.*; and other articles of jewellery, his property.

Mr. Bodkin, who conducted the prosecution, said the prisoners were all charged with the offence of forcibly breaking into the house of one of her Majesty's subjects, and stripping it of its contents; and it would be idle to attempt to conceal from them that the act in question was the result or rather a corollary of a political meeting of a particular character, which was held on Kennington Common on Monday, the 13th of March; and, under the circumstances, the Government felt it to be their duty to conduct the present prosecution.

The right of meeting to petition

the Crown and Legislature was no doubt a most important privilege, but, like all other privileges, it was subject to restriction by the common and statute law of the land; and if such meetings were conducted in a manner to excite alarm in the minds of Her Majesty's subjects, and to give an opportunity to persons such as they saw before them to commit offences of this description, it was perfectly clear that the law could not permit them to be continued, and that, indeed, they ought not to be permitted to continue in any civilized country. Whatever were the avowed objects of the persons calling these meetings, it must be perfectly clear to them, that the assemblage of large numbers of persons in a metropolis like this would necessarily give an opportunity to that numerous class of persons which generally were to be found in such places, and who preferred to live by plunder and violence rather than adopt any honest pursuit, to profit by the alarm and terror which such assemblages were sure to create, to plunder the public. It was comparatively easy for such persons to separate themselves from the main body of the meeting, and to proceed in bodies of 400 and 500, spreading terror and dread wherever they went, and robbing Her Majesty's subjects. That was the case in the present instance. A body of 400 or 500 rabble separated from the meeting at Kennington Common, and among them were the prisoners. They proceeded to Southampton Street, Camberwell, and in that street the prosecutor, who is a pawnbroker, carried on his business. He had received an intimation of the approach of the mob, and took the precaution of closing his shop, and about 12 o'clock in the day he had retired with his family to a private house adjoining his shop, but with which there was an internal communication. The first notification he received of any intention of violence was finding the fan-light smashed in over his door, and very soon afterwards the mob smashed in the whole front of the shop, forced their way in, made themselves masters of the place, and before anything could be done to prevent them, the police of the district having been called away to a position nearer to the place of the intended meeting, the whole of the valuable property on the spot, and which was estimated to be worth nearly 1,000*l.*, was carried away, and none of it had since been recovered. He should not be able to trace the possession of any of the property to the prisoners, but he should show that the whole of them were present when the attack was made upon the house, or immediately afterwards; and he apprehended that the principle of law was that all persons who were present and assisted in carrying out an unlawful act of this description, by such presence were aiders and abettors in the offence, and were all equally guilty in the eye of the law.

Mr. T. Gray spoke to the circumstances under which the attack was made upon his house. He said that, having secured the door and shutters of his shop, he had retired to his private residence adjoining, when he heard the mob coming down the street. The first thing they did was to break the fanlight over the door, and after this they retreated a short distance, when he heard some one say, "Let's make a smash and go in here," and the mob immediately began to batter down the shutters

and door with hatchets, bars of iron, hammers, and other weapons, and they soon forced their way in. The prosecutor ran out the back way to fetch the police, and when he returned the work of demolition was complete, and he found his shop stripped of everything it contained—watches, rings, brooches, money, all had been removed, the value being estimated at more than 900*l*. Other evidence was given connecting the prisoners with the outrage.

The jury acquitted four of the prisoners, and found all the others *guilty*.

Two of them, who were known thieves, and had twice before been convicted, were sentenced to be transported for 14 years; the others, to transportation for 7 years.

— Piracy and Massacre on the General Wood. — Intelligence has been received of the loss, in January last, of the *General Wood*, convict ship, having on board 91 Chinese convicts, a party of soldiers, and some passengers. It was at first stated that the ship had foundered, and that all hands were lost; but, upon further inquiry, it turned out that the ship was run aground by the convicts themselves, after a successful mutiny. The convicts, armed with wood billets, got access to the arms-chest, and then slaughtered every officer and Lascar aboard, except one or two whom they made to steer the ship. The captain lost presence of mind, and was slain early; but the second mate, a youth named Gills, fought with extraordinary determination, and slew numbers of his assailants before he was disabled. Lieutenant Seymour and his wife were saved, as passengers; the first having been driven overboard, and forced to hang in the water by the rudder for a whole night. The ship was run aground on rocks near the island of Bungarow: the greater part of the convicts were recaptured by the Malays, and put under guard for the English authorities. Some thirty, however, gained boats, and escaped; but, pursuit from Singapore and Penang being immediately set on foot, the runaways were hunted down and nearly all recaptured.

10. The Great Chartist Demonstration.—A very painful feeling had for some time past pervaded the metropolis, and the greatest anxiety was felt in every part of the country, owing to the determination of the leaders of the chartists to have a grand demonstration of their forces. The pretence for this assemblage was the presentation to Parliament of the great national petition, the signatures to which were said to number nearly five millions! The meeting was appointed to take place on Kennington Common, by the general assembly of all the chartists in the kingdom, not by delegation, but by their personal individual presence. The numbers to be collected together were estimated at 150,000. Whatever confidence the community might feel in the stability of our institutions, it was impossible to view without alarm so immense a multitude; and, considering the lamentable occurrences in nearly every capital in Europe, no man could pretend to guess what might be the fortuitous results of the assemblage. The real leaders of the multitude were probably no ways desirous of a national convulsion, but many of the chief speakers had held language which proved them ready for any mischief.

The Government were resolved to check this great danger by the most firm and resolute proceedings. Some days previous, the following notice was extensively placarded throughout London :—

"Notice.

"Whereas the assemblage of large numbers of people, accompanied with circumstances tending to excite terror and alarm in the minds of her Majesty's subjects, is criminal and unlawful:

"And whereas not only those persons who take an active part in such assemblage, but those also who by their presence wilfully countenance it, are acting contrary to law, and are liable to punishment; and whereas, by an act of Parliament, passed in the 13th year of the reign of his late Majesty King Charles II., entitled "An act against tumults and disorders, upon pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty in the Parliament," it was enacted, that no person or persons whatsoever shall repair to his Majesty, or both or either of the Houses of Parliament, upon pretence of presenting or delivering any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other addresses, accompanied with excessive numbers of people, nor at any one time with above the number of ten persons:

"And whereas a meeting has been called to assemble on Monday next, the 10th instant, at Kennington Common, and it is announced, in the printed notices calling such meeting, that it is intended by certain persons to repair thence in procession to the House of Commons, accompanied with excessive numbers of the people, upon pretence of presenting a petition to the Commons House of Parliament; and whereas information has been received that persons have been advised to procure arms and weapons, with the purpose of carrying the same in such procession; and whereas such proposed procession is calculated to excite terror and alarm in the minds of her Majesty's subjects:—

"All persons are hereby cautioned and strictly enjoined not to attend or take part in or be present at any such assemblage or procession.

"And all well-disposed persons are hereby called upon and required to aid in enforcing the provisions of the law, and effectually to protect the public peace, and suppress any attempt at the disturbance thereof.

"C. Rowan,
"R. Mayne,
"Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis.
"Metropolitan Police Office,
Whitehall Place, April 6, 1848."

The measures of the Government were equally forbearing and resolute. It was announced that no opposition would be made to the constitutional right of meeting to petition, nor to the proper presentation of the petition; the meeting would be allowed to be held, but if the assemblage should attempt to pass in its return in an organized procession, Her Majesty's Government were resolved to stop so dangerous and illegal a proceeding by force of arms.

Great preparations were accordingly made. The inhabitants generally, along the lines of thoroughfare converging to Kennington Common, kept close houses—doors and windows shut, and in some instances barricaded for stout defence. The measures of Government, devised and personally worked by the Duke of Wellington, were on a large and complete scale, though so arranged as not to obtrude themselves needlessly on the view. The Thames' bridges were the main points of concentration; bodies of foot and horse police, and assistant masses of special constables, being posted at their approaches on either side. In the immediate neighbourhood of each of them, within call, a strong force of military was kept ready for instant movement—at Blackfriars Bridge, Chelsea Pensioners, &c.; at Waterloo Bridge, Horse Guards, Marines, &c.; at Westminster Bridge, horse, foot, and artillery. Two regiments of

the line were kept in hand at Milbank Penitentiary; 1200 infantry at Deptford Dockyards, and thirty pieces of heavy field ordnance at the Tower, all ready for transport by hired steamers, to any spot where serious business might threaten. At other places, also, bodies of troops were posted, out of sight, but within sudden command,—as in the great area of the untenanted Rose Inn Yard, at the end of Farringdon Street; in the inclosure of Bridewell Prison; and in several points of 'vantage immediately round Kennington Common itself. The public offices at the West End, at Somerset House, and in the City, were profusely furnished with arms; and such places as the Bank of England were packed with troops and artillery, and strengthened with sandbag parapets on their walls and timber barricadings of their windows, each pierced with loop-holes for the fire of defensive musketry.

In addition to the regular civil and military force, it is credibly estimated that at least 170,000 special constables were sworn and organized throughout the metropolis, for the stationary defence of their own districts, or as moveable bodies to cooperate with the soldiery and police.

"The Chartists," or those intending to figure in that character, assembled at various points—Russell Square, Finsbury Square, Clerkenwell Green, Whitechapel, &c., at about nine o'clock, and so timed their movements that the whole body passed successively over Blackfriars and London Bridges in very good order. The most numerous single body was one of about 6000, which passed over London Bridge from the eastern districts; but the most attractive was that of about 1700, which accompanied "the National Convention" from its hall, in John Street, Fitzroy Square.

"The Convention" held a sitting in the morning, after which they took their places in the great car prepared to convey them to the Common; Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Ernest Jones in the front rank. The car was so spacious that the whole Convention, and all the reporters who attended it, found easy accommodation. It was drawn by six fine horses. Another car, drawn by four horses, contained the monster petition to Parliament for the enactment of the People's Charter. Banners, with appropriate Chartist sentences and devices, were abundant; one, of a singular character, bearing these words only—"And Guizot laughed immoderately." The Convention passed down Holborn, over Blackfriars Bridge, and arrived without any incident at Kennington Common. The great mass of their adherents were already assembled.

At first view the Common appeared covered with human beings; after drawing into their station, however, and the concentration of the scattered people, the meeting must have seemed, even to the delegates themselves, a numerical failure. The accounts of the numbers present take the usual licence of variation, from 15,000 to 150,000. The opinions of military men, who specifically estimated the meeting on behalf of Government, give as an extreme estimate for those who in any way joined the meeting on the Common, 23,000; the additional persons on every point within sight of the Common, some seven to ten thousand more.

The two cars having taken position, a police inspector, of gigantic stature and good-natured aspect,

was seen pressing through the crowd towards Mr. O'Connor's vehicle. Arrived there, he delivered a message, that the Commissioners of Police desired Mr. O'Connor's attendance for a short time, near the Horns Tavern. Mr. O'Connor alighted immediately, with Mr. M'Grath, and passed through the crowd, the inspector swaying through the masses as if merely striding through corn in a field. As they went, a cry was raised by some that the leader was deserting; others imagined that he was arrested; and a desperate rush was made at Mr. O'Connor and Mr. M'Grath, apparently with very fierce intentions. Both the gentlemen's faces blanched visibly, and at one moment they seemed nigh to fainting. They were protected, however, by those near them, and got safely to Mr. Commissioner Mayne. It was intimated by Mr. Mayne, that the meeting had been intentionally allowed to assemble on the Common, and that it would not be interfered with if Mr. O'Connor would engage for its peaceable character; but that a return in procession would be stopped at all hazards, and by adequate means. Mr. O'Connor engaged for the peace of the meeting, giving his hand to Mr. Mayne in pledge, and then returned to his place in the car.

This resolute announcement had the effect of completely stopping all the intended proceedings. Some squabbling took place among the leaders, and a few fiery zealots among the crowd harangued their neighbours in violent language; but the meeting broke up in the most desultory manner; the banners and flags were rolled up, and the great petition consigned to the humble conveyance of three cabs, to be taken to the Commons House of Parliament.

On the return of the general Chartist crowd towards town, they found the police drawn up on the bridges and approaches, in deep ranks, and all passage denied. The bridges were closed for a considerable time, and there was much struggling and violent endeavour to force a crossing. Some slight combating ensued, and in a few instances heads were broken. After a time, however, the crowd were turned back, and manœuvred into detached masses; and then small parties of not more than ten each were allowed to pass. Soon after three o'clock all violence had subsided, and the great mass of processionists and spectators passed away.

Thus ended, amidst scorn and ridicule, a demonstration which was well calculated to overthrow all the existing institutions of the state, and reduce this country to the anarchy of the continental states.

The event of this day produced a most powerful effect, not only in England, but throughout Europe. The dangerous assemblage was put down, not by the troops, nor even by the police, but *by the people* themselves—by the zealous and almost unanimous determination of all classes that such proceedings should not be permitted.

The finishing blow to the mischievous designs of the Chartists was given by the result of the presentation of the so-called National Petition. In the House of Commons the petition underwent a scrutiny which its presenters had not calculated upon. A very cursory glance reduced the number of signatures from five millions to about a million and a half. Of

these no small number were impudent impositions; the Duke of Wellington's name was attached to it seventeen times, that of Colonel Sibthorp about a dozen times, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Her Majesty, and Prince Albert, and many other great personages, according to this veracious document, were numbered among the warmest supporters of the Charter—so warm, indeed, that they had each appended their signature several times. A large number of apparent signatures turned out to be obscene and disgusting words, cant phrases, and gross ribaldry. The presentation led to a personal squabble between Mr. Cripps and Mr. Feargus O'Connor, and the thing and its concoctors were covered with scorn and ridicule.

— Wreck of an Emigrant Ship; great Loss of Life.—Intelligence has been received of the loss of the English emigrant ship *Omega*, 1277 tons, which sailed from Liverpool on the 16th of January last, with 315 emigrants for New York; and also that of the *Barbara*, of Nova Scotia.

The *Omega*, besides 315 emigrants on board, had a crew of about 30 hands. During the first two weeks of her voyage the weather was extremely fine; but she subsequently encountered severe gales, lost her masts and spars, and became unmanageable. On the 17th of February she was fallen in with by the bark *Aurora*, from Wales, bound to St. John's, New Brunswick, in ballast. It was decided that the passengers and crew of the *Omega* should be put on board of the bark; about 130 of the passengers got on board; but the weather became tempestuous, and one of the boats of the *Omega*, containing the second mate and four of the crew, was swamped, and all in her perished. For several days more the *Omega* continued to be driven about, when she was fallen in with by the brig *Barbara*, of Nova Scotia, on her passage to Cork from New York, with a cargo of Indian corn. The master instantly offered all assistance in his power; and, to render that assistance most effective, he caused part of his cargo to be thrown overboard, to make room for the emigrants, of whom 150 were got on board, together with two casks of water. This had hardly been accomplished when a gale sprang up, and the *Barbara*, for her own safety, was obliged to leave the *Omega*, with the master, mate, and eight seamen, and 25 passengers still on board. The *Barbara* was soon lost sight of. Two days afterwards a third vessel bore down to her assistance, namely the British bark *Highland Mary*, from Liverpool. With considerable difficulty the remainder of the emigrants, with Mr. Carrick, the commander, and his crew, were rescued from the ill-fated vessel.

The *Aurora* arrived at Halifax on the 29th of February, having lost 70 of her ill-fated passengers from privation and over-crowding.

The most distressing event, however, is yet to be detailed. When the vessel *Barbara* met with the *Omega*, the former had but a few days' supply of water; and as they succeeded in getting only two casks from the wreck, the large addition to the number of her crew caused the want of this most necessary article to be immediately and severely felt—so much so, indeed, that many were compelled to eat ice and drink salt water. At this critical period a home-bound steamer

hove in sight, when signals of distress were made. The steamer bore down to within 10 or 15 yards of the *Barbara*, when the master of the latter vessel acquainted the steamer that there were 150 persons on board dying for want of water. The gale was too high for communication, and the steamer could only signalize that land was close at hand. The wind, however, was blowing off the land so strongly at the time that it was impossible to make it. She then bore for the small harbour of Rencios; but in the course of the night, in wearing ship, she lost two boats. On the weather somewhat moderating, she succeeded in gaining the harbour; and the captain, seeing several boats near, requested them to obtain the assistance of some pilots, in order to place the vessel in safe anchorage. The boats went ashore, and on their return announced the refusal of the pilots to come off. The captain then attempted a course for St. John's, and in doing so, it is supposed, mistook Heart's Point (near Petty Harbour) for Cape Spear, where they became becalmed, and were carried by the current ashore. 20 of the passengers contrived to gain the cliffs by crawling along the bowsprit. The tide and the wind carried the vessel further up the coast; she struck heavily on the edge of a rock, and stove her bottom in. 30 more passengers managed to reach the rocks in safety; but immediately afterwards the vessel fell over on her side, went down, and carried with her 115 men, women, and children, all of whom perished. Many of those who succeeded in gaining the shore before the vessel struck, perished in the course of the following night from exhaustion and exposure to an intense frost. It is sad to relate that, had the emigrants remained on board the *Omega*, they would probably have been all saved; for the vessel was afterwards fallen in with perfectly sound.

17. Murder in Westminster.—William Tomkins, aged 25, a man in the employment of Mr. Thorne, the extensive ale and porter brewer, was examined at the Westminster Police Court, charged with the wilful murder of Maria Eadon, 27 years old, by stabbing her with a knife in the neck on Sunday morning last.

The prisoner, who had been in a very low, desponding state since the moment that he was taken into custody, on being brought into court trembled from head to foot. He was so agitated on ascending the steps of the dock that he was compelled to sit down, in which position he remained during the greater part of the examination.

Alexander Robson, 170 B.—About 20 minutes to one o'clock yesterday morning I was on duty in Regent Street, Westminster, and hearing "Police" called in Vincent Street, I ran to the spot, and was told by the witness Keene that a man had stabbed a woman. I went to the place pointed out, the gutter of the street, and found a woman dying. She was insensible. She was not bleeding. We took her to Mr. Pearse, the surgeon of the B division, who found that she was dead. She was afterwards conveyed to St. Margaret's workhouse.

Arthur Keene, Royal department of Engineers, 11, Page Street, Westminster.—At about half-past 12, on Sunday morning, I was at the corner of Vincent Street and Regent Street, when I heard a faint cry or screech, but nothing that would attract any suspicion. I

went down Vincent Street in the direction from which the cry proceeded, and I saw a figure at a dark part of the street, but in consequence of the darkness I can't say whether it was a man or woman. I crossed over and went in the direction of the figure. At the far end of the street was a court. As I approached I saw the deceased woman lying on her face, with her feet near the kerb stone, and her head two or three feet from it. Her arms were under her as she lay, and she was completely, as may be said, buried on the ground. I passed her about a yard, when I saw the prisoner standing between the pier of the gateway and a post in the entrance to the court. I asked him what he had been doing to her? He gave me no answer, but came out a pace or two towards me. I repeated my question, but received no answer. I asked "Was she his wife? and why he did not lift her up?" He went a few feet towards her. I had almost forgotten to say, that, before I asked whether she was his wife, she raised herself very feebly about six inches from the ground, but sank again immediately. After walking towards her as I have stated, he said, "Maria, why don't you get up?" I kept close to them; and he then turned round to me and said, "I have killed her; I have stabbed her with that knife," exhibiting a knife in his left hand.

[A formidable clasp knife was produced, which witness said resembled the one he saw in prisoner's hand.]

He said "I have stabbed her with this knife," making a motion with the knife at the time. I waited a short time for assistance, and while I was waiting he said, "Call the police, I'll give myself up." The police and others had then come up, and lifted deceased up against the wall. She was alive, and opened her eyes. We brought her over to the lamp to examine her, and on opening her dress discovered a wound below the throat, a little towards the left breast. It was such a wound as this knife would make. Other evidence was given by which it appeared that the prisoner did not attempt to deny his guilt, and he was finally committed for trial. He was tried May 18th and found guilty. His sentence was commuted to transportation.

19. Attempted Suicide of Tom Steele.—Poor Tom Steele, O'Connell's "head pacificator," in the days when that crafty politician kept Ireland in a state of constant agitation, hopeless of his country's regeneration, and worn out with anxiety on her behalf, attempted to destroy himself by precipitating himself from Waterloo Bridge into the Thames. At a few minutes before seven o'clock in the evening, the unfortunate man was observed to alight from a cab in Wellington Street, and to pass on to the bridge. On arriving at the second recess from the Middlesex side, he stopped suddenly, took off his cap,—the celebrated cap with which his friend O'Connell crowned him in by-gone days,—and, mounting the parapet, threw himself into the river. Happily a waterman was passing through the bridge at the moment the unfortunate man entered the water; he immediately pulled towards him, and with some difficulty at length succeeded in getting him into his boat. The unfortunate gentleman was taken ashore at the Strand Lane Stairs, and thence conveyed to King's College Hos-

pital. There can be no doubt that the veteran agitator had contemplated the rash act for some hours, at least, as he had been occupied during the chief part of the day in writing letters at Peel's coffee-house, an establishment he was in the habit of occasionally frequenting. Within his cap, which, as above stated, he placed on the bridge before he threw himself over, was a small piece of paper sealed to the lining with black wax, on which was written—"Tom Steele, county of Clare, Ireland." That Tom Steele never, like O'Connell and some others, made agitation a trade, may be gathered from the fact that when he came of age he entered on a beautiful estate of 15,000*l.* or 16,000*l.* a year, in the county of Clare. Twenty years of amateur agitation brought him to the Insolvent Debtors' Court, in Dublin, where he was opposed by the present Member for Ennis, the O'Gorman Mahon. Having taken the benefit of the Act, he came to England, and has since been living upon an allowance out of his estate. Mr. Steele took high honours at Cambridge, and is a member of the Senate of that University. The shock upon the system, combined with anxiety and depression, proved fatal, and the unfortunate gentleman never rallied, but expired very shortly after. It is pleasing to relate that, notwithstanding Mr. Steele's many errors, his upright character had won so much esteem, that his necessities were relieved and his last hours cheered by the generosity and attention of some of those against whom his political hostility had been most inveterately directed.

21. Form of Prayer for Peace.—In order that this people as a nation might not be wanting in a general and national acknowledgment of the great disorder and jeopardy in which we are at this time placed by the machinations of the evil-disposed, and by the convulsions which agitate foreign countries, Her Majesty has directed the following Form of Prayer to Almighty God for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity to be offered up, immediately before the General Thanksgiving, in all churches in England and Ireland on this day "Good Friday," and on the four Sundays following:—

"O God, whose never failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth; we Thine unworthy servants most humbly beseech Thee to continue Thy favour to this land, and to preserve us alike from foreign enemies and domestic divisions. We acknowledge, O Lord, that if Thou wert to deal with us after our sins, or reward us according to our iniquities, we might most justly have fallen under Thy wrath and indignation. For in our prosperity we have too much forgotten Thee; other lords besides Thee have had dominion over us; we have offended against Thy holy laws, and have not glorified Thee, in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways. Thou hast said in Thy Holy Word, that, when Thy judgments are upon the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness; and now we beseech Thee so to incline the hearts of the people of this land, that they may bear one another's burthens, and follow the things that make for peace, and have love one towards another. And do Thou, Lord, of Thy great mercy, restore to us such prosperity, that we may not sow much, and bring in little,

but that Thou mayest bless us in whatsoever we set our hand unto; and that our people may eat their own bread with quietness. Above all, teach us so to acknowledge Thee, the Author and Giver of all good, that we may live in Thy faith and fear, setting our affections on things above, and seeking first Thy heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

22. Destructive Fire at Limehouse.—A most disastrous fire occurred in the midst of a large pile of buildings situated in Church Row, Limehouse, and occupied respectively by Baron Wetterstadt, patentee of ships' signal lights; Mr. Taylor, boat-builder; and Mr. Horne, sail manufacturer. The premises, which were nearly 100 feet wide, were three or four floors in height, and so strong a hold had the fire obtained before its existence became known, that it is impossible to tell in which compartment the flames began.

About nine o'clock in the evening, some persons living opposite Mr. Taylor's premises discovered flames issuing from the lower floor. An immediate alarm was given, but the stock in trade with which the premises were stored proved such a powerful auxiliary to the flames, that scarcely ten minutes elapsed before the immense pile became wrapped in a general sheet of fire. The buildings, for the most part, were composed of timber, which readily fed the flame, and before an engine had time to get to the place, the public thoroughfare was cut off by the flames extending completely over the carriage road. The inmates of the houses on the opposite side of the road made an attempt to remove their furniture to a more distant part for protection, but before they had time to save a single article, the flames fired the roofs, penetrated the windows, and in an instant the furniture in all the front rooms, as if by magic, burst forth into a body of fire. The scene at that period became one of awful grandeur, the whole of the manufacturing premises in which the disaster commenced were blazing away with the greatest impetuosity, and the houses on the other side of the road, were burning with equal violence.

The engines arrived, but not until the first named premises were so entirely destroyed, that very soon after they got to work the whole of the front walls, roofs, and floorings of the factories gave way, and had very nearly buried the engines and firemen under the burning mass. The fire was not got under without great difficulty.

— Shipwrecks.—Intelligence has been received of the loss of the *Nabob* East Indiaman, homeward bound, on the Ecrehou Rocks on the French coast, off Jersey, having been driven out of her course and reckoning by stress of weather. Eleven persons out of the crew of twenty-one were lost by the capsizing of the boats. The loss in the ship and cargo will fall little short, it is said, of 50,000*l*.

The *Philomela*, on her voyage from Monte Video to England, took fire, and was abandoned by her people. They were forced into a small open boat, with less than a cask of water and two bags of biscuit for a voyage of 1,500 miles. After fourteen days of tossing between life and death, the

crew fell in with a Surinam ship, and were rescued.

24. Another Demonstration.—Another attempt was made to manifest popular discontent against the existing order of things, which would not deserve record, had it not afforded another proof of the discredit and contempt into which such demonstrations have fallen in this country. Mr. Cochrane, the late candidate for Westminster, and of other notoriety, announced a demonstration against the Poor Law, and a procession of 50,000 people to present a memorial to Sir George Grey. Mr. Cochrane made his appearance in Leicester Square, accompanied by a huge van, adorned with daubs pretending to illustrate scenes in a workhouse, wretchedly executed, and not very decent. From Leicester Square Mr. Cochrane proceeded with about 300 vagabonds to Trafalgar Square, and there commenced an address to *the people*. The police were here on the alert, and by keeping moving, and by compelling the bystanders to keep moving also, prevented the collection of a gaping crowd. Mr. Cochrane, thus disappointed of an audience, drove down a by-street to the Home Office. Sir George Grey *was out*, and the petition was left with the clerks.

— Arming of the Chartists in the North.—Some anxiety has been felt, arising from reported extensive arming of the Chartists in the North of England and Scotland. At Aberdeen a very tumultuary procession took place, on occasion of electing a delegate to the "National Convention" now sitting in London. The mob, consisting of several thousand persons, marched in procession on two consecutive nights, very seditious harangues were uttered, a national guard voted, and an extensive armament proposed. Although these and other threatened proceedings came to nothing, sufficient disaffection was shown to prove the necessity of the loyal and well-disposed to be on the alert. Large bodies of persons of all classes, in all the towns in the kingdom, came readily forward to be sworn as special constables, and it clearly appeared that the force of numbers was not on the side of the disaffected.

— Ireland.—In this distracted portion of the empire, to which the success of the Continental risings against their governments might be supposed to offer an irresistible example, and the disturbances in England give prospect of a successful issue, the crisis passed away without any noticeable event. The rebel journals, indeed, made the most of the text, and teemed with the most furious invective and inflated bombast, meetings were held, and rebellion opened its mouth wide, but nothing followed. This state of inaction may be accounted for in two ways—by the alertness and strength of the Government and its forces, and by the prudent forbearance of the Irish leaders, whose plans, tending to an organized rising, were not sufficiently matured to take advantage of a sudden outburst.

30. The Irish Movement.—An affray of a very amusing kind, and highly characteristic of the warm Celtic blood, and of the rash dissensions now existing in Ireland, is described to have taken place in Limerick. Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchell, the leaders of the Young Ireland, or *physical force* party, were in-

vited to a *soirée* by the members of the Sarsfield Confederation Club, one of the societies now breathing rebellion, blood, and slaughter. This *soirée* the Old Irelanders, or *moral force* party, resolved to interrupt, and attacked the building in Thomas Street, in which the meeting was held, by the physical force of shots, stones, and missiles of every description. The doors were smashed in, the windows broken, and this proving insufficieut, tar-barrels were procured, and the building set on fire. For this exhibition of physical force on the part of the moral force party, the physical force party were by no means prepared; and, as their opponents had used the weapons they had thought peculiar to themselves, they were obliged to take up those which should have characterized the opposite party; they therefore made an effectual use of the moral force of running away, which they were enabled to do by the assistance of the Saxon police and local authorities, but not before many severe injuries had been received by several of the party. Mr. O'Brien got a black eye, and was otherwise injured; and, being naturally disgusted with this ungrateful usage, resigned his seat for the county. This very Irish occurrence affords a sorrowful indication of the fearful strifes which will probably ensue should the Irish ever succeed in throwing off the salutary government of the hated Saxon.

— The Cobden Testimonial. —The Committee of the Cobden Testimonial Fund have rendered a statement of the result. It appeared that the amount subscribed was 79,000*l.*; from which 4,800*l.* had to be deducted for expenses; leaving a balance of 74,000*l*, to be placed at Mr. Cobden's disposal. Of the amount subscribed, the whole had been collected except about 2000*l.*, and of that arrear 1500*l.* would yet be received. Some portion of the money had been invested, with Mr. Cobden's consent; and a moiety had been expended in the purchase of an estate known as Mr. Cobden's birth-place. It was resolved to authorize the treasurers, when the accounts should have been audited, to place the entire fund at the absolute disposal of Mr. Cobden, and to request them to transmit to the subscribers generally a copy of the accounts as audited, with Mr. Cobden's acknowledgment of the receipt of the money.

Commercial Affairs. — The aspect of mercantile affairs exhibited a great and continual improvement throughout the month. The Three per Cents., although experiencing continued fluctuations, maintained a steady range between 80 and 83, leaving off at the higher figure; Exchequer Bills were quoted throughout at the high premium of 44*s.* It was not, however, until the Chartist demonstration had proved abortive, that this great improvement was assured. Monetary affairs improved rapidly, and in particular Railway Shares, which had fallen very greatly, owing to apprehensions that the rioters would destroy the rails and intercept the traffic, rose with equal rapidity, some lines rising 5*l.* to 10*l.* per share in a day. It was, however, in the foreign funds that the greatest improvement was experienced, when the result of the apprehended disturbances became known; a fact which proves the feverish anxiety of the continental nations, lest this country, now the sole repository of

credit and capital, should be exposed to disasters similar to their own. The safety of England being ascertained, the foreign funds immediately rallied. This was instanced in a very remarkable manner in the French funds; the Rentes, which closed on Saturday at 53, rose, when the news was received, to 61, and business was again done. This restoration of foreign credit satisfactorily explains an otherwise unfavourable circumstance. The bullion in the Bank, which at the beginning of the month amounted to 15,316,794*l.* underwent a constant diminution to 15,210,866*l.*, 14,602,431*l.*, 13,764,254*l.*, 13,228,341*l.* This is explained by the fact, that, as the time approached for the payment of commercial bills at Paris, deferred by a decree of the Provisional Government, the coin which had been remitted to this country to abide the crisis was withdrawn in large quantities The Bank, foreseeing this demand, had purchased a very large amount of foreign coin; this being bought as *bullion*, and resold as *coined money*, yielded a very large profit. The most disastrous event of the month was the unprincipled confiscation of the Paris and Orleans Railway by the Provisional Government. In consequence, the shares, which in February were quoted at 48*l.*, fell to 16*l.* 10*s.*, and, similar steps in respect to the other railways being apprehended, French Railway shares became unsaleable, and an entire stop was put to railway enterprise in that country. The depreciation in the French Funds has been thus officially stated:—

Feb. 3, 1848, Paris Bourse—

Three per Cents.....	74 60
Five per Cents	117 25

April 3, 1848—

Three per Cents.....	35 50
Five per Cents	54 50

MAY.

— The Exhibition of the Royal Academy.—The exhibition of this year in no way falls behind its immediate predecessor, presenting many pictures of great merit, and some of high excellence. —Of historic pictures there was a great deficiency, and fortunately an equal scarcity of uninteresting portraits: but paintings of the landscape class were numerous, varied, and able; the story pictures admirable.

Among historic pictures the best are—"Cardinal Wolsey coming to Leicester Abbey to die," by Cope, and Charles Landseer's "Margaret of Anjou and the Robber of Hexham." Stanfield contributes some excellent works of his usual style, "Amalfi" and "Bridge of St. Benezet." Lee exhibits "The Broken Bridge," and a view "Above the Slate Quarries on the Ogwen," the joint production of himself and Sidney Cooper. Of the same class are "The Harvest Field," by Witherington; "Ruins of Hermonthes," by Roberts; "A Gravel Pit," by Mulready, painted in 1807, from a gravel pit *on the site of Russell Square;* Harding's "High Alps, as seen between Como and Lecco," and Linnell's "Eve of the Deluge." The richest portion of the exhibition is certainly the story class. Nothing can exceed the fine and natural truth of Landseer's "Alexander and Diogenes;" all the characters are *dogs*, with a ludicrous humanity of expression; nothing more pathetic than his "Random

Shot;" a hind laying dead on a snowy hill, with a fawn vainly seeking the maternal nutriment. Mulready's "Shepherd Boy and Dog," "Webster's "Internal Economy of Dotheboys Hall," and "The Rubber," by the same artist, and Mulready's "The Butt," are equally remarkable for their humour and truth. Mr. Herbert contributes a very beautiful picture, "St John the Baptist reproving Herod," a worthy companion to his fine picture of last year. Mr. Maclise's "Chivalry of the time of Henry VIII." Edwin Landseer's portrait of his venerable father; Eastlake's "Prisoners with Banditti," Ward's "Interview between Charles II. and Nell Gwyn" attracted and deserved much attention. The Sculpture Room presented little to excite interest.

— MURDER IN SPITALFIELDS.—A very mysterious murder has been committed in Spitalfields, by the strangulation of Henry Lazarus, a little boy, apparently for the sake of his clothes. His father is a Jew dealer, living in Tenter Street; on Monday evening, the boy was playing in the streets with two other children; when they were called in to be put to bed, Henry was missing; search was made for him during the night, but in vain. In the morning the lifeless body was found in a yard surrounded by houses, hidden behind a board placed against a wall: the boy had been strangled with the handkerchief which he wore round his neck; all his clothes, with the exception of the shirt and stockings, had been carried off; they were quite new. Sarah Rogers, a charwoman, was arrested, apparently from having said something about the disposal of the clothes. Nothing was found on her, or at her lodgings, of a suspicious nature; she was remanded, and, nothing further appearing, she was ulimately discharged. A half-witted lad gave information that he had seen two boys strangle the child, strip the body of the clothes, and hide it in the yard; one of these boys was apprehended, but the evidence was so untrustworthy that he was discharged. A young man next came forward, and from some unimaginable motive declared himself an accomplice in the murder, and told his tale so artfully, that he succeeded in keeping himself in prison for some time; but it was then ascertained that there was no truth in the story. The murder remains a mystery.

6. EXTRAORDINARY CHARGES AGAINST LORD LEIGH.—The Warwick magistrates have been engaged investigating some most preposterous charges of murder against Lord Leigh, his deceased mother, and persons employed by them. The accusation seems to have originated from the attempt of certain parties to seize Stoneleigh Abbey on pretence that it rightfully belonged to them and not to Lord Leigh: in November, 1844, a mob took possession of the place for one George Leigh; they were tried for the offence, and no fewer than twenty-eight were convicted. Richard Barnett made the charge of murder: in 1814, he was employed under Lady Julia Leigh and her son at the Abbey; a number of workmen were engaged in making alterations; four of these men were murdered by large stones having been allowed to fall on them, and their bodies were placed within an abutment of a bridge, and then inclosed with masonry. Another man was murdered by Hay, a keeper, who shot him. In cross-examina-

tion, this witness said he had kept silence on these atrocities for thirty years, because he feared Lord Leigh, and because he did not expect to obtain anything by speaking: he first divulged the secret to those who were trying to get the estate; he thought it would help them to get it, for the murders were committed to keep out the proper owners. John Wilcox was required to repeat evidence which he had given before a Master in Chancery: but instead of doing so, the man said he was not sober when he signed the declaration. This man, however, repeated a story how some servants of the Leigh family had burned pictures and had been paid to keep "the secrets of the house." Mr. Griffin, an attorney, deposed to taking down a deposition by one Shaw, since dead, in which the man had so far criminated himself that Mr. Griffin had laid the matter before the Home Secretary. The Bench dismissed the charge.

On a subsequent day, an application was made to Mr. Rushton, the stipendiary magistrate, to swear one Billing to some testimony respecting the charges made against Lord Leigh. Billing is the son of that Billing who was alleged to have been crushed and buried under the great stone of the bridge abutment. Mr. Rushton refused the application, as concerning a matter not in his jurisdiction: but the affidavits offered were read aloud in court. Billing deposed that his father was alive in 1825; and he produced a letter written by him in 1822, both dates being by years posterior to the date of the bridge transaction. Other facts of the story were also contradicted and circumstantially refuted by Billing. Some of the parties were indicted for perjury, and convicted.

— Chinese Junk.—A Chinese Junk is now in the East India Docks, having performed a voyage from China to this country, by way of the United States, with a Chinese crew, under the conduct of Capt. Kellett. This voyage not a little astonished the crew, who were merely accustomed to river navigation, and had no notion of losing sight of land. The junk, with all its equipments, warlike, ornamental, and religious, with its odd-looking Chinese crew, is now open to public view. One step across the planks, and you are in the midst of a Chinese world—you have quitted the Thames for the vicinity of Canton. Brilliant colours shine upon the spectator from every side, with all the formless gaiety which is peculiar to the Chinese. Gaudy shields, as weapons of defence, hang along the deck—and jingalls, a hybrid race between cannon and arquebusses, threaten on each side. If you would take a more concentrated view of Chinese existence, the grand saloon is fitted up as a sort of museum, with all sorts of curiosities; or you may turn into a neat little chapel containing the idols which those serious Orientals who lounge about the deck are in the habit of worshipping. The junk is so placed that the exterior may be viewed as well as the interior, and here another spectacle, equally odd and gorgeous with the first, is presented. To those who are curious in naval architecture, the construction of the vessel, which is on a principle totally different from that of any European ship, will afford an inexhaustible subject of interest. This curious vessel, which was brought to this country

as a speculation, attracted a great number of visitors; among them Her Majesty and Prince Albert and the royal children.

10. Frightful Accident at the Shrivenham Station, G. W. R.—A most frightful accident occurred at the Shrivenham Station of the Great Western Railway, by which seven persons lost their lives, and a great many were injured more or less seriously.

The Shrivenham station is situate within about six miles of Swindon, being midway between the latter station and Farringdon Road. There is a curve in the railway a short distance below the station, which obstructs the clear view of the line beyond a few hundred yards. The mid-day express train from Exeter does not stop at this station, and consequently dashes through at the very top of its speed, between 50 and 60 miles an hour. Upon this day the train was nearly half an hour behind its time; the porters who had, in rotation, gone to dinner returned to their duties, but were not informed by those whom they relieved that the train had not passed, and, after assisting a down-train which stopped at the station, went about other traffic business. One of them went to the goods shed for the purpose of assisting in unloading a truck of merchandise consigned to Mr. Kent, of Highworth. In order to get this particular truck in the required position under a crane, it was necessary to draw out nearly on to the main line an empty horse-box and a cattle-truck. This was done by Weybury and Willoughby together, assisted by a carter in the employ of Mr. Kent, and another person. While they were thus engaged, the horse-box being actually upon the main line, and the cattle-truck on the crossing immediately behind it, the approach of the express train was heard in the distance. The next moment it had passed beneath the bridge below the station, and in another instant it was within 150 yards of the crossing. Weybury vainly extended his hands, to give notice of the imminent danger of a collision; almost before he was observed by the driver of the express train the horse-box was shivered into a thousand pieces and thrown up on to the platform. At the same instant the buffer plank of the engine caught the off corner of the cattle-truck, which latter, standing upon the crossing, offered some resistance to the train. On the first blow from the engine this truck was turned completely round, one corner becoming jammed against the stone platform, while the other corner, opposing itself to the train, struck first the luggage van immediately behind the tender, and successively crushed more or less all the carriages which followed. One second class carriage—the third from the engine—was completely gutted, so to speak, and the passengers, nearly 30 in number, either thrown out upon the down line or doubled up among the broken timbers of which it consisted. Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the cattle-truck, it had no effect so far as regards stopping the train, the impetus upon which was so great that the driver was not able to bring up until he had gone nearly half a mile beyond the station. The cattle-truck, after having been nearly torn to pieces, was tossed up on to the platform, very near the spot where the horse-box had previously fallen. The box was cut completely off by the col-

lision, and thrown over on to the engine.

The scene presented in the vicinity of the station after the train had passed is described to have been most awful. The ground for several yards about the station was strewed with dead and wounded persons, whose groans and shrieks were of the most dreadful character. Only four or five persons were at the station when the collision took place, and for the moment they were so paralyzed as to be unable to offer any effectual assistance. Mr. Hudson, the station clerk, instantly despatched a messenger for the nearest medical assistance; he next obtained some water, and went round among the sufferers to assuage the parching thirst of which they all complained. In a short time the villagers from Shrivenham, about a mile distant, began to arrive, and as soon as possible the dead and wounded were removed from the line, and conveyed to the nearest habitations. The express train was at length brought back to the station, and with it arrived a large number of wounded passengers, who, although not thrown out of the carriages in which they were seated, had sustained various fractures and contusions.

Four of the passengers were found to be killed on the spot.—The Rev. Mr. Phillips, of Chacewater, Cornwall; the Rev. Mr. Sandys, of Woolwich; E. Wilshere, valet to Sir A. Mackenzie; Mich. Mahony, a gentleman's servant.

Three others died after protracted sufferings, viz:—Captain Blair, of the coast-guard service; Mr. Arthur Lea, of Wadham College, where he had recently attained high honours; Mr. Maunsell Micham, a gentleman of property.

Mr. Pearse, of Old Cavendish Street, had his arm amputated, and others of the passengers suffered concussion of the brain, lacerations, and injuries of the most serious description.

The coroners' juries which sat upon the bodies returned verdicts of manslaughter against the porters, Weybury, Willoughby, and Pargetter.

— Sale of the Buckingham Estates.—A large portion of the Chandos and Buckingham estates, situate within the counties of Buckingham, Oxford, and Northampton, was sold by public auction at Garraway's. The estate of Finmore, Oxfordshire, upwards of 1200 acres, the rental 1226*l.* 14*s.* per annum, three miles from Buckingham and Brackley, seven from Bicester, and twelve from Banbury, was put up at 35,000*l.*: the first offer was 24,000*l.*; it was knocked down at 31,300*l.* The Syresham, Falcott, and Astwell estate, Northamptonshire, comprising 2000 acres, with a rental of 2300*l.* (subject to an annuity of 500*l.* to the Hon. Lady Grenville, now in her 76th year), five miles from Towcester, four from Brackley, and eight from Buckingham, was put up at 70,000*l.*: the first offer was 53,000*l.*; it was knocked down at 65,300*l.* The Hellesden estate, Buckinghamshire, two miles from Buckingham, eight from Bicester, and sixteen from Aylesbury, containing 2890 acres, with a rent roll of 4763*l.* per annum, was put up at 150,000*l.*: the first offer was 97,000*l.*; it was knocked down at 130,500*l.* The Thornhill estate, in the borough of Buckingham, consisting of 440 acres, rental 665*l.*, sold for 22,800*l.* The Stockhill farm, two miles from Buckingham, consisting of 189 acres, sold for 8300*l.* Three small

dairy farms, in the county of Buckingham, were sold respectively for 4700*l.*, 490*l.*, and 200*l.* The total amount produced from the sale was 262,990*l.*

Massacre at the New Caledonian Islands.—News has been received of the massacre of a number of Englishmen at the New Caledonian Islands. The *Vanguard* sailed from Sydney to trade at the islands. The ship was anchored off one of them; a quantity of sandal-wood was taken on board; and then a chief induced the master to go up one of the bays to obtain wood alleged to have been collected there. Mr. Cunningham, the master, with ten seamen, went up a bay in two boats; five men were left with the ship. Presently, some natives boarded the vessel; one attempted to murder the mate; and on his repulse more of the savages tried to get on board, but were beaten off. Nothing was heard of the captain and his people, and next day forty or fifty canoes were seen bearing down on the ship: the mate slipped her anchor, ran before the wind, and outdistanced the canoes. He afterwards cruised about the bay for three days, but saw nothing of the missing people: there is no doubt they were all massacred. It is surmised that two ships had previously been seized by the natives, and the crews murdered.

12. The Redleaf Collection of Pictures.—This far-famed collection—made by the late Mr. Wells during a period of more than thirty years, from the dispersion of some of the most renowned galleries of his day—was sold by Christie and Manson. The following were among the principal lots. Two capital Canalettis, one a view of the Doge's Palace and Quay of St. Mark's, 178*l.* 10*s.*; the other The Library of St. Mark's and the Church of Sta. Maria della Salute, 173*l.* 5*s.* A portrait, by Rembrandt, of a Man, in a rich dress, one of his very thinly painted pictures, 183*l.* 15*s.* "A Sibyl," in a white dress, by Guido, 357*l.* An assemblage of flowers, by R. Ruysch, 220*l.* 10*s.* Another, the companion, 178*l.* 10*s.* "A distressed Boy asking alms of a Lady," by N. Maes, 509*l.* 5*s.* "The Interior of a Kitchen," by D. Teniers, 283*l.* 10*s.* A Landscape by P. Wouvermans, 535*l.* 10*s.* J. Van Ostade's "Peasant at the Half-Door of a Thatched Cottage talking to a Traveller," 330*l.* 15*s.* "View in the Back Court of a House," by A. Van Ostade, 435*l.* Two horsemen, one on a black horse, the other on a gray, by Cuyp, illumined by the early morning sun in a most silvery and brilliant effect, 315*l.*

The well-known picture by Wilkie of "Distraining for Rent" was purchased by Mr. Wells's nephew, for 1050 guineas. Heads of an Elderly Man and Woman, attributed to Q. Matsys, 1102*l.* 10*s.* Head of a Spanish Girl, by Murillo, 320*l.* 5*s.* Van de Neer's "Village on the Bank of a Frozen River," with figures skating, 210*l.* "View on the Dutch Coast," by W. Van der Velde, 216*l.* 5*s.* A more perfect specimen by the same master in "A gentle Breeze," 236*l.* 5*s.* "A Sea View during a Fresh Breeze," by L. Backhuysen, 163*l.* 16*s.* A fine study by F. Mieris of "A Traveller seated on a Bank," very small, brought the enormous sum of 493*l.* 10*s.* Jan Steen's "Interior of a Room," painted with his accustomed skill and coarseness of incident, 151*l.* 4*s.* "A Calm off the Dutch Coast," by Van der Ca-

pella, having the refinement of W. Van der Velde, with more vigour of execution, 325*l.* 19*s.* A capital specimen of N. Berghem in "Peasants Milking Kine" brought 215 guineas. "Cows and Oxen at Pasture," by Albert Cuyp, a highly effective picture, 409*l.* 10*s.* J. and A. Both's "Musical Muleteer," a scene in Italy, 288*l.* 15*s.*

The best Jan Steen was the picture of a "Company of Villagers in a Room;" it fetched 178*l.* 10*s.* A. Van der Velde's "Meadow," for 220*l.* 10*s.* "A Lady Singing," by G. Terburg, 231*l.* Peter de Hooghe's "View in the Back Court of a House" was purchased by Mr. Farrer for 540*l.* 15*s.* A landscape by Ruysdael, with a cottage among a noble group of oaks, 260 guineas. Cuyp's "Cattle on the Banks of a Pond," 235*l.* 5*s.* J. Van Ostade's "View of a little Country Inn," 1050*l.* A. Van der Velde's "Oxen and Sheep at Pasture," 220*l.* 10*s.*; and W. Van der Velde's "Sea View," 241*l.* 10*s.* Vandyck's portrait of "The Wife of Du Vos," by the Marquis of Hertford, for 787*l.* 10*s.* Karl du Jardin's "Italian Landscape," 388*l.* 10*s.* A splendid landscape by Hobbema, representing a richly wooded country, fetched 341*l.* 5*s.* P. Wouvermans' "Halt of Cavalry" realized 399*l.* Another of the same subject, by the same artist,—even more beautiful in colour—346*l.* 10*s.* An "Interior of a Cabarett," by D. Teniers, 315*l.* A lady in a green silk corset, attributed to Gerard Douw, but likely to have been by Van Tol, 357*l.* Rubens's Portrait of the Baroness de Vicq or Virg, 215*l.* 5*s.* "Mercury lulling Argus to sleep with the Music of his Pipe," by Claude, 346*l.* 10*s.* A. Van Ostade's "Country Fair," 325*l.* 10*s.* Karl du Jardin's "Rocky Glen," with a cavalier standing by the side of a white horse, 672*l.*

The Artist's Mother, by Rembrandt,—a very real but a very ugly face,—was bought for 252*l.* Hobbema's "View in Westphalia," 640*l.* 12*s.* G. Metzu's "Fainting Lady," by the Duke of Cleveland, for 315*l.* W. Van der Velde's "View on the Coast of Scheveling," 525*l.* J. Ruysdael's "Forest Scene," 735*l.* J. Van Huysum's "Handsome Vase of Flowers," a great gallery picture, 420*l.* "A Young Female," by J. B. Greuze, 787*l.* 10*s.* Claude Lorraine's magnificent picture, "Enchanted Castle," a combination of natural circumstance and the most poetical invention, 2000 guineas. Velasquez's "Portrait of Prince Balthazar of Spain," 683*l.* 10*s.* Domenichino's "Sta. Cecilia," known by Sharpe's line engraving of it, fetched 609*l.* Murillo's "St. Thomas distributing Alms to the Poor," a grand and impressive work of the great Sevillian master, was purchased by the Marquis of Hertford for 2992*l.* 10*s.* The gross amount of the receipts of the sale was nearly 30,000*l.*

13. Suicide of Mr. Redhead Yorke, M.P.—A most determined act of suicide was committed by Mr. Redhead Yorke, M.P. for the city of York, and son-in-law of the late Lord Brandon. The unfortunate gentleman was observed shortly before 12 o'clock walking upon the gravel path leading from the entrace gate into the Regent's Park, and a domestic servant saw him raise both his hands suddenly to his temples, and immediately afterwards stagger and fall on the grass. She called out for assistance, and two men who were near the spot hastened towards the un-

fortunate man, whom they found in the agonies of death, and gasping for breath. The beadle on duty in Gloucester Terrace shortly after arrived, and, a stretcher having been obtained, with the assistance of a police constable the deceased was conveyed to St. Pancras' workhouse.

The deceased attended the House of Commons on Thursday night, and conversed very freely with his friend and neighbour, Mr. Bernal, chairman of committees. He was also at the Reform Club the same evening, and in other circles at the West End. On reaching home he retired to rest without anything particular being observed in his manner. He rose at an early hour, in accordance with his usual custom, and after partaking of breakfast went out, also without exciting observation. The deceased, who has always been considered of a somewhat eccentric turn of mind, was about 50 years of age, and was the son of the late Mr. Henry Redhead Yorke, the well-known political writer. A large-sized phial, which had evidently contained prussic-acid, was found lying on the grass near the spot where he fell.

A coroner's inquest was held on the body, when it appeared by a *post mortem* examination not only that death had been caused by prussic acid, but that the brain had been greatly diseased: the coroner remarked, that, with the brain in such a state, it was wonderful how Mr. Yorke could have mixed in society. Witnesses described the finding of the body: near it lay a phial, which had contained the poison. On the Friday morning, Mr. Yorke had attempted to obtain prussic acid from Mr. Bucklee, a chemist of New Bond Street, on the pretence of poisoning a dog: Mr. Bucklee noticed something amiss in his customer's manner, and evaded serving him. Mr. Yorke then went to another chemist's, where he was also in the habit of dealing; and there, unhappily, a shopman sold him some prussic acid. Evidence was given that the deceased had been "strange" in his manner for a considerable time past; Mr. Wakley corroborating this from his own observation in the House of Commons. The verdict described the mode of death, and stated that Mr. Yorke was of unsound mind at the time.

— Christening of the Infant Princess. — The fourth daughter of Her Majesty was christened in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated as priest: the Duke Augustus of Mecklenburg Schwerin, the Duchess of Saxe Meiningen, and the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, were the sponsors—represented by Prince Albert, the Queen Dowager, and the Duchess of Cambridge, as proxies. The Princess received the name "Louisa Caroline Alberta." The following *chorale*, the music of which was composed for the occasion by Prince Albert, formed part of the musical service:—

"In life's gay morn, ere sprightly youth
By vice and folly is enslaved,
Oh! may thy Maker's glorious name
Be on thy infant mind engraved.
So shall no shades of sorrow cloud
The sunshine of thy early days,
But happiness in endless round
Shall still encompass all thy ways."

The Queen gave a state banquet in the Picture Gallery, in honour of the occasion; and afterwards an evening party.

15. The Shakspeare Fund.

—Two amateur performances in aid of the fund for purchasing Shakspeare's birth-place at Stratford, the interesting particulars of which will be found in the "Chronicle" of last year, took place at the Haymarket Theatre this week, the principal characters being taken chiefly by those gentlemen of literary eminence who had so greatly distinguished themselves by the representation of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* last year. On the 15th the play was *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the following was the cast:—Sir John Falstaff, Mr. Mark Lemon; Fenton, Mr. Charles Romer; Shallow, a Country Justice, Mr. Charles Dickens; Slender, Cousin to Shallow, Mr. John Leech; Mr. Ford and Mr. Page, two Gentlemen dwelling at Windsor, Mr. John Forster and Mr. Frank Stone; Sir Hugh Evans, a Welsh parson, Mr. G. H. Lewes; Dr. Caius, a French physician, Mr. Dudley Costello; Host of the Garter Inn, Mr. Frederick Dickens; Bardolph, Pistol, Nym, and Robin, followers of Falstaff, Mr. Cole, Mr. George Cruikshank, Mr. Augustus Dickens, and Miss Robins; Simple, servant to Slender, Mr. Augustus Egg; Rugby, servant to Dr. Caius, Mr. Eaton; Mrs. Ford, Miss Fortescue; Mrs. Page, Miss Kenworthy; Mrs. Anne Page, her daughter, in love with Fenton, Miss Anne Romer; Mrs. Quickly, servant to Dr. Caius, Mrs. Cowden Clarke.

As an impersonation at once highly elaborated, and yet perfectly easy, the *Justice Shallow* of Mr. Charles Dickens was entitled to pre-eminent praise. The air of vacancy, the complacent chuckle, were sustained throughout with the greatest care; and the play of the eyes, with a sort of wandering wonder, was most remarkable. The performance of *Ford*, by Mr. Forster, was excellent, and gave a greatly higher place to that character than it has hitherto held in the play. Mr. Lemon's *Falstaff* and Mr. Lewes' *Hugh Evans* were capital. Mrs. Cowden Clarke played *Dame Quickly* admirably.

On a subsequent evening the amateurs performed Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, with nearly the same cast as on the previous occasion, and with great applause. Mr. Dickens's *Captain Bobadil* was an eminently successful performance.

These judicious efforts have greatly lessened the liability of the trustees of the Shakspeare Fund. The Commissioners of the Woods and Forests, who have undertaken the charge of Shakspeare's birthplace as a national trust, have taken the excellent step of appointing Mr. Sheridan Knowles, the veteran dramatist, to the charge of keeper of Shakspeare's house, at a salary of 250*l.* per annum.

15. Epsom Races.—This popular meeting commenced this day, and owing to the fine weather, and facility of access by railway, was very numerously attended. The Craven Stakes were won by Mr. Rolt's Cur. The Woodcote Stakes by Mr. Payne's Glauca. The Derby Stakes, 215 subscribers, value 5500*l.* by Lord Clifden's Surplice. The Oaks Stakes, value 2400*l.*, by Mr. R. Hill's Cymba.

25. The new Steam-Basin at Portsmouth.—Her Majesty and Prince Albert, attended by the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesey, the Earl of Auckland, &c., were present at the opening of the new Steam Basin in Portsmouth Harbour. The contract for

this basin was signed on the 29th of May, and the work commenced on the 10th of June, 1843. The first stone was laid by Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker (then Superintendent of the Dockyard), on the 13th of January, 1845. The dimensions of this great work—the greatest of its kind—are, length, 774 feet; breadth, 400 feet; depth, 31 feet. There are two inlets on the east side, each 300 feet long by 70 wide, intended for vessels whose refitments must be completed in a great hurry, and may thus be worked upon on both sides at once. The area of water in the basin and inlets is $8\frac{1}{4}$ acres; the basin alone 7 acres. In the south-west corner is a large graving-dock, 80 feet wide at the entrance, and 300 feet long, with a width of 101 feet between the coping. On the west brink of the basin is a factory of handsome architecture, 687 feet long, 48 wide, and 51 high. On the south wall is a new brass foundry, 90 feet by 110. The basin is considered capable of accommodating around its sides as many as nine steam frigates of the first-class. It has employed, on the average, as many as 1500 men since the commencement; and, if the immense body to whom it has given work off the premises—in the quarries, forests, ironworks, &c. — be taken into calculation, the result will be an army of labourers to whom this structure alone has afforded subsistence. The quantity of granite, Portland, and Purbeck stone, used in the construction, is 1,155,208 cubic feet; of bricks, 7,696,000 cubic feet; of Memel and beech timber, 735,700 cubic feet; excavations removed, 959,500 tons; clay for dam, 25,000 tons. Besides these materials, there have been used in various parts of the whole about 2500 tons of cast iron from Staffordshire. The rough cost of the labour already turned out of hand is 400,000*l.*

The basin was opened with great pomp, and the circumstances were well calculated to render the spectacle imposing. The day was very fine, the tide at high water, the harbour was covered with vessels, flags innumerable floated in the air, salutes were fired from the ships of war, and not less than 15,000 spectators had assembled on the land to witness the ceremony, who greeted the Queen with the most enthusiastic cheering on this her first appearance in public since the memorable 10th of April.

— Sale of Illuminated Manuscripts, etc.—A collection of splendid manuscripts, and a curious selection of early French romances, chronicles, and histories, printed upon vellum, was sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson. *Horæ in Laudem Virginis Mariæ*, printed at Paris in 1541, and extremely rare, sold for 8*l.*; *Preces Privatæ*, a manuscript upon vellum, of the 15th century, of French art, sold for 23*l.* 10*s.*; *Breviarium Romanum*, a fine manuscript of Flemish art, upon vellum, of the 14th century, executed upon 672 pages, and richly illuminated, sold for 34*l.*; *Biblia Sacra Latina*, manuscript, upon vellum, of the 14th century, sold for 14*l.*; *Jehan Boccace des Cas Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, a most beautiful manuscript of the 15th century, upon vellum, adorned with nine miniature paintings and upwards of 140 illuminated initial letters, sold for 33*l.* 10*s.*; *Gaguini* (*Roberti*) *Compendium Super Francorum Gestis*, printed upon vellum, the only copy known; this beautiful specimem of early Parisian typography was

printed by Kerver in 1500, and sold for 161*l.* 10*s.*; *Guy de Warwick*, a fine copy of this rare romance, printed in Paris by Anthoine Couteau, in 1527, sold for 26*l.*; *Lancelot du Lac fait de la Perpetuation de Mémoire de Vertueux Faiz et Gestes des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*, an excessively rare romance, printed at Rouen in 1488, and subsequently in the Heber collection, sold for 30*l.* 10*s.*—at Mr. Heber's sale it brought 55*l.*; *Merlin's Prophecies*, black letter, printed at Paris in 1498, by Verard, sold for 20*l.* 10*s.*; *The History of Sainct Greall*, the first book of the Round Table, printed by Petit, at Paris, in 1516, sold for 16*l.*; *Les Sept Pseaumes de la Pénitence*, a small but beautiful manuscript upon vellum, with eight highly finished miniatures the size of the page. This beautiful volume was executed for Anne Chabot, Duchess of Rohan, second wife of Francis, Duke of Rohan, Prince of Soubise, in 1621. The arms of the Duchess are emblazoned at the commencement of the volume and throughout; the painting of the Virgin is a representation of the celebrated Duchess de la Vallière. At the sale of Mr. Dent's library this exquisite little volume sold for 130*l.*; yesterday, however, it fetched but 32*l.*

27. Death of H. R. H. the Princess Sophia.—The Princess Sophia died about half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, at her residence at Kensington. The Princess had been ailing for several months; on the preceding day she became seriously ill, but refused to be moved from her drawing-room. She died in her arm-chair. The Princess was born on the 3rd of November, 1777, and was the twelfth child of King George the Third.

30. Destructive Fire.—A sugar-house in St. Mary's Street, Whitechapel, occupied by Messrs. Browne and Co. for the manufacture of chicory, was burnt down, with great destruction of property. The building was very large, and of great height. The fire broke out in a counting-house, and spread rapidly, so that the fire brigade could do nothing but confine the flames to the building where they commenced: the whole pile was destroyed.

— Double Murder in Huntingdonshire.—A lengthened inquiry took place into the death of Harriet Burton, wife of Charles Burton, huckster, and Mary Ann, his daughter, both of whom were found with their throats cut, at Stilton, in the morning of the previous day. At the close of the proceedings a verdict of "Wilful murder" was returned against Charles Burton. The miserable man confessed to the surgeon who attended him the particulars of the sanguinary deed. He said, "I first cut my wife's throat, when she was between asleep and awake, but finding herself wounded, she jumped out of bed, and rushed towards the window, when she shrieked 'Murder.' I then immediately cut the throat of my little girl, and, having done so, I rushed at my wife, and, clasping her round the waist, I repeated the stroke across her neck. She then fell dead at my feet. I then made an attempt upon my own throat, but I was seized before I accomplished my purpose." Upon being questioned as to the cause which induced him to commit the rash act, he said, "Trouble caused me to contemplate suicide. I intended to destroy myself; but, knowing that I should leave my

wife and children in penury, I thought it best that we should all die together."

31. Burning of a Railway Bridge.—At half-past six o'clock in the morning a terrible conflagration occurred in Newport. The magnificent new South Wales Railway Bridge, which crosses the river Usk, built of wood, and about 400 yards long, was completely destroyed by fire, even to the water's edge. At six o'clock the workmen engaged in completing the central arch, which was an immense pile, consisting of several tons weight of timber and iron bolts, were busy at work driving in the bolts, when one man used a bolt which had been heated to an extraordinary degree. This immediately ignited the adjoining timber, which being highly kyanized, or "pickled," was like gunpowder to ignite. The man had a bucket of water at hand, as was usual, but it was useless; the flames leaped along on each side from the centre to each end of the bridge, and the whole extent was in a terrible blaze in a moment. The men with difficulty escaped with their lives. A team of trains was passing at the time, and were obliged to dash through the flames to escape, with the horses put to their utmost gallop. The town fire-engines were brought, but they were syringes contrasted with the awful flames bursting from the surface of the piles, the rails, the arches, and, in fact, wherever the fire could lay hold of wood to burn. The timberwork was so enormous that it took a considerable time to burn any portion wholly away; while the patent composition used to preserve the wood lent assistance to the flames, which rose up with blue and black smoke, filling all the heavens. At about nine o'clock the ponderous work of the central arch, having lost its abutments in the fire, gave way with a terrible crash, and soon after this had fallen in, portion after portion gave way, until, with the exception of here and there a solitary black and charred fragment, with some portion on the banks, the whole of this magnificent work was totally destroyed. The river was black with burning wood which fell into it; and, the tide being receding, the banks became strewn with enormous pieces of half-burnt wood, like the coast after a wreck. The bridge was almost completed when this unfortunate calamity occurred. It had been built of kyanized timber by the eminent firm of contractors, Messrs. Rennie, Logan, and Co., and cost upwards of 20,000*l*.

About the same time a similar structure was destroyed by accident. A timber suspension bridge over the Forth, at Meiklewood, of 101 feet span, fell into the river, in consequence of dry rot having destroyed the principal timbers.

A strange fatality appears to have attended these structures at this time, for in July a wooden bridge over the Tyne at Warden, near Hexham, forming part of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, was destroyed by fire, supposed to have been caused by cinders from a luggage-train. The timber was coated with tar, so that when the fire had once gained a hold there was no chance of saving the structure.

— Chartist Disturbances.—The conviction of John Mitchell at Dublin led to a violent explosion of rage among the disaffected in London. On Monday the Chartist and Confederate Clubs met on

Clerkenwell Green, and the principal speakers addressed the assembly in very violent language—hortative to an immediate outbreak. Mc Carthy, Fussell, and other known Chartist leaders gave the word to "fall in" and "march." The crowd formed rapidly into columns of four abreast, and, headed by their orators, set out for Finsbury Square. There they found a body as large as their own; and, forming into new columns of twelve abreast, they paraded round the square for about an hour. They were then joined by further bodies from Stepney Green and other places, who swelled their ranks to a number the estimates of which vary from 7000 to 10,000. Thence they went in procession to Smithfield; where they received further accessions, and started westward. Passwords were given at different points: the mob passed up Holborn, King Street, and Long Acre, to Leicester Square; and, after a brief halt, to Trafalgar Square, where it seemed intended to concentrate forces and have some further speaking. A prodigious crowd of stragglers accompanied the mob and entered the square with them. The police authorities interfered at this point; and an imposing body of constables compelled the intruders to leave the square, by way of the Strand. The "Chartists" returned to Finsbury Square; where they received from their leaders mysterious announcements that disappointments had been occasioned by circumstances which it would be prudent to conceal: orders were given to disperse, and to reassemble on Wednesday.

On Tuesday night, there was again a large meeting on Clerkenwell Green, and some more inflammatory speaking; but the police pressed forward in a compact mass, headed by some score on horseback; and in a short time the whole meeting disappeared.

On Wednesday, the police authorities had made very extensive preparations against the intended repetition of Monday's annoyances. They issued a notice against tumultuous assemblages, and against processions, and made such arrangements as enabled them to despatch 5000 of the force to any point on which the mob might concentrate. Three squadrons of Horse Guards were also moved through the City, and posted in Clerkenwell and Finsbury. The whole of the fire brigade were placed on duty; and hints having been received of intended incendiarism, arrangements were made with respect to the gas and water mains, to keep them under control. The leaders of the special constables of the various City and Western districts were instructed to have on the alert the bodies under their command; and some of these were actually called out, and placed in positions of 'vantage. The result of the preparations was, that the intended meeting on Clerkenwell Green was prevented: at least the leaders of the movement did not appear on the ground. Long before midnight, the police were left undisturbed masters of the streets.

On Thursday, there were renewed attempts at disturbances on Clerkenwell Green; but none of the Chartist leaders appeared: the attempts were irregular and unsustained; and the police had no difficulty in putting an end to them. Movements of a similar tendency occurred at Manchester, Stockport, Oldham, and other places; but

the authorities being firm, and the well-disposed on the alert, they likewise ended in nothing.

John Jacob Astor.—On the recent death of the American millionaire, John Jacob Astor, it was reported that he had left wealth amounting to the enormous sum of twenty-five million dollars; but the *New York Journal of Commerce* learns, "from very good authority," that the total was the more modest sum of 7,500,000 dollars, about equally divided between real and personal estate.

Commercial Affairs. — The monetary transactions of this month have maintained the same improved character which they had assumed at the end of April. Some apprehension was felt that the democratic party in the French Assembly might obtain the upper hand, and the funds fell; but when intelligence of the success of the moderate party was received, they reassumed their buoyancy. Consuls, with trifling variations, kept about the price of 84 to 84⅝. Exchequer bills were quoted at 45*s.* premium, until the Government were enabled, by the improved state of things, to reduce the interest, when they of course fell to 30*s.*–36*s.* The share-market did not participate in these improvements, and railway shares continued greatly depreciated. The drain of bullion from the bank ceased, and their stock continually increased, rising from 12,872,666*l.* at the beginning, to 13,514,739*l.* at the close of the month.

JUNE.

2. Wreck of the Ariel Steam Ship.—The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's fine steamer *Ariel* was wrecked on her voyage from Malta to Leghorn, on the dangerous rocky shoal of Mal di Vetro, thirteen miles south of Leghorn lighthouse. The *Ariel* had on board a cargo of goods, a considerable amount of specie, and some passengers. The crew and passengers got on shore without loss of life, and a large part of the cargo and all the specie were saved by the exertion of the English part of the crew and the seamen of some merchant ships, for the Livornese seamen refused to assist without enormous salvage. The *Ariel* was built of iron, with compartments, and held together with so little damage that hopes were entertained of getting her off; but, after laying uninjured for a considerable time, tempestuous weather set in, and she went to pieces.

3. Sale of Sir T. Baring's Pictures.—The pictures of the late Sir T. Baring, which were formerly at Stratton Park and Devonshire Place, were sold by Messrs. Christie and Manson. The collection produced the aggregate sum of 11,905*l.* The following is a list of the prices which were given for the principal lots:—Sir J. Reynolds, "One of the compartments of the New College window," formerly in Sir T. Lawrence's collection, 63*l.* Sir D. Wilkie, "Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage," the finished sketch, 36*l.* 2*s.* Sir T. Lawrence, "Head of a Young Lady," 32*l.* 11*s.* Linnell, "A Landscape, Peasants playing at Quoits," 241*l.* 10*s.* Wilson, "A View on the Dee," 164*l.* 17*s.* Sir T. Lawrence, "J. Kemble as Hamlet," the small picture, 52*l.* 10*s.* Wilson, "A View on a River in the Campagna," 126*l.* Stanfield, R.A., "Hastings," the celebrated upright

picture, 220*l.* 10*s.* Loutherbourg, "The Fire of London," 240*l.* Collins, R.A., "Boulogne," 241*l.* Cooke, "A Scene on the Dutch Coast," 94*l.* 10*s.* Linnell, "Philip baptizing the Eunuch," 117*l.* 10*s.* Linnell, the "Flight into Egypt," 131*l.* 5*s.* Collins, "A Woman seated at an Altar in the Chapel of St. Onofrio at Rome," 158*l.* 11*s.* P. Nasmyth, "A View in Hampshire," 210*l.* Lee, R.A., "A Landscape," 105*l.* Collins, R.A., "Taking Sea-Fowls' Eggs," 257*l.* 5*s.* Sir D. Wilkie's "Sheep Washing," 693*l.* Turner, R.A., "Sheerness; the Sun rising through a Fog," 577*l.* 10*s.* Gainsborough, "A Lodge in Windsor Park, with the Royal Children," 325*l.* 10*s.* Sir D. Wilkie's "Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage," 430*l.* 10*s.* Wilson, "The Meleager," 178*l.* 10*s.* Van Eyck, "St. Jerome in his Study," 139*l.* 13*s.* Watteau, "A Concert Champêtre," 152*l.* 5*s.* "A Masquerade Champêtre," 84*l.* Cuyp, "Dutch Boats under Sail in a River," small, 94*l.* 10*s.* The companion, 94*l.* 10*s.* Rembrandt, "Abraham entertaining the Angels," 64*l.* 1*s.* Ostade, "An exterior, with a Cart and Figures," upright, 99*l.* 15*s.* Berghem, "Italian Peasants, with Cows and Goats," 150*l.* 3*s.* Berghem, "A Landscape, with a Lady on a Mule, followed by Attendants," 116*l.* 11*s.* "A Stag Hunt," 105*l.* W. Van der Velde, "A Calm, with a Man-of-War saluting," 154*l.* 7*s.* Rembrandt, "The Adoration of the Magi," 141*l.* 15*s.* Wouvermans, "A Dismounted Cavalier giving Alms to a Camp of Gypsies," 183*l.* 15*s.* Watteau, "Fête Champêtre, with a Man in Masquerade," 157*l.* 10*s.* Rembrandt, "A Landscape, with a Village Church on a Hill," 225*l.* 15*s.* Greuze, "A Girl caressing a Pigeon," 106*l.* 1*s.* Rubens, "Abraham and Melchisedec," 383*l.* 5*s.* Hobbema, "A Landscape, with a Watermill; a Village Church in the distance—sunshine," 288*l.* 15*s.* Backhuysen, "Dutch Men-of-War," 131*l.* 5*s.* Van der Neer, "A Dutch Village, with a Frozen River and Figures," 73*l.* 10*s.* Ruysdael, "A grand woody Landscape, Charcoal Burners," 95*l.* 11*s.* Hobbema, "A Woody Scene, with a Piece of Water," &c., 162*l.* 15*s.* Backhuysen, "A Fresh Breeze, Men-of-War under Sail," 283*l.* 10*s.* P. Potter, 1647, "Bull and Two Sheep," &c., 220*l.* 10*s.* Ruysdael, "A Woody Scene, with a Waterfall," 203*l.* 13*s.* Wouvermans, "A Stag Hunt," 416*l.* 5*s.* Wynants, "An open Landscape, with Cows and Sheep," 110*l.* 5*s.* W. Van de Velde, "A Sea Piece. A Calm, with Vessels of War, &c., Porpoises sporting in the Ripple," 210*l.*

DREADFUL BOILER EXPLOSIONS.—A dreadful boiler explosion occurred at the iron-works of Mr. Jefferies, Hart's Hill, near Dudley, on Saturday the 3rd instant. It fortunately happened early in the morning, when comparatively few persons were on the premises. The fragments of the boiler and surrounding brickwork were scattered in every direction; roofs, furnaces, and chimneys were smashed, and many people were buried in the ruins. The explosion was heard two miles off. No fewer than eleven men were taken out dead; while several individuals were wounded by the falling materials.

Another explosion at the same town occurred on the 30th. The scene of the new catastrophe is the Bloomfield Ironworks at Tipton. From some cause or other, one end of a boiler gave way; an explosion took place; and the en-

tire boiler, which was about seven tons in weight, was forced with considerable violence in a horizontal direction across the canal, and into a brick-yard one hundred yards distant. Two persons were killed, and seven or eight wounded or dreadfully scalded.

A boiler at the cotton-mill of Mr. Hollis, at Preston, exploded on the 17th instant, when five persons were killed instantaneously; two died shortly afterwards, and several others were much hurt or scalded.

And, on the 31st, a boiler at the mill of Mr. Cooper, in the same town, burst, when one man was killed on the spot, and several other persons so seriously injured that their lives were despaired of.

6. Funeral of H. R. H. the Princess Sophia.—The remains of her late Royal Highness, fifth daughter of His Majesty George the Third, were privately interred in the Kensall-Green Cemetery. The funeral procession, which was perfectly unostentatious, consisted of nine mourning coaches, containing the officers and principal domestics of the household of the deceased, and officers of the household of other members of the Royal Family; and the hearse conveying the body arrived at the cemetery at 7 A.M. H. R. H. the Prince Consort, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince George, the Lord Chamberlain, the Clerk and Deputy Clerk of Her Majesty's Closet, and the Chaplain of her late Royal Highness were assembled at the cemetery, and met the procession at the entrance of the chapel. The funeral service was read by the Bishop of Norwich, clerk of the closet, assisted by the Dean of Hereford, the deputy clerk. The Duchess of Norfolk was chief mourner. The body was deposited in one of the catacombs, which was immediately closed with masonry in the presence of the Vice Chamberlain of the Queen's Household.

— Fire at Sandon Hall.—Sandon Hall, near Stafford, the seat of the Earl of Harrowby, was partially destroyed by fire. Some plumbers were at work on the roof, and there the fire began. It attained such a hold, despite the exertions of the firemen and neighbours, that the centre of the building was gutted: the wings were preserved, and most of the furniture, &c., in the part destroyed was also saved. A joiner was killed by a stone falling on him.

7. A Dinner Party Poisoned.—A public dinner at Northampton, to celebrate the induction of a Dissenting minister, has been attended by most untoward consequences. Before the cloth was removed, several gentlemen were seized with sickness; more were taken ill at a later hour—some twenty in all; and one, Mr. Courfield, an accountant, died the next morning. Six of the others were for some time in danger. The dinner was provided by a Mr. Franklin, and was cooked by a man named Randall, who was taken into custody. A slight appearance of metallic poison was detected in Mr. Courfield's body on a *post mortem* examination. At the inquest, on Tuesday, it appeared that Franklin and Randall had used "emerald green" to colour the blancmange; and analyzation of some of the colouring-matter on a portion of the blancmange showed the presence of copper. Franklin had said he always used emerald green for the purpose—he thought it was ex-

tracted from spinach. The verdict was "Manslaughter" against Franklin and Randall.

8. Valuable Relic of Antiquity.—At a meeting of the Archæological Society, Sir Henry Ellis exhibited a torque of fine gold, picked up a few days ago in a wood belonging to the Queen, as Duchess of Lancaster, on Needwood Forest, in Staffordshire. A new fox-earth had been made just at the place, and the cubs appear to have been sporting with the torque, which, it is supposed, they had raked up. It was found in its present state, by the keeper, at the mouth of the hole. Many collars of this kind, formed of a single wreath, have been exhibited at the Society's room; but, in form and character of workmanship, this, belonging to Her Majesty, is more curious and more splendid than any the Society have seen; and it is singularly remarkable in the number of wreaths which compose it. Its weight 1 lb. 1 oz. 7 dwts. 10 grs. or 5590 grains. Its intrinsic value is therefore very considerable.

9. Supposed Murder or Suicide.—The body of a gentleman was found on the shore near the Albert Tavern in Battersea Fields, by two bargemen; it had been just washed to land; and, on being drawn farther out of the water, blood oozed from a wound in the head. There was no blood on the clothes, and the body seemed to have been in the water for twelve hours. There were marks of contusions on the forehead, and the bone was broken in, as if with a sharp instrument. At the first sitting of the inquest, there was an impression that the deceased had fallen into the water, striking his head as he fell; but the inquiry was adjourned, that a *post mortem* examination might be made. It appeared the hole in the forehead had been made by a pistol-bullet, which was found bedded in the skull; there were three other wounds on the forehead; such as a life-preserver would make; the hands were bruised on their backs as if they had been beaten. It did not seem that the pistol had been fired by the deceased himself, for there were no marks from the powder, such as a closely fired pistol would make. The surgeon expressed his positive opinion that a murder had been committed.

At the resumption of the inquest, the evidence again changed the appearance of the affair. Mr. Wing, a surgeon of Battersea, described the state of the body. In answer to a question from the coroner, he said that it was possible the deceased might have been shot and afterwards have fallen off the bank on to the bed of the river, and by so doing might have received some of the bruises on his person; but he did not think it probable that the three bruises on the head were occasioned by that means. He was certain they were inflicted during life. Mrs. Eliza Gosling identified the body as that of her son, James Charles Gosling, aged twenty-three. She believed he had committed suicide; and gave a very unfavourable account of him. He was very excitable, ill-treated his wife, and drove her from home; last week, he was looking for her, having threatened to throw vitriol over her or shoot her with a pistol. He said, if he was sure she had drowned herself, he would blow out his brains. He had frequently said that cutting the throat was dirty work, and if he wished to commit suicide he should shoot himself in the head and fall back

into the river, so that no inquest should be held on his body. A Mr. Smith, with whom Gosling had lodged, believed he had destroyed himself: when last he saw deceased, he appeared deranged. Another witness gave similar testimony. The Jury found, "That the deceased destroyed his own life, he being at the time of unsound mind."

— MURDERS AND SUICIDE AT BRISTOL.—An inquest was held on the bodies of Maria, Edward, and John Hill, mother and children, which had been exhumed for the purpose of being submitted to an examination, under the following circumstances:—In October last, the wife of Mr. Thomas Wellington Hill, a retired builder of Bristol, died somewhat suddenly, and her death was followed in a short time afterwards by the decease of two of her children. No suspicion was attached to any party at the time of the death of Mrs. Hill, and not until application was made by the husband for the amount of a policy effected upon the life of the wife in the National Loan Fund Assurance Society. As the policy was to a large amount, 3000*l.*, and was only effected four months previous to the death of the insured, the parties in the insurance office disputed payment and caused inquiries to be made respecting the death of the wife, and it was discovered that her illness had been attended by vomiting. Mr. Hill having threatened the insurance society with an action, they caused the body of the wife and also the bodies of the children to be disinterred, and the intestines given to Mr. Herapath, the chemist, for analyzation. The finding of the jury amounted to a verdict of wilful murder against Hill. During the time the bodies were being disinterred the suspected party committed suicide, by means of essential oil of almonds, which he had procured from two druggists' shops. Mr. Hill wrote a note previous to taking the poison, in which he said, in disconnected sentences, that "his head suffered severely from mental distraction. His mind was bowed down by the attempt of a powerful party to crush him. He was not guilty of the atrocious charge," &c. An inquest was held upon the body on Monday evening, when a verdict of "Temporary Insanity" was returned.

10. MURDER IN THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION, COLDBATH FIELDS.—About nine o'clock this morning, an atrocious murder was perpetrated at the above prison. The name of the murdered man is William Woodhouse, who has been a warder for many years in the House of Correction, and the perpetrator of the murder is a prisoner named Hewson, who was tried about nine months since, and convicted of concealing the birth of a child which he had had by his own daughter; and for which he was, with her, sentenced to two years imprisonment. Since his incarceration he has betrayed a sullen and refractory spirit; and, having on Friday misconducted himself, he was placed in solitary confinement, in accordance with the rules of the establishment. At the above hour the unfortunate deceased visited him to furnish him with food, and was in the act of closing the door of the cell after him, when the prisoner rushed upon him and stabbed him with a knife, resembling those used by shoemakers, in the left side, thrusting it up to the hilt. The poor fellow was heard to make an exclamation which drew to the

scene another warder, who found the sufferer on the ground weltering in his blood, and in the agonies of death, which ensued before other assistance could be obtained.

A coroner's inquest was held on the body; the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against Hewson. (See post, July 10.)

11. Railway Collision. — A military train on the North-Western Railway, consisting of thirty-six carriages of soldiers of the Ninth Regiment, on their way from Portsmouth to Manchester, was run into by a luggage-train at Crewe. The military train had staid half an hour for refreshment; the officers travelled in the last passenger-carriage, which had in its rear a horse-box and luggage-van: the officers had retaken their seats, and the train was in slow motion, when the luggage-train came up and ran into it. The luggage-van and the horse-box were smashed; but they saved the officers' carriage; so that though hardly one of the gentlemen escaped severe contusions and abrasions, no one was hurt dangerously. About twenty of the soldiers were injured. The engine driver of the luggage-train was committed to Chester Castle for six weeks, with hard labour, for neglect. Two horses in the horse-box were killed on the spot.

12. Riot at Drury Lane Theatre.—A repetition on a small scale of the famous "O. P. row" was got up at this theatre, on occasion of the first performance of the company from the "Theatre Historique" of Paris; who, driven from their proper scene by the miseries of that once gay city, had come over here to endeavour to better their fortunes. A party of English employés of our stage chose this opportunity for revenging on the unhappy Frenchmen the indignities alleged to have been inflicted on English artizans at Paris. A determined and disgraceful "row" was the result of this ungenerous resolve. The "row" was a stupid affair, not only showing the illiberality of the rioters, but their paucity of invention. In the old "O. P." affair there was some humour. A good joke now and then found its way into the uproar; but here was a long, dull, dismal, dreary display of malignity, which was effective from the mere fact that it was wearisome. One could not have conceived so much noise mixed up with a display of so soporific a character. The poor Frenchmen did all they could to conciliate this amiable specimen of the British public. They opened by playing "God save the Queen;" and when, two or three times afterwards, the rioters, who were loyal to a fault, on this occasion demanded a repetition of the anthem, they politely complied with the request. The plan of singing "God save the Queen" as a signal for uproar is borrowed from the old "O. P." days, and is another mark of the want of originality which signalized the proceedings of last night. The rioters went on hallooing, hooting, whistling through their whistles, and uttering dull exclamations for upwards of three hours, without any reason. M. Jullien, as lessee of the house, attempted to restore order, but not a word of his speech was heard, and the noise pursued its dreary course to the termination of the piece. The outrage was repeated on succeeding evenings, with a little variety; for the sympathizers with the outraged Frenchmen mustered

strong, and a few single combats between the rival partisans gave a brutal liveliness to the scene. In the end the company were withdrawn, and gave two private performances at the St. James's Theatre to a select audience, and it is to be hoped received some recompense for their ill usage.

The worst remains to be told.—The play selected for representation was Dumas' *Monte Christo*, and proved so intolerably dull that the whole scheme would have died a natural death, without giving occasion to any proceedings so disgraceful to the national character.

Chartist Disturbances.—On Sunday, the 3rd instant, some attempts were made to excite the idle population of Clerkenwell and Paddington; but the police were in all instances able to disperse gathering assemblages without tumult.

Monday morning found Bonner's Fields occupied by 1600 foot, 100 mounted police, and 500 pensioners. A body of Horse Guards also took position in a farm on the outskirts of the fields. By noon no appearance of a gathering of Chartists was visible, though the meeting was arranged for that time. Many women, boys, and spectators, were present, and were undisturbed by the police. Two o'clock came, and with it no sign of a demonstration. The police passed a kind of holiday. They sat down and took a cold collation on the grass, such as the itinerant vendors could supply. About two P.M., M'Douall, one of the Chartist leaders, waited on Mr. Arnold, the magistrate, and asked him whether the Government really meant to stop the chartist meetings; the reply was laconic, "Yes, sir," and the leader forthwith disappeared. Soon afterwards, a thunderstorm came on, and drenching rain fell. That settled the matter: by four o'clock there was hardly a person to be seen, even under the hedges or trees, except the police: by nightfall, all the forces, military and civil, were disbanded; and later still the neighbourhood was as tranquil as on any evening in the year.

Similar expectations of great meetings at Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c., were similarly disappointed; Government preparation in each instance having been an efficient preventive of even an attempt to hold the prohibited assemblies.

Arrest of the Chartist Leaders.—The Government having given the Chartists sufficient head, to allow them to prove themselves the intolerable nuisance they were, now, with the full approbation of the public, took firm steps to suppress it. Mr. Ernest Jones, a barrister, John Fussell, I. Williams, A. Sharpe, and T. Vernon, were arrested, charged with sedition, and committed for trial; but admitted to bail in heavy amounts.

18. The Bonner's Fields Chartists.—The punishment of the disturbers of the peace of the metropolis by the ordinary course of law, commenced by the trial of ten of the vagabonds who were captured at Bonner's Fields on the 4th June. As there was nothing in these disturbances or the authors of them to create any other feeling than disgust and annoyance, very little interest was taken in the proceedings. They were all found guilty. One of them, who had struck a policeman with an iron bar, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour; and the others to similar punishment for shorter terms.

Ascot Races.—This fashionable

meeting lacked this year the encouraging presence of Her Majesty; which was, however, in some degree compensated by fine weather and excellent sport. Of the principal races, the Gold Vase was won by Lord Chesterfield's Sister to Hydrangea; the Ascot Stakes by the Duke of Richmond's Vampyre; the Emperor of Russia's Plate by Mr. J. B. Day's Hero.

29. St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. — The consecration of the chapel of the new college of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, was solemnized, and attended by a large concourse of noblemen, bishops, and Church dignitaries, and other eminent personages who have taken interest in this excellent foundation. The history of the site is well known. In former times the Benedictine monastery of St. Augustine was scarcely inferior in importance to the neighbouring cathedral church and the shrine of the martyred Becket. Its buildings were preserved after the Reformation as a royal palace, and its two gateways are still among the most interesting architectural remains of the city. The great tower, of Norman architecture, named after St. Ethelbert, was partly standing until within the last quarter of a century, and may be seen in all views of the ruins taken before 1824. Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P. for Maidstone, inherited a taste for architecture from his father, whose works on architecture are well known. But, besides this taste, Mr. Hope is better appreciated as a most liberal and devoted churchman. He purchased the site of a considerable portion of the desecrated abbey; and, having entered into communication with the promoters of the intended Missionary College, undertook to adapt the remains of the monastery, and to contribute a considerable sum of money towards the settlement of the college. The buildings were commenced at the latter end of the year 1844. Mr. Butterfield was the architect to whom the commission of restoration and rebuilding was intrusted. The new college is built in the style of the 14th century, and harmonizes admirably with the fine old gateway, which has been incorporated with it, and now forms the grand entrance. The walls all round are faced with square flint and ragstone, which, contrasted with the red-tiled roofing, and the quaint Gothic forms of the stone masonry where it intervenes, has a singular but very pleasing effect. The gateway leads to a turfed quadrangle, with diagonal and straight gravel walks; a gravelled terrace runs round the north and east side and part of the south. On the north terrace stand the cloisters, with the students' dormitory above them. The cloisters are 150 feet in length, and occupy the space of eight arches.

In the buildings above the cloisters are apartments for 50 students, consisting of a sitting-room and small bed-room adjoining for each; the rooms warmed with hot-water pipes, and opening from either side into a gallery 250 feet long. On the east side of the quadrangle is an undercroft, intended for a museum; a fine room floored with red tiles and vaulted with brick, the arches having stone groinings. Above the museum is the library, the entrance to which forms the principal feature in this portion of the buildings, and for the unostentatious beauty of which the architect deserves great praise.

It has a pitched oak roof, and is lighted on each side by six windows, and at the end by a large one, with stained glass. On the south side of the quadrangle stand the apartments of the warden and five fellows, the chapel of the college, the dining hall, and the kitchens. The chapel is fitted up with 64 stalls of carved oak, ranged in double rows on either side. The great window at the east end is filled with stained glass; and on either side of the sacrarium are two windows filled with stained glass. The hall which adjoins the chapel is that part in which the ancient building has suffered least, the roof being original.

The constitution of the college is that of a warden and fellows, to be under the appointment of the two archbishops and some of the bishops. Bishop Coleridge, formerly Diocesan of Barbadoes, has been appointed the first warden. The Queen has granted the college a charter of incorporation.

A very considerable sum was received after the consecration, and the sermon in the cathedral; but nearly the whole expense of the foundation (said to be between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.*) is supplied by the munificence of Mr. Hope.

30. Assassination of General Bréa.—On the troops arriving at the head of the attacking column before the barricade at the Barrière Fontainebleau, only flags were seen on the barricade, with now and then some heads, which were raised to look at the column. Complete silence prevailed for some time on both sides; the column having halted, and got its battering-pieces ready. At length four men advanced from the barricade to General Bréa, protesting their devotedness to the republic, their sympathy for the soldiers, their horror of war, and their desire that their brethren of the Line should fraternize with them on the barricade. General Bréa went with them, thinking that he could persuade the men to lay aside their arms. He spoke to them, shook hands with some of them across the barricade, and cried with them "Vive la République Démocratique et Sociale!" The insurgents invited him to come to the inside of the barricade, to address their companions; and he did so. Captain Mangin, his aide-de-camp, a *chef de bataillon* of the Line, M. Dupont, *chef de bataillon* of the National Guard, went in with him. M. de Ludre, a representative of the people, and Colonel Thomas, of the Mobiles, who went with them to the barricade, refused to go in. No sooner had the general and the three officers entered within the barricade, which they did by the side passage, than 2,000 men rose, and, presenting their muskets at Colonel Thomas and M. de Ludre, threatened to shoot the general and the officers immediately if they did not make the column lay down its arms. Colonel Thomas talked with the men, and kept them engaged for two hours, during all which time the muskets were levelled at him. During these two hours, he received five notes from the general, stating that the insurgents threatened to kill him if the troops did not immediately yield. Colonel Thomas caused General Cavaignac to be informed of the position of things. General Cavaignac replied, nobly and sadly, that the safety of the country must be thought of before that of individuals; and he gave orders to attack the barricade. Colonel

Thomas thereupon marched resolutely to the assault. He sent two discharges of grape-shot at the insurgents, and made the Mobiles scale the barricade: meanwhile, the troops cut through the wall, and charged the insurgents in the rear. The latter were pitilessly shot, and the position was gained. On entering the guard-house near the barricade, the assailants found two bodies; one was recognized as that of General Bréa: the other was so horribly disfigured that it could not be known, though it subsequently proved to be that of the aide-de-camp. The two other officers who had entered the barricade had contrived to escape; one by secreting himself under a shed, the other under a bed. The general and Captain Mangin were, it appears, shamefully ill-treated; their epaulettes having been dragged off, their clothes torn, and they themselves struck. Then a musket was presented at the general; but a woman threw herself in his arms to protect him. A man, however, dragged her away, then retired a few steps, and shot the general in the abdomen. At the same time, another man discharged his musket at the forehead of Captain Mangin; and whilst the poor officer covered his face with his hand, uttering cries of pain, a third insurgent struck him down from behind with a hatchet. His nose and ears were then cut off, and his head was mutilated in such a horrible manner as to make it impossible to recognise that it was human. Whilst these abominable executions were taking place, a man dragged the *chef de bataillon* from under the bed, and gave him his blouse and enabled him to escape. As to the officer of the National Guard, it has not yet been ascertained what has become of him.

Elections to Parliament.—Several elections of members to serve in Parliament have taken place this month. For North Cheshire, vacant by the succession of the Right Hon. E. F. Stanley to the peerage, the candidates were Mr. Legh and Mr. Astley; the former was successful, the numbers being—

Mr. Legh	3,065
Mr. Astley	2,482
Majority	736

At Horsham, the previous election for which borough had been declared void for corrupt practices, the candidates were Mr. Fitzgerald and the Hon. Edward Howard; Mr. Fitzgerald was elected.

At Cheltenham, the previous election for which had been declared void on similar grounds, the Hon. Craven Fitzhardinge Berkeley defeated Mr. Agg Gardner; the numbers polled being 1,024 and 848 respectively.

JULY.

1. Wreck of an Emigrant Ship.—The total loss of an emigrant ship, the *Commerce*, of Limerick, with upwards of 100 persons on board, was reported at Lloyd's. She sailed from Galway, in the early part of the spring, for St. John's, New Brunswick. About 70 families, principally women and children, embarked on board at Galway, taking with them everything they possessed. On the 24th of May, she ran ashore on the coast of Nova Scotia. The emigrants

rushed on deck in great confusion; the whole of them were in their bed-clothes. For a few hours the ship remained in an upright position. As the tide rose, however, a gale sprang up, the sea from which swept the decks. The boats had been lowered, and some of the crew succeeded in ascertaining that the shore was accessible to land the passengers. They returned and made two trips between the ship and the land with passengers, but on attempting the third they were driven against the rocks, and many of the poor creatures met with a watery grave. The vessel, by the continued beating on the rocks, soon filled. In the meantime the remainder of the crew contrived to effect a communication with the shore by a line. One after another of the emigrants were dragged through the surf to the shore in a most pitiable condition. Many were drowned, including almost all the children. Between 70 and 80 were saved, together with the crew.

3. PEDESTRIANISM.—Robert Coates, the London pedestrian, accomplished a feat of sustained exertion at Bristol; his task was to leap over 1,000 hurdles in 3 hours and 30 minutes. The first 300 leaps were done in 50 minutes; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh hundred were performed in 16½, 20, 24½, and 22 minutes. At the 752nd leap, Coates was distressed, and took strong tea; but he finished the eighth hundred in 37 minutes. In the ninth hundred he nearly fainted; but, taking more strong tea and changing his clothes, he again went forward merrily. The 1,000 were done in 3 hours 19 minutes 20 seconds. The feat is noted as the most extraordinary of the kind ever performed.

These performances have long ceased to excite public interest; but a comparison of this with the very many similar undertakings recorded in the early volumes of the ANNUAL REGISTER, will enable the curious reader to compare the strength and endurance of this age with those of the past.

4. CONSECRATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS.—The consecration of the Roman Catholic cathedral of St. George, erected in St. George's Fields, Lambeth, had been an event looked forward to with intense interest by all the English members of that communion. This church is the largest and most magnificent erected in England since the Reformation for the worship of the Church of Rome. Great numbers of the ecclesiastical dignitaries on the Continent were invited to the ceremonial; but the troubled state of the times prevented most of them from attending. There were present, however, the Archbishop of Trèves, the Bishops of Liège, Tournay, Chalons, and Chersonese, with their canons and chaplains. Of the British Roman Catholic prelates there were present, besides Dr. Wiseman, who officiated, Drs. Brown (Liverpool), Brown (Wales), Brown (Elphin), Sharples (Liverpool), Gellis (Edinburgh), Davis (Maitland, Australia), Waring, (eastern district), Briggs (York), Morris (Troy). There were 260 priests, together with members of the orders of Passionists, Dominicans, Cistercians, Benedictines, Franciscans, Oratorians, and Brothers of Charity. The entire body of the church was filled with Roman Catholic laity, amongst whom were the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, M.P., Lord

Camoys, Lord Stafford, Lord Lovat, &c., &c. At eleven o'clock, the bishops were received at the western door, and the procession formed, consisting of the Thurifer (the Hon. E. Petre), the Incense-bearer (Sir T. Acton), Acolytes (Hon. E. Stonor and Mr. Burke). The secular clergy in soutan and surplice, two and two; the regulars in the dresses peculiar to the different orders; and, lastly, the bishops in their mitres and robes. Youths bearing lights and lilies preceded and followed the procession. Dr. Wiseman celebrated high mass, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Doyle, the pastor of the church. A mass, partly by Hummel and partly by Drobisch, was chanted. The offertory was sung by Tamburini.

The church is the work of Mr. Pugin, in the middle-age style of architecture. It is 240 feet in length, 70 in width, and 57 in height. It is divided lengthwise into three compartments—the nave and two aisles. At the head of the nave stands the chancel, which is decorated in the richest manner. At its furthest end the principal altar is placed, which is profusely gilt and ornamented; and over the altar is placed a beautiful window of stained glass. Opposite the altar is the large cross, also richly gilt, bearing the image of the Saviour. The floor of the chancel is richly carpeted, and the covering of the bishop's throne is of purple velvet. At the end of each aisle stand two smaller altars, of scarcely inferior richness; one called the "Altar of the Blessed Sacrament," and the other the "Altar of the Virgin." There is a massive tower, on which a spire is intended to be raised hereafter. The edifice has already cost 40,000*l.*, and is capable of containing 4,000 persons.

— The Chartist Trials. — The trials of the persons charged with participation in the recent disturbances in the metropolis, took place at the Central Criminal Court in the present sessions.

On the 5th instant, Joseph Irenæus T. Fussell was tried on the three-fold charge of seditious speaking, being present at an unlawful assembly, and rioting, at the chartist meeting on Clerkenwell Green, on the 29th May. The Judges held that the evidence of riot was insufficient to go to the jury. The jury found the prisoner guilty of sedition, of being present at an unlawful assembly: not guilty of rioting.

On the following day, Williams and Vernon were found guilty of being present at an unlawful assembly, and the latter of rioting. On the 7th, Alexander Sharpe was found guilty of sedition, being present at an unlawful assembly: not guilty of rioting.

The trial of Looney, on Saturday, was illustrated by a fracas between the attorney-general and Mr. Kenealy, the barrister who defended him, when the latter received a rebuke from the learned judge.—Looney was found guilty of the two first charges, and acquitted of the rioting.

On Monday, Mr. Ernest Jones, a barrister, and by far the most respectable and intelligent of the accused, was tried on the same threefold charge; the prisoner was convicted on the two first and acquitted on the third.

The prisoners were then brought up for judgment; the sentences to each were two years' imprisonment for the sedition, and a shorter time for the unlawful assembly, and securities to keep the peace for five years.

7. The Murder in Coldbath-Fields Prison.—*Central Criminal Court.*—George John Hanson, aged forty-five, described in the calendar as a jeweller, was indicted for the wilful murder of William Henry Woodhouse, upon the 10th of June, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell.

Mr. Clerk proceeded to examine the witnesses.

The first called was Mr. George Laval Chesterton, who said, I am the Governor of the Coldbath-fields Prison. The prisoner was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in that gaol for misdemeanour. A few days previously to the 9th of June, the prisoner had made several complaints to me which I did not believe, and from his bad conduct I told him I should send him to a cell by himself, as he was not a man fit to associate with others. Upon the morning of the 10th of June I saw the prisoner, and ordered his removal to a cell in No. 5 yard; that was about eight o'clock, and about an hour afterwards I went into the yard and saw Woodhouse being brought out in a dying state. I went into the cell, and said to the prisoner "You have done a fatal deed at last; the poor man is dead." He said, "Serve him right, a b—— villain; I only wish the villain Latham had been in the way, I would have served him the same."

William Cooper, the sub-warder of the prison, about half-past eight o'clock, heard prisoner tell Woodhouse he hoped he would not forget him when the extra bread came round. About half an hour afterwards, hearing a screech come from the direction of prisoner's cell, witness turned round, and saw deceased in the act of falling, exclaiming that he was stabbed to the heart. A knife was handed to witness from the cell; it is such a one as is used in the oakum rooms.

Alfred Waddilove, another prisoner, deposed to seeing the prisoner hand the deceased his pannikin with the left hand, and with the right thrust the knife into him. Deceased staggered and fell, and witness picked up the knife.

Mr. Wakefield, the surgeon of of the gaol, proved that the knife entered between the fourth and fifth ribs and the heart, causing immediate death.

Further corroborative evidence was given.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged, which sentence was carried into execution on the 24th inst. This abominable wretch was under conviction for concealing the birth of a child, the issue of an incestuous intercourse with his own daughter, by whom he had had four children; two of which he is supposed to have murdered.

— Stolen Notes.—At the Central Criminal Court, Abraham Simmons, aged 33, described as a licensed victualler, was indicted for feloniously receiving two bank notes for the payment of 1000*l.* each, well knowing the same to have been stolen.

Mr. Clarkson stated the somewhat singular facts of this case. Upon the 3rd of July, 1843, Mr. R. Blakemore, M.P. for Wells, was in London, and went upon that day to the banking-house of Messrs. Masterman, where he received three bank notes, each for the payment of 1000*l.*; he placed them in his pocket, and got into an omnibus on Ludgate Hill for the purpose of proceeding to the west end of the town. Upon reaching his club he found the

notes had been either stolen or lost. Towards the latter end of the same year, a clerk in the branch bank of Liverpool was tried and convicted of having stolen notes in his possession, and amongst them was one of those belonging to the prosecutor, which was returned to him, and nothing was heard of the remaining two until last May, when they were paid into the London and Westminster Bank, and from thence to the Bank of England, where they were stopped. They were then traced to the prisoner, who keeps a tavern on the Surrey side of the water, who said he had taken them on the Epsom race-course, on the Derby day, in payment of a bet, but he did not know from whom. He had since then given every information to the solicitor for the prosecution, and as they had found his statements were true, and as it would not be fair to say the prisoner had feloniously received them, with his Lordship's permission he would beg to withdraw the prosecution, and the notes to be given up to the prosecutor.

His Lordship decided upon hearing the evidence before he would permit such a course to be adopted.

Mr. Henry Child, a partner in the firm of Wire and Child, said they were solicitors to the prisoner, and before he was in custody he had told them the notes were stopped, and added he had taken them of a gentleman who gave his name as Mr. Green, of Manchester, in payment of a bet of 2000*l.* to 1000*l.* upon Surplice; that he wrote the name on the back of the notes; and that, knowing there was a sporting gentleman of that name at Manchester, he could not doubt that all was right.

Mr. J. Robertson, proprietor of the *Railway Record*, and Mr. W. Upham, a gentleman also connected with that publication, deposed to meeting the prisoner accidentally at Epsom, and to taking lunch in his barouche, and that after the Derby was run a gentleman came up and paid the prisoner two notes, which he showed them, and which were those in question. He was a dashing-looking man in green spectacles, and gave the name of Green, of Manchester, which name was endorsed upon the notes.

Mr. Baron Parke said it would be too much to charge a man with felonious possession of a note taken during the bustle of a race. He only wanted to be sure it was not a compromise.

The prisoner was "Acquitted," and the notes were given up to Mr. Blakemore.

— The Spitalfields Ball.—A magnificent ball, the proceeds of which were for the benefit of the Spitalfields School of Design, was given at the Drury Lane Theatre, which was fitted up in a style of great splendour. The grand feature of the evening was the Marchioness of Londonderry's Quadrille, which was danced by a party of the nobility in appropriate fancy dresses. They represented various royal and noble personages in the history of England, from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Queen Anne, and the position of the couples was arranged in chronological order. The appearance of their rich and varied costumes, amid the crowd of fashionably dressed spectators, from whom they were only separated by a cord

held by a number of gentlemen and ladies, was most striking. The quadrille consisted of forty couples. The names of the first and last four couples, will give an idea of the splendour of the spectacle:—

Matilda of Flanders, Lady A. Vane; William the Conqueror, Lord R. Clinton. Matilda of Scotland, Hon. H. Montague; Stephen, Count of Boulogne, Mr. Conolly. Adeliza of Louvaine, Lady A. F. Howard; Albini, Earl of Arundel, Hon. Mr. Curzon. The Empress Maude, Miss Foulis; Geoffry Plantagenet, Mr. Hogg. Katharine of Braganza, Miss Wyndham; Sir E. Digby, Mr. Levett. Anne Hyde, Miss M. Hogg; Lord Russell, Mr. Cavendish. Mary of Modena, Hon. Miss Barrington; James II., Lord Dufferin. Mary of Orange, Hon. M. Montague; Prince of Orange, Mr. C. F. Webster. Queen Anne, Hon. Miss Cotton; Lord Cadogan, Colonel of the 1st Life Guards in the time of Queen Anne, Hon. D. de Ros.

After payment of all expenses, the Committee were able to pay into the hands of the Treasurer of the School of Design the handsome sum of 1300*l.*

8. Forged Cheques.—*Central Criminal Court.*—James Henry Bradbury, aged 38, and John Clark, 35, were indicted for forging and uttering two bankers' checks for the several sums of 434*l.* 16*s.* and 371*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, with intent to defraud Sir Wm. Lubbock, Bart., and Co., the bankers.

The prisoner Bradbury pleaded "Guilty," and there were also two other charges against him for obtaining the sums of 400*l.* and 374*l.* 7*s.* by similar means.

Mr, Bodkin, in stating the case to the jury, said it was one of more than usual public importance, not from the large sums obtained, but from the manner adopted in presenting the cheques for payment, as it was evident that, had the forged cheques not been detected, innocent persons would have suffered conviction for an offence of which they were wholly innocent. The plan adopted by the prisoners proved a deeply laid scheme, and, although the sums laid in the indictment were the only ones at present discovered, there was no doubt but others to an equally large amount had been obtained. The plan adopted for cashing these forged cheques was this:—Two young men having advertised for situations as gentlemen's servants, received answers appointing them to meet the prisoner Bradbury at the East India Chambers, at different times. They were both engaged, and received a small sum in earnest of wages; they were then directed to go to the banking house and receive money for the cheques, which they did, and handed the prisoners the money. One of them, Newborn, thinking there was something strange about it took the number of the cab, and the other, Thornet, not meeting Bradbury on the day appointed, went to Messrs. Lubbocks', and, having explained the affair, they discovered the forgery. The particulars of the forgery having been advertised, Newborn came forward, and handbills, with the numbers of the notes paid for the cheques, and the particulars, were sent on the Continent. A few days afterwards, information was received that two Englishmen had been apprehended by the commissary of

police at the Brussels station for not having proper passports, and the account they gave of themselves being very unsatisfactory they were searched; and, sewn inside of their shirts, next the skin, were found nearly all the notes that had been paid for the cheques. John Forrester was then sent over, and brought the two prisoners back, and, when in custody, they were seen by the witnesses, Thornet and Newborn, who at once identified them. When at Brussels, Clark wore false whiskers and moustaches, and was otherwise disguised.

The jury immediately returned a verdict of "Guilty," and the prisoners were sentenced to transportation for twenty years.

14. The Shrivenham Accident on the Great Western Railway. —At the Assizes, James Weybury, a porter to the Great Western Railway, was tried for the manslaughter of Edwin Wiltshire, by causing the accident to an express train on the 10th of May, (see that date), by which Captain Hart, two clergymen, and five other passengers, were mortally hurt. Weybury was the porter who moved the horse-box on to the railroad in the way of the express train. Evidence was given that he had gone to dinner and returned about three minutes before the express train came up: the train itself was very late, and ought to have passed the station a quarter of an hour before Weybury's return; he, in fact, thought it had done so. It was also proved that the signal-man, who knew the train was late and unpassed, who was on the look out for it, in nowise prevented Weybury from occupying the main line with the horse-box. The prisoner received an eight-years' high character from the railway officers; and the jury found him "Not Guilty."

— Suspension Bridge at Niagara Falls.—This wonderful example of American enterprise and ingenuity is now so far completed that some hundreds of foot passengers have passed over it. The following are some of the details of this surprising structure: Number of cables for bridge, 16; number of strands in each cable, 600; ultimate tension, 6,500 tons; capacity of the bridge 500 tons; number of strands in the ferry cable, 37; diameter of the cable, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch; height of stone tower, 68 feet 1 inch; height of wood tower for ferry, 50 feet; base of the tower, 20 square feet; size at the top, 11 square feet; span of the bridge, 800 feet; whole weight of the bridge, 650 tons; height from the water, 230 feet; depth of water under the bridge, 250 feet. This suspension bridge is a most sublime work of art. It makes the head dizzy to look at it, and yet it is traversed with as much security as any other bridge of the same width. In appearance the execution was a work of peril, but it was prosecuted with entire safety. Not an accident happened since the first cord was carried across the river at the tail of a kite. It is impossible to give a clear idea of the grandeur of the work. Imagine a foot-bridge 800 feet in length, hung in the air, at the height of 230 feet, over a vast body of water rushing through a narrow gorge at the rate of 30 miles an hour. To a spectator below it looks like a strip of paper suspended by a cobweb. When the wind is strong, the frail gossamer-looking structure sways to and fro as if ready to start from its fastenings, and it shakes from extremity to centre under the firm

tread of the pedestrian; but there is no danger—men pass over it with perfect safety, while the head of the timid looker-on swims with apprehension.

15. The Murder of Major Mahon.—At Roscommon Assizes, Patrick Hasty, convicted of conspiring to murder Major Mahon, and Owen Byrne, convicted of conspiring to murder the Rev. John Floyd, were sentenced to be hanged on the 8th of August.

At the same Assizes, James Commins was tried for taking part in the conspiracy to murder Major Mahon. The same evidence was given for the prosecution and the defence as in Hasty's case; but the jury could not agree, and they were locked up all night. Next day they remained unchanged and discordant in opinion, and were discharged; but Commins was detained for trial.

The Pension List.—A Parliamentary return just issued shows the allocation of the 1200*l.* of pension-money for the year ending the 20th June 1848. To Christian M'Caskill and Jessie M'Caskill, in consideration of the gallant services of their brother, the late Sir John M'Caskill, 50*l.* each additional; the Rev. Theobald Mathew, 300*l.*; Mr. Leigh Hunt, 200*l.*; the widow and six daughters of Dr. Chalmers, 200*l.*; the two children of Thomas Hood, 100*l.*; the two daughters of the late Sir Archibald Christie, 50*l.*; Mr. George Newport, F.R.S., in consideration of his researches and discoveries in comparative anatomy and physiology, 100*l.*; the two daughters of the late Professor George Joseph Bell, in consideration of his labours in the improvement of the law of Scotland, 100*l.*; the widow of Gen. Frederick Maitland, 50*l.*

20. Antiquities.—Some interesting and valuable relics of old time have recently been sold by Messrs. Sotheby; amongst them, a pair of gloves, belonging to James I., from the Strawberry-hill collection, and alluded to by Horace Walpole in a letter bearing date May 1769, 2*l.* 10*s.* A small bust of Venus, of Parian marble, recently found in the island of Cyprus, sold for 8*l.* 12*s.*; an Etruscan tazza, of very elegant form, with figures in yellow upon a dark ground, sold for 11*l.*; two caskets of the rare Limoges enamel, illustrative of the life of Sampson, &c., formerly in the collection of Baron Denon, sold for 37*l.* 5*s.*; a curious tankard of ivory, with figures of sea nymphs, &c., of most beautiful execution, sold for 45*l.*; a small marble figure of "Cupid stung by a bee," sold for 13*l.* 10*s.* Among some antiquities found in Ireland, were, a fibula of solid gold, with trumpet-shaded ends, dug up at Castle Troy, Limerick, and weighing upwards of three ounces, purchased by Lord Hastings for 14*l.*; a knight Templar's cross, silver gilt, found at Fethard Abbey, Tipperary, 3*l.* 2*s.*; a gold ring, engraved with coat of arms, supposed to be those of the Hewitt family, 3*l.* 13*s.*; an antique ring set with jasper, and described in *Rudder's History of Gloucester*, 4*l.* 5*s.*; three spear heads of bronze of great rarity, found at New Ross, sold for 3*l.* 6*s.*

— Goodwood Races.—The very unfavourable state of the weather caused this (now the most fashionable of all the racing meetings) to go off with less éclat than usual. The Goodwood Stakes, 123 subscribers, were won by Mr. Merry's Chanticleer; the Goodwood Cup by Van Tromp.

Fearful Conflagrations of

Cities.—The countries of both the Old and the New World have suffered great calamities by the destruction of principal cities by fire, within a short period of each other. On the evening of the 17th July, when the French steamer was eighty miles at sea from Constantinople, which she left in the morning, she saw a light in the horizon as if Constantinople were on fire. Intelligence has since arrived that a fire did break out on that day, at Pera, which destroyed 3,000 houses before it ceased.

Another and more terrible visitation, by which many of the principal buildings of the city were destroyed, occurred on the 16th August. It began at a fruit bazaar in the Yemish Iskelessi, between the two bridges, and spread with a velocity that defied all efforts to check it. A spectator has described the scene.

"In the immediate neighbourhood of the fruit bazzar was the Yagh Kapan, or oil dépôt; the magazines and warehouses being well stocked with this inflammable matter: on the other side, towards the arsenal, was an immense timber-yard, the greatest in the city, a quarter of a mile in length, one hundred feet in height, and five hundred in breadth. By eight o'clock both these places were invaded by the flames. * * * A compact mass of shipping was moored opposite this spot; and the masting of several Turkish vessels, laden with oil, wheat, and timber, soon took fire, and rendered the scene on the placid and tranquil water still more sublime than on land. The shrill cries of the commanders of the menaced vessels, the long, continuous, and savage howls of the mariners and sailors, in their endeavours to draw their crafts from the theatre of the conflagration, all tended to impress the spectator with the grandeur of the dreadful calamity that had befallen the city of Constantinople." Thence the fire spread along the hill, eating up houses, palaces, hanging-gardens, the Mosque of Suleymanieh, and the Port of the Ulemas. According to a detailed estimate, the fire has consumed some 2500 shops and 500 houses; about forty of the latter were splendid palaces, belonging to the Sheik-ul-Islam, Mustapha Pacha, Said Pacha, Irret Pacha, Hassan Pacha, and others. The general loss is calculated between 2,000,000*l.* and and 4,000,000*l.* sterling, but some have carried it to 5,000,000*l.* This fire exceeds that of Pera, two months back, not only in the extent, but in the value of the objects destroyed.

The whole of the Russian town Orel, of 1237 houses, was burnt down on the 7th of June. Four churches, four bridges, and upwards of 3,400,000 roubles' worth of other property, were destroyed.

The city of Zell, on the Moselle, was ravaged by a fire on the 22d August. A south-west wind rapidly urged the flames; and the greater part of the place—some two hundred houses—was destroyed. Two thousand people were rendered houseless, and lost nearly all they possessed.

A letter from the United States, dated the 16th September, says, "Never within the brief period of a week do I remember so many and such extensive losses by fire, in the United States. In the Atlantic States, we have had a two-months' drought, which has rendered timber buildings and many kinds of merchandise unusually inflammable. Hence, probably,

the frequency of conflagration. By far the most destructive was the awful fire at Brooklyn, on Saturday night last; which was only arrested by the marines from the Navy-yard blowing up three houses. Nearly fifteen acres in the very centre of Brocklyn are desolated, involving the following loss—250 houses and stores, 3 churches, and a post-office; four lives lost, and nine persons wounded; property destroyed worth 1,050,000 dollars. On Sunday-night, thirty-five of the best houses in Potsville, Pennsylvania, were destroyed by fire—loss 100,000 dollars. The Catholic church at Boston, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Fitzsimmons, has been accidentally burnt—loss 75,000 dollars. There have been other fires at New York, Albany, Boston, St. Louis, Newburg, &c.; while fires in the woods are raging in many regions to a great extent, both in the United States and the British provinces. Butter Hill, and several mountains on the North River, are pyramids of flame; presenting a sublime spectacle to the night passengers between Albany and New York."

28. Murder near Penrith.—A very atrocious murder was perpetrated at Bowscar, on Penrith Fell, a house belonging to Captain Youngson. It appeared that in the morning some angry words had passed between Joseph Todd, a gamekeeper, and Mary Dobson, the housekeeper. Todd left the house, but returning he found Mary Dobson in the house of Mr. Jackson, a farmer, when he immediately seized her by the throat and threw her upon the floor, and would have strangled her, had not Mrs. Jackson and one of her daughters rescued her from his grasp. The cries of Mary Dobson, Mrs. Jackson, and her family, were so great, that Mr. Jackson was alarmed, and on ascertaining the cause he went up the flight of steps which leads to the entrance of his dwelling, where he met Todd with a double-barrelled gun in his hands. Mr. Jackson endeavoured by every possible means to pacify him and prevent him coming out after Miss Dobson; and at last Todd, seeing that Mr. Jackson would not let him out of the house, raised his gun, and shot him through the heart. Mr. Jackson leapt a considerable height, and instantly dropped down dead, in the presence of his wife and family. The neighbours rapidly assembled, seized the murderer, and bound him hand and foot with cords, in which state he was handed over to the police.

Danish West Indies.—By the mail-steamer *Dee*, which left St. Thomas on the 15th of July, intelligence was received of a revolution in the Danish island of St. Croix. The negroes rose in rebellion, and extracted from the local governor a declaration of their immediate freedom; the Government in Copenhagen having but lately decreed gradual emancipation in twelve years. The rising was deliberately planned, but it occurred prematurely: a slave woman revealed the negro plans to her white mistress, and so the movement was precipitated. The slaves rose on the 3rd of June, and took possession of Christianstoed and Frederickstoed; sacked the Government houses, and committed universal pillage and destruction. The merchants retreated on board a Danish frigate and two English ships; whose captains are greatly lauded for their generosity. The Governor

was paralyzed, and offered no resistance to the movement: some accounts, indeed, charge him with complicity, and with having promised the negroes that they might "pillage a *little*, if no lives were taken." Fires were raised on the country estates all over the island. The negroes held sway till the 5th at night; but then assistance was sent from the Spanish island of Porto Rico, in troops and artillery. The merchants deposed Governor Scholten, chose a Provisional Government, marched against the negroes, and defeated them, and soon put the movement down throughout the island. Governor-General Oxholm arrived from St. Thomas, and ratified their acts. The Governor's act of immediate emancipation it was not thought safe to revoke; so that also was ratified. Many of the ringleaders were shot.

30. The Rebellion in Ireland.—It had been for some time rumoured that the plans of the Irish malcontents were, however desperate, shortly about to be put into action, and that an insurrection might be expected to commence within a few days; the public were consequently in a state of some anxiety upon the subject. At the beginning of the week it became known that the Irish club leaders and sedition writers had fled from Dublin, the *Nation* and *Irish Felon* threw off the mask and openly exhorted to revolt. Mr. Smith O'Brien and other principal anarchists were known to have proceeded to join their adherents in the southern counties, and were reported to have reviewed large bodies of insurgents in Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, and Limerick.

Meanwhile, the Government were putting in activity immense means of every description to prevent or crush an outbreak. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act arrived at Dublin on the 26th; warrants were despatched to the South for the arrest of Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and some dozen more of the Club leaders. An immense military force was concentrated on Carrick and Waterford; and the whole south coast became alive with war-steamers, under Sir Charles Napier. The *Rhadamanthus* was stationed at Waterford, with her guns enfilading the great thoroughfares of the town; and a fleet of armed steamers at Cork.

The same day Lord Clarendon issued a proclamation declaring the illegality of the clubs, and "strictly commanding all persons to withdraw from and abandon the same." In consequence, some clubs actually dissolved themselves. On the 24th, proclamation had been issued setting forth the names of the officers authorized to grant licences for bearing arms; and in the course of the week these officers held sittings to issue licences, and were most rigid in requiring reasons from each applicant why arms should be allowed to him, and in demanding surrenders on the most trifling reasons alleged by the police.

31. At a meeting of the Privy Council, held at the Castle, Dublin, it was resolved to place the following counties and baronies of counties under the operation of the Prevention of Crime and Outrage Act. This step has been taken with a view of effecting a general disarmament of the rebels:—

1. County Kerry. 2. County of the town of Galway. 3. Baronies of Kanturk, Skibbereen, Skull, Castletown, Berehaven, Bantry,

Macroon, county Cork. 4. County Wexford. 5. County Carlow. 6. Queen's County. 7. County Kildare. 8. County Wicklow. 9. Baronies of Ballybay, Ballycarran, Coolestown, Kilcoursey, Geashill, Upper Philipstown, Lower Philipstown, Warrinstown, King's County. 10. County Westmeath. 11. County Louth. 12. Baronies of Castlepollard, Clonkee, Tullygorry, Lower Loughtee, county Cavan. 13. Barony of Farney, county Monaghan. 14. Baronies of Upper Fews and Upper Orier, county Armagh. 15. Barony of Newry, county Down.

A Privy Council was held at Dublin Castle, when proclamations were agreed to, offering rewards: "For the arrest of William Smith O'Brien, 500*l.*; for Francis T. Meagher, John B. Dillon, and Michael Doheny, each or either, 300*l.*; to him who shall secure and deliver into safe custody the persons aforesaid." The charge alleged in the proclamation was—"having taken up arms against Her Majesty."

The *Hue and Cry* publishes the following sketches of the personal appearance of the rebel generals and their aides-de-camp.

"William Smith O'Brien.—No occupation, 46 years of age, six feet in height, sandy hair, dark eyes, sallow long face, has a sneering smile constantly on his face, full whiskers, sandy, a little gray; well set man, walks erect, dresses well.

"Thomas Francis Meagher.—No occupation, 25 years of age, five feet nine inches, dark, nearly black hair, light blue eyes, pale face, high cheek bones, peculiar expression about the eyes, cocked nose, no whiskers; well dressed.

"John B. Dillon, barrister, 32 years of age, five feet eleven inches in height, dark hair, dark eyes, thin sallow face, rather thin black whiskers; dressed respectable; has bilious look.

"Michael Doheny, barrister, 40 years of age, five feet eight inches in height, sandy hair, gray eyes, coarse red face like a man given to drink, high cheek bones, wants several of his teeth, very vulgar appearance, peculiar coarse unpleasant voice; dress respectable; small short red whiskers.

"Richard O'Gorman, jun., barrister, 30 years of age, five feet eleven inches in height, very dark hair, dark eyes, thing long face, large dark whiskers, well made and active, walks upright; dress, black frock coat, tweed trousers.

"Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, connected with the *Nation* newspaper, 23 years of age, five feet three inches in height, black hair, dark face, delicate, pale, thin man; dresses generally black shooting coat, plaid trousers, light vest.

"Thomas Devin Reilly, subeditor of the *Felon* newspaper, 24 years of age, five feet seven inches in height, sandy coarse hair, gray eyes, round freckled face, head remarkably broad at the top, broad shoulders; well set; dresses well."

In the meanwhile the most vigorous measures were pursued by Government. The forces were concentrated, arrests made of persons known to be about to join the insurgents, and the trials of those already in the hands of Government were pressed on, so as to show that in this country at least there would be no want of vigour in maintaining our existing institutions.

Numerous arrests of persons known to be engaged in the manufacture of pikes, and others impli-

cated in the designs of the insurgents, were made daily.

At length the long smouldering fire appeared to have broken out. The *Times* of the 27th contained the following:—

"Liverpool, Thursday Morning.

The following intelligence was received (per special engine) last evening by the editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*:—

"The whole of the south of Ireland is in rebellion.

"The station at Thurles is on fire, the rails for several miles torn up, and the mob intend detaining the engines as they arrive.

"At Clonmel the fighting is dreadful. The people arrive in masses. The Dublin club leaders are there. The troops were speedily overpowered; many refused to act.

"The military at Carrick have shown disaffection, and have been driven back and their quarters fired.

"At Kilkenny the contest is proceeding, and here the mob are also said to be successful.

"No news from Waterford or Cork."

This announcement proved to be without foundation, and probably originated in a desire to spread alarm and confusion.

The details of the miserably abortive attempt at rebellion belong to the department of "History;" but a few of the more striking incidents, which do not form a part of that narrative, will be from time to time chronicled.

The funds were considerably agitated by the news, coupled with the certain distress arising from the potato blight and commercial depression.

AUGUST.

1. The Rebellion in Ireland. —The Attack on Widow Cormack's House.—The anxiety of the public respecting the anticipated outbreak in Ireland was at once allayed by the announcement in the *Times* of the attack on Widow Cormack's House, on Boulagh Common.

"10 o'clock, A.M.

"We have received by electric telegraph, from Liverpool, accounts from our own correspondent in Dublin, who informs us that our reporter, writing from Willmont, Ballingarry, on Saturday night (July 29th), states that the rebellion, which actually commenced on that morning, had been decisively checked by 50 or 60 police.

"On the common at Boulagh, near Ballingarry, a collision took place; three of the insurgents were shot and several wounded.

"Smith O'Brien, who headed in person, had fled, completely deserted by the rebels, towards Urlingford, and it was expected he would be made prisoner before night.

"Doheny, Reilly, and Dillon were also in the field; the latter was said to have been killed."

Arrest of Mr. Smith O'Brien. —The *Times*, London journal, of the 7th, announced the arrest of this misguided person.

"Thurles, Saturday night.

"This evening, at 8 o'clock, Mr. Smith O'Brien was arrested in the town of Thurles, just as he was on the point of leaving for Limerick. The arrest was made without the slightest resistance either on the part of the prisoner or the people. He was recognised in passing through the principal street of Thurles by Hulme, a guard in the

employ of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company. Mr. O'Brien asked him the way to the railway station, and Hulme, having answered the question, immediately sent a soldier off for reinforcements. He himself followed Mr. O'Brien to the station. On arriving there Mr. O'Brien asked for a second-class ticket to Limerick, the price of which he paid. His manner was so embarrassed that the clerk noticed it, and particularly the tremor of the hand. He did not, however, recognise his face. Having given more money than was sufficient to pay the fare, the clerk returned him 6*d*. change, but he took no notice of this, and was walking away, when the clerk called him back. On his return he asked which was the right platform to go to, and being told that it was that opposite where he stood, he crossed the line to get to it. There he was immediately arrested by Hulme, who commanded him to surrender himself in the Queen's name, and seized his arm, to prevent any resistance or the use of a weapon. Head-constable Hanover, D, who held the warrant for his arrest, immediately assisted Hulme, and Mr. O'Brien was at once disarmed of a small pistol which he carried in his waistcoat pocket, and which was the only weapon he had about him. The reinforcement which Hulme had the prudence to send for, and which consisted partly of police and partly of soldiers, now arrived, and Mr. O'Brien was at once conducted to the gaol, where arrangements were made for his lodgment during the night. General M'Donald, however, wisely determined to send the prisoner without a moment's delay to Dublin, and accordingly, in an incredibly short space of time, a troop of dragoons and a detachment of infantry were drawn out as an escort to the station."

In consequence of these summary measures, no resistance, if any was to be expected, was experienced in conveying the prisoner to Dublin. The news of the arrest ran like wildfire over the country — the people appeared panic-stricken at the fate of the leader of the insurgent *army!*

On the 12th, three other principal leaders in this miserable affair, viz., Meagher, O'Donaghue, and Leyne, were arrested by a police patrol on the road between Rathcommon and Holy Cross — they made no resistance.

The Pembroke Collection of Coins. — The celebrated collection of coins made by the taste and wealth of Thomas, the eighth Earl of Pembroke (who enjoyed that title from 1683 to 1733), and which has ever since been the pride of that noble family and of the English numismatists, was sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, the sale extending ever twelve days, between the 31st July and the 19th August. Although this famous cabinet will not bear comparison, as a serial and scientific collection of coins and medals, yet it was well nigh unequalled in the rarity and value of individual examples. Owing to this, and the intrinsic value and beauty of many, the sale was eagerly attended by numismatists of this country and the Continent, and very large prices were realized. It would, of course, be impossible to give anything like a connected catalogue of the various coins which were now dispersed; but a selection of those which were of the greatest rarity and brought the highest prices will

be of much interest. Among the most remarkable of the British coins were:—a penny of Offa King of Mercia, in an extraordinary state of preservation, sold for 10 guineas; whilst a penny of Cynethryth, his queen, produced the large sum of 31*l.*; Wiglaf King of Mercia, a penny, struck between the years 825 and 839, sold for 30*l.* A penny of Sitric King of Northumbria, in a perfect state, and considered unique, struck A.D. 915, sold for 40*l.*; a penny of Anlaf, another of the Kings of Northumbria, 23*l.* Vigmund Archbishop of York, A.D. 851, a gold solidus weighing 67 grains, 59*l.*; a silver penny of Henry Bishop of Winchester, the illegitimate brother of Stephen, unique, and weighing 15 grains, 20*l.* 10*s.* A penny of Ecgbercht, 16*l.* 5*s.*; and one of Harthacnut, 17*l.* Of the English coins, a penny of Henry I., 11*l.*; and one of Robert Earl of Gloucester, his illegitimate son, being the only specimen known, except one in the British Museum, 11*l.* 10*s.*; a penny of Eustace, son of Stephen, sold for 17*l.* 10*s.* Henry VII., a shilling struck in the year 1504, and the first coin known by the name, 22*l.* A testoon, or shilling, of Edward VI., 15*l.* Charles I., a twenty-shilling piece of the Oxford Mint, struck in the year 1644, in an extremely fine condition, 25*l.* 10*s.*; a curious siege piece, an oblong piece of silver, rudely impressed with a castle, struck at Scarborough, 24*l.* 10*s.* Among the English coins in gold were—a noble of Henry IV., struck before his 13th year, and of great rarity, 21*l.*; a ryal, or half-sovereign, of Henry VII., 100 guineas; a double ryal, or sovereign, of the same monarch, 22*l.*

A pattern for a six-angel piece, of Edward VI., presumed to be unique from the fact of all the books upon the coinage citing this specimen, sold for the large sum of 185*l.* An uncertain pattern or coronation jetton of the same monarch, bearing date 1547, and of great rarity, 57*l.* Oliver Cromwell—pattern for a fifty-shilling piece, by Simon, 1656, 76*l.*; a pattern for a ten-shilling piece of Oliver Cromwell, 21*l.* 10*s.* The Commonwealth—pattern for a half-crown, by Blondeau, for 21*l.*; a pattern for a shilling of the same type, equally beautiful, 13*l.* 10*s.* "Rammages'" pattern half-crown, a most beautiful coin, 27*l.* 10*s.* Oliver Cromwell—a pattern sixpence, by Simon, sold for 8*l.* Charles II.—the celebrated pattern crown, by Simon, well known as the "Petition Crown," though not so fine as that formerly Mr. Durrant's, 135*l.* Among the Irish siege pieces of Charles I., two Inchiquin groats of irregular octagonal form, having the weight, 1 dwt. 6 grains, stamped on each side, extremely rare, 34*l.* 5*s.*

The Greek series, autonomous and imperial, the extreme beauty of the coins, and their fine state of preservation, excited surprise and admiration:—an uncertain coin in gold, weighing 72 grains, supposed to belong to Carthage, and considered unique, sold for 20*l.* 10*s.*; a gold coin of Tarentum, in Calabria, having on the obverse the head of Hercules covered with a lion's skin, 22*l.* 5*s.* Roman series:—a curious coin, 6½ inches long and 3⅝ of an inch wide, weighing 4 lb. 9 oz. and called a quadrussis, in brass, 22*l.* 10*s.* Roman families in gold:—Cornelia, having on the obverse a helmeted head of Rome, or Pallas, and on the reverse Sylla on horseback, a

coin in perfect condition, and probably unique, 19*l.* 10*s.*; Domitia, obverse, portrait of Cneius Domitius, 22*l.* 10*s.*; Livineia, on the obverse the Prætor Lucius Regulus, &c., 25*l.* Marcus Junius Brutus, having on the obverse "Brutus Imp.," bare head of Brutus to the right within a wreath of laurel, and on the reverse "Casca longos," 42*l.* Another of the same personage, having on the reverse the head of Lucius Brutus, 26*l.* Caius Cassius, 13*l.* 5*s.*; Sextus Pompeius, 33*l.* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, having on one side the head of Lepidus, and on the other Marc Antony, 28*l.* 10*s.* Two other coins of the same triumvir, but of different types, sold respectively for 25*l.* and 24*l.* 10*s.* Marcus Antonius—on the reverse, the head of Octavius, 13*l.* 5*s.* Two others of different types sold for 10 guineas and 6 guineas.

Roman families, in silver:—Cornuficia, having on the obverse a bust of Africa, personified as a female, whose head is covered with the head of an elephant, (a most rare coin, considered to be the second known, the other is in the Royal collection at Paris,) 14*l.* 5*s.*

Scribonia, restored by Trajan, having on the obverse a youthful head like Apollo, and on the reverse the mouth of a well, around which are sculptured garlands and lyres, 9*l.* Stater, a coin of the highest degree of rarity, having the head of Neptune on one side, and a figure standing, extending his hand to a woman in a kneeling posture on the reverse, sold for 11*l.*

Atrax, in Thessaly, a small silver coin weighing but 40 grains, of extreme rarity, 9*l.* Archelaus, king of Macedonia, bought for the British Museum for 22*l.* Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, an extremely rare coin, having on the obverse the head of Artemis, and on the reverse the figure of Victory, weighing 66 grains, 23*l.* 10*s.* Roman imperial coins in gold:—Three very rare coins of Hadrian, but of different types, sold for 19*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* Commodus, a remarkably fine coin of great rarity, having on the reverse Minerva, bought for the British Museum for 7*l.* 10*s.* Crispina, on the reverse "Venus Felix," the Empress, seated, with Cupid on her right hand, 7*l.* Pertinax, on the reverse a figure representing Equity, 10*l.* 15*s.* Did. Julianus (A.D. 193), on the reverse "Concord. Milit.," purchased for the British Museum for 27*l.* 10*s.* Severus, having a reverse representing two captives on each side of a trophy, 14*l.* 5*s.*

Greek silver coins:—Zacynthus Insula, a small coin having the head of Apollo on the obverse, sold for 11*l.* 5*s.* "Arcadia," having on the obverse the head of Jupiter, and on the reverse Pan sleeping on Olympus, one of the rarest coins in the Greek series, 15*l.* 10*s.* Cities of Crete, two rare coins of Enosus, one having on the obverse the head of Apollo, and the other the head of Jupiter, 23*l.* 16*s.* Gortyna, a coin of extreme rarity, having on the reverse an owl on an amphora, with a bull butting at it, 15*l.* Polyrhenium, a very rare coin, in fine condition.

A gold stater of Lampsacus, in Bithynia, having on the obverse a female head with wreath of ivy, and on the reverse the fore-half of a horse with wings, 4*l.* 10*s.* A small copper coin of Cyzicus, in Mysia, considered unique, 6*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Roman imperial coins in gold:—Victorius, on the reverse two lions facing each other, beneath a female bust, 18*l.* Another of the same

emperor, of a different type, 12 guineas. Tetricus, 8*l.* 12*s.* Carausius, one of the usurpers in Britain, 14*l.* Allectus, his successor, 8*l.* It was stated in the room that the Earl of Pembroke, in forming the collection, gave 63*l.* 10*s.* for this identical coin.

(Ninth day.)—This day's sale commenced with the copper coins of Lycia, Ionia, Cilicia, Troas, &c., which fetched very high prices. An uncertain coin, silver, of one of the cities of Lycia, sold for 10 guineas; and another, of a different type, for 11*l.* 16*s.*; a coin of Nagidus, in Cilicia, sold for 11*l.*; two coins of Mallus, in Cilicia, 12*l.* 11*s.* Tarsus, in Cilicia, two coins, 10*l.* 10*s.*; an uncertain coin of Cyprus, 6*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* An early gold coin of Lydia-Sardis, attributed to Crœsus, who reigned B.C. 545—559, but stated to be of a much earlier date, sold for 30*l.* 10*s.*

Roman medallions in gold:—Constans I., on the reverse the emperor standing between his two brothers, sold for 6*l.* Valens, another of these fine and rare medallions, 9*l.* 5*s.* Maxentius, a unique gold coin, 8*l.* 8*s.* Licinius, struck A.D. 316, having on the obverse the infantile bust of his son, and on the reverse Jupiter seated, 20*l.*

Kings of Syria, in silver:—A tetradrachm of Tryphon, one of the rarest coins in the Greek series, 130*l.* A gold octodrachm of Antiochus III., 7*l.* 12*s.* Antiochus VI. (silver), having on the reverse the Dioscuri on horseback, with the date of the year (170) beneath, 9 guineas. Antiochus VII., struck at Tyre, having on the reverse an eagle with palm branch standing on the prow of a galley (year 176), 10*l.* 10*s.* Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII., having on the obverse the veiled head of the Queen, and on the reverse Jupiter Nicephorus seated, 13*l.* Demetrius III. (Philopater), having on the reverse a figure like the Ephesian Diana holding three ears of corn, 19*l.* 15*s.* Two little coins of Nero, struck at Ephesus, 5*l.* 10*s.* Roman imperial denarii and large brass:—Gordian Africanus, senior and junior, two rare coins of these emperors sold for 7*l.* 10*s.* Sulpicius Antoninus, having on the reverse the celebrated conical stone, 6*l.* 15*s.* Tranquillana, reverse "Concordia Avg." probably the most rare in the large brass series, and as regards the reverse unique, 16*l.* 16*s.* Roman imperial coins in gold:—Procopius, a solidus, struck A.D. 366, 10*l.* 15*s.* Galla Placidia, A.D. 421, 5 gui neas.

The total amount produced by the sale was 5905*l.* It will be gratifying to know that the most valuable of the coins still remain in this country, the National Collection in the British Museum, that of Major.-Gen. Fox, and Dr. James Bird, being enriched by the rarest and most valuable specimens. The Pembroke Collection of Coins will not be altogether lost sight of as a collection; for the noble collector caused it to be engraved on a series of copper plates which was published by the famous antiquary, Joseph Ames, in 4to, in 1746.

3. The Tracy Peerage.—*House of Lords.*—A claim to the title of Baron Tracy in the peerage of Ireland has been for some time pending before the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords. Last year, when the matter was before the House, a link in the evidence was supplied by the production of the fragments of a tombstone which was said to have been originally placed over

the grave, "To the memory of William Tracy, third son of — Tracy, a Judge of the Common Pleas in England," &c. Evidence was given on that occasion to show, that although the bits of this tombstone had been recently found in different houses, yet that it had for many years, a long time since, been seen in the churchyard of Castle Brack.

When the case was before the House about a fortnight since, witnesses were called, one of whom, of the name of Holton, stated that, some time in the year 1845, he had been employed by a man of the name of M'Ginnis to assist him in engraving this identical tombstone; that they were to engrave it in the old style of letters; that they did so during certain nights in M'Ginnis's bedroom; that afterwards they held the stone over the fire for the purpose of darkening the stone so as to make it look old; that afterwards, with a sledge hammer, they had broken the stone into the pieces which it then appeared in; and that M'Ginnis had told him that the stone was engraved for the purpose of its being sent to London as evidence in a court of law; and that if the party for whom it was done was successful in his suit in consequence, they should both make a very good thing of the business. In the course of his examination the witness Holton admitted that he was not a stone engraver, although he had assisted a friend more than once before to cut letters. Upon this it was arranged —as doubts had arisen in the minds of some of the Committee as to whether a man who confessed himself to be so little accustomed to cut letters on stone could have cut them as well as the lines he had pointed out as his own work —that he should immediately after their adjournment be put to the test, by being made to cut some words in one of the rooms attached to the House. The tools and materials necessary for the purpose being at hand, in the workshops connected with the rebuilding the Houses of Parliament, Holton was immediately set to work, and in a short time produced a very convincing proof of the truth of his story.

7. Explosion in Albany Street, Regent's Park.—An explosion of a remarkable kind, attended by serious and fatal consequences, occurred in Albany Street, Regent's Park, about 10 o'clock at night. Soon after the shop of Mr. Loten, a dealer in Berlin wool, had been closed, a violent concussion tore the house to pieces; the ruins dashing in the windows of the shops opposite, and damaging the buildings in other directions: the remains of the house then burst into flames, and the fire raged for three hours. A servant girl was blown to the opposite side of the street; where she was found mangled and burnt, and quite dead. The only other persons in the house —Captain Loten, the brother of Mr. Loten, and Miss Burgh, the sister of Mrs. Loten—were dashed through the back part of the building; and it was found necessary to convey them to the hospital of University College. Mr. Loten's house was completely cleared away by the explosion; the houses on each side were shattered to their foundation; about a hundred more on all sides, but chiefly on the opposite side of the street; were more or less damaged, and some two thousand panes of glass broken. The parties conveyed to the hos-

pital having sufficiently recovered, an inquest was held on the body of the servant girl. Little could be ascertained from their evidence as to the cause of the explosion, further than that a strong smell of gas having been experienced, Captain Loten took a candle to ascertain whether there was any escape, and that upon entering the shop the explosion took place.

Dr. Arnott, having been requested by the Coroner to attend and state his opinion as to the cause of the explosion, was then sworn and said —"I am a doctor of medicine, and am author of the work entitled 'The Elements of Physics,' which treats upon subjects connected with the explosion of gases, to which I have directed my attention. I inspected the premises and neighbourhood of Albany Street a few hours after the occurrence, and having heard the evidence, I say that I believe an admixture of coal gas and common air capable of producing such an explosion. One measure of ordinary coal gas requires 10 measures of atmospheric air to render it in the highest degree explosive. The greatest explosion that can be attained will be effected from one part coal gas and 10 of common air. The result of such a mixture would in my opinion be to increase the volume about 15 times; that is to say, that one room containing one part of coal gas and 10 of common air would expand sufficiently to fill 15 rooms with the same mixture, and the explosion of the whole would be instantaneous. I see no reason to doubt that this catastrophe has been occasioned by an explosion of gas. Gas being much lighter than air, it ascends rapidly to the highest part of the room, and remains usually at the top of the air as oil does upon water, and the more it is mixed with atmospheric air the more explosive it becomes; and the probability is, in this instance, had Captain Loten held the candle lower there would have been no explosion. The surest remedy is to have a ventilator at the top of each room, in the chimney."

The Coroner believed, that if the explosion had been caused by gunpowder it could not have been more terrific than in this case.

Dr. Arnott said, gunpowder was nothing more than gas very much condensed; a cubic foot of the united gases, coal gas and atmospheric air, was equal to half an ounce of gunpowder. The doctor said he would not pledge himself as to the amount of expansion, as he had understood other scientific gentlemen differed with him, one declaring that it would only increase six times. The result, however, would be the same as regards explosive power.

Further evidence was then given, which showed it to be probable that, after the gas had been carefully turned off, the cock had been accidentally struck by the corner of a shutter and thus again turned on.

The jury returned a verdict amounting to "Accidental Death."

11. Singular Case of Identity. Scarpellini *v.* Seyranke; *Guildford.*—This was an action brought by Louisa Scarpellini against the defendant and his wife Marietta. The declaration alleged that before the marriage of the defendant, his wife had contracted a debt with the plaintiff for board, lodging, education, and necessaries; and this action was brought

to recover 200*l*., the amount of the alleged debt so incurred.

The defendants pleaded—first, that there had been no contract; next, that the amount had been paid; thirdly, that the lady was an infant at the time the debt was incurred; and fourthly, the statute of limitations; but to the last plea there was a demurrer, consequently it was not involved in the present inquiry.

Mr. Gurney stated the case. He said the plaintiff was a native of Italy, but she had resided for a great many years in England, and only occasionally paid a visit to her own country. The defendant was a brewer of St. Albans, and he believed he should be able to show that his wife was the sister of the plaintiff. He made use of the expression "believed" on account of the peculiar character of the transaction, for the principal question in the cause would be, whether this lady was or was not the sister of the plaintiff, as it was for necessaries furnished to her in that position that the present action was brought against the defendants. In the year 1833, the plaintiff, having received an intimation of the death of a near relative, proceeded to her native village in Italy, and she there found a younger sister almost in a state of destitution, and when she returned to England she brought her back with her. That sister remained with her, stopping at various places, until the year 1838, and during all that period the plaintiff provided for her, boarded and lodged her, and provided her with masters, and in fact did all that was possible to give her an opportunity of providing for herself, incurring for these purposes very considerable expense. In the year 1838, the child being at that time between 10 and 12 years old, a gentleman was so struck with the talents she exhibited that he offered to adopt her as his own, and the sister consented that he should do so, and she was taken away from her by the gentleman in question. From that time to the present the plaintiff had altogether lost sight of her sister; she had frequently applied to the gentleman who had taken charge of her to allow her to see her, but he refused, and it was only by a combination of extraordinary circumstances that the plaintiff at length ascertained that the defendant was married to a lady who, from the description given of her and other circumstances, there was no doubt on her mind was her younger sister who had so long lived with her, and of whom for so many years she had lost all trace. The plaintiff, being satisfied of this fact, went to the residence of the defendant, sent up her name, and requested to be permitted to have an interview with his wife, but Mrs. Seyranke refused to see her, and denied all knowledge of her, or that she was under any obligation to her. This was the defence now set up, and this was the question which the jury would have to decide. The plaintiff, acting under advice, had taken every step that could set the question at rest; and if her proceedings had been responded to by the defendants, there would have been no doubt in the case. An application had been made by persons who were well acquainted with the young lady, to be permitted to have an interview with her, but it was refused. Notice had also been given to the husband to produce his wife, but he had re-

fused. If an interview had been allowed to take place, of course the matter would at once have been set at rest: but as this had been refused, he should be unable to lay such clear evidence before them of the identity of the lady as he hoped to have done; but he apprehended that in the result the jury would entertain no doubt that the wife of the defendant was in reality the sister of the plaintiff by whom the debt had been incurred. The plea of infancy was an admission that Mrs. Seyranke and the plaintiff's sister were the same person. He should produce testimony which he apprehended would leave no doubt as to the identity of the lady, and if he established that fact he must confess he was astonished that the sister of the plantiff, who owed her present position entirely to the kind assistance she had received from her, should now, when her sister was in difficulties and poverty, refuse to make her that recompense to which she was clearly entitled. Evidence was then given which was supposed to show the identity of the lady.

The Chief Baron said, it certainly appeared to him that the state of things disclosed by the evidence did not establish any contract upon which a claim for necessaries could be founded. What had been done by the plaintiff for her sister was done from affection, or would be supposed to have been done from that motive in civil life; and it could hardly be supposed that it could encumber a child with a debt to be paid in after years. It seemed to him that it was the most absurd claim that had ever been brought into a court of justice; and if the jury should be of opinion that no contract had been proved, there would be an end of the case. If, however, they were not satisfied upon that point the case should proceed.

The jury immediately returned a verdict for the defendant.

— The Chartists.—The proceedings of the government in suppressing the secret cabals which have for so long a period excited apprehension in the well-disposed and peaceable portion of the community have proved to be at once judicious and effectual. At Manchester the magistrates exercised such constant vigilance that no actual disturbances were attempted, but a considerable number of "Confederates" and members of illegal clubs were arrested, and all intended processions and meetings suppressed. At Ashton-under-Lyne disturbances took place on the 14th inst., when numbers of men armed with pikes and a few fire-arms suddenly rushed into the streets, and caused much alarm; but a small body of soldiers being called out, and the special constables mustering in great force, the rioters disappeared as suddenly as they had issued forth, leaving behind them numerous pikes and other weapons. A policeman named Bright, who was mistaken for another officer who had been a witness against one McDoual, a Chartist, shortly before, was surrounded by the mob and murdered in a most inhuman manner. At Birmingham and Liverpool numerous arrests were made; at Bradford a large body of police were suddenly called out and the places of meeting of the Confederates and Clubbists were thoroughly scoured, when a great quantity of papers, pikes, &c., were found, and about ten of the leaders secured.

It was in the metropolis, however, that the final blow at this dangerous nuisance was struck; so quietly had the necessary information been collected, and so adroitly was the affair conducted, that it was only by the capture of the confederates that the public became aware of the dangerous nature of the conspiracy which had been for some time carried on. Three hundred armed policemen were concentrated at the station in Tower Street, and marched suddenly to the Angel Tavern in Webber Street, Blackfriars; which was invested, and entered for the capture of fourteen leading Chartists, there in deliberation. The commander of the force and a picked body-guard, with drawn swords, summoned the conspirators to surrender. Some demur was made, and signs of resistance appeared. Inspector Rutt cried out—"If any man offers the least resistance, I will run him through: a large force surrounds the house." Resistance being thus checked, in a few minutes the whole number of Chartists were silently secured, and marched under arrest to Tower Street. On search, pistols loaded to the muzzle, pikes, three-corner daggers, spear-heads, and swords, were found upon their persons; and others were found secreted under the seats on which they had been sitting. Some of them wore iron breastplates; and others had gunpowder, shot, and tow-balls. Under one man no less than seventy-five rounds of ball cartridge were discovered.

Similar visits were rapidly paid to houses in Ormond Street, Holborn, and in York Street, Westminster. At the first place, eleven persons were arrested, and a great quantity of arms seized. The meeting at Westminster got timely notice, and dispersed suddenly, before the police arrived. One man leaped out of window in a panic, and broke his leg.

It is stated that a marching in procession was intended at midnight on Wednesday; and that if the police interfered, they were to be attacked in every part of London, and the public buildings fired.

The whole of the military quartered at Buckingham Palace, the Tower, Mint, Bank of England, and the various barracks, were under arms; and a continuous line of communication was kept up between the Metropolitan and City Police, as well as between the military bodies. The most notorious of the party thus captured was William Cuffey. Cuffey and twenty-five of his associates were committed for felony, bail being refused.

14. Cathedral Festival at Cologne.—On the 14th inst., and two following days, a grand festival was held at Cologne, in celebration of the sixth centenary of its foundation. The works of this unrivalled edifice were resumed in the year 1842, when the king of Prussia laid a foundation stone, endowed the undertaking with 50,000 thalers a-year, and the princes of Germany, particularly the king of Bavaria, and the most wealthy personages of the Catholic faith, contributed not only funds, but various magnificent gifts towards the completion of the building in a style commensurate to the grandeur of the design; our own gracious Sovereign, on occasion of the visit to Germany, also appropriated a munificent sum to the progress of the undertaking. Notwithstanding

these acts of munificence, not inferior to the prodigality of the pious in times when such works were accounted the surest exhibition of faith and piety, the funds have been inadequate to the immensity of the works; the disturbances in Catholic countries have for the present stopped further supplies from those sources, and since that time the works have been carried on as rapidly as the funds permitted. Without some general contribution from the people of Germany, prompted by national enthusiasm, as their forefathers were animated by religious zeal, Cologne cathedral will never be completed.

The portion of the edifice added since 1842 is soon described. The choir and the tower have been united on the south by carrying up the stone-work to the point where the light shafts are to spring from the plain square buttresses; the three portals on this side are nearly completed; and the nave is so far finished that with a temporary roof it can be used for divine worship. On the north side nearly the same amount of plain work has been finished; but on both all the most expensive labour has yet to be bestowed, in the elaborate carvings and tracery of the pinnacles and shafts, in which the modern workmen are to imitate and reproduce the triumphs of their ancestors. The old stone-work, dark and worn to roughness by time, contrasts strongly with the smooth white masonry of yesterday; in form, of course, the ancient plan has been rigidly adhered to; time will harmonise the colour, but at present the effect is harsh.

The king of Bavaria has presented three painted windows, which are placed on the south side of the nave. The chief subjects of the windows are, "The Adoration of the Three Kings," "The Entombment," and "The Ascension." The Munich glass painters have every gradation of the palette, from the three primary colours to the most tender neutral tints, completely at their disposal. Their yellows especially show their superiority. All are of the highest beauty of conception. The king of Bavaria may well boast that his Munich glass painters are the first in the world. The artists chiefly concerned have been Professor Hess and Her Ainmüller.

The king of Prussia now left his distracted capital to preside at the fête celebrating the progress of the work to which he has so magnificently contributed; the Reichsverweser, the archduke John, the representative of United Germany, was also present; likewise Cornelius, the great fresco painter, and Kaulbach, whose works have done so much to adorn Munich. Rauch, the great sculptor, also attended the festival of the building which is the triumph of his art. The Chevalier Bunsen, Humboldt, and an immense train of nobles and church dignitaries, added to the magnificence of the scene. The festival consisted of concerts, illuminations, torchlight processions, and reviews. When at length Germany shall have returned to settled institutions, it is possible that this sublime building may be completed; for the German people have in some way connected the perfection of the Cathedral of Cologne with the ruling idea of United Germany, of which they consider it a type.

14. Three Persons drowned. —A regatta took place at Isle-

worth, after which there was a dance at the Waterman's Arms, which was kept up during the night. Early in the morning, seven young men of the party resolved to have a row on the river before proceeding to their work; and they got into a skiff and pulled towards Richmond. Near the Windsor Railway bridge, one of them stood up in the boat, while the others in a frolicsome mood began to rock it; the skiff shipped a quantity of water, swayed on one side, and turned bottom upwards in deep water. Some of the young men could swim, and they assisted their comrades till other aid arrived; but three perished.

— SHEEP-POISONING.—*Devizes.*—Jonah Blanchard was indicted for poisoning 198 sheep, the property of Mr. Pinkney, at Berwick St. James's.

The prosecutor farmed an estate of about 1600 acres. Upon the evening of the 24th of January last the prosecutor had 650 sheep in two yards. He had had them brought into the yards in December, and on that evening the shepherds left the sheep all in good health. The next morning, upon coming to the yards, the shepherds found that in one yard the sheep were as they had been left the preceding evening, while in the other the sheep were all affected with some inexplicable disease; three were dead, and a vast number more were groaning and showing symptoms of the greatest possible distress and agony, and the flock continued to die for a period of 14 days; in the whole 198 died. A veterinary surgeon and a medical practitioner being called in, declared they had no doubt the sheep died from poison. The prosecutor sent the carcase of one of the sheep to Mr. Herapath, the eminent chymist of Bristol, and he had no difficulty in detecting poison, which was sulphate of copper or blue vitriol. He discovered the poison not only in the intestines, but also in various other parts of the carcase, so that it had spread itself throughout the system, and there could be no doubt that by some compound of copper the sheep were killed. It appeared that the prisoner had found great difficulty in obtaining employment from the prosecutor and a Mr. Jabor, who were the only holders of land in the parish, on account of the badness of his character; that he was almost starved, and had been driven to the union, and that, subsequently, having used threats against the prosecutor's property, he had been sent to gaol. The prisoner was kept in gaol from July until October; during that time he wrote a letter to Mr. Pinkney praying for mercy, and Mr. Pinkney did not appear against him at the October sessions, and he was discharged. The being sent to gaol appeared to have made a great impression on the prisoner's mind, and he was continually talking of having his revenge, and he said, "If ever he got out of gaol he would kill Mr. Pinkney, and make him a poorer man than himself; he would not do it as soon as he got out of gaol, because it would throw suspicion upon him, but there should be a greater cry than there ever had been yet; he would get some stuff that would poison 2000 sheep by throwing it into a little water, or in the young clover grass, or he would do it in the sheepfold." The prisoner came out of gaol in

October, the sheep were taken into the yards in December. On the 22nd of January the prisoner endeavoured to obtain some arsenic at a shop in Salisbury, but the druggist refused to let him have any; he told him he wanted it in order to kill rats.

The jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty."

17. Collisions on the North Western Railway.—A serious collision occurred on this line at an early hour of the morning. At Ashton Bank, about five miles north of the Wolverton station, the Peterborough branch mail train came to a standstill, one of the eccentric bands of the locomotive having given way. While the driver was endeavouring to remedy the defect, the guard went back towards Roade, to stop the York mail train, which follows at an interval of about 10 minutes, taking up the mail-bags from Peterborough at the Wolverton station. The time of the occurrence was about two hours after midnight, and the weather was very foggy. The guard affixed a fog-signal to the rail, and was walking onwards to place another, when the York mail train came up. On the signal exploding, the engine was backed, and the driver and stoker leaped off; but the rails were greasy, and the train running on swiftly, it dashed into the Peterborough train. The Post-office van and a first-class carriage were smashed perfectly flat; the roof of each flying forward over other carriages. There were only two passengers in the train run into, and these, with the engineers and guards, had alighted; so they escaped unhurt. The people in the York train were less fortunate. The engine and tender, two vans, and two second-class carriages, were forced off the line, and nearly every passenger was more or less hurt, though few very seriously. One guard had thrown himself among the coke in the tender, and he escaped with bruises; but Collins, a guard in a break-van at the rear of the train, was found insensible, and was brought to London in that state, suffering from a concussion of the brain. A number of other trains arrived soon after, but no further accident occurred. The northern mails were many hours after the time for arriving in London, the line having been blocked up for a long while.

On the following morning another accident occurred on the same line, by which an engine-driver lost his life. These accidents were in some degree owing to the inefficiency of the servants employed. A very serious dispute was at this time raging between the company and the engine-drivers, in consequence of which the men had resigned in a body, and their places were temporarily supplied by very inexperienced persons.

19. Steam-boat Explosion.—An appalling accident happened on board the steam-ship *Earl of Liverpool*, Captain Finch, soon after she had taken her departure from Great Yarmouth for London. She left the quay of the above port a few minutes after eight o'clock in the evening, with from 70 to 100 passengers on board. Everything connected with her machinery appeared in good working order. When nearly abreast of Lowestoft Harbour, a loud explosion took place which completely shook the vessel, and at the same instant a body of steam

issued from the engine-room, enveloping the whole vessel. It was impossible to see the length of the ship in consequence of the rush of steam from the engine-room, and the men, being unable to see one another, could only obey the captain's orders by being hailed. The anchor was immediately let go, and a signal of distress hoisted, which speedily brought to their assistance the boats of the hardy fishermen of that coast, who rescued the terrified passengers from their perilous position.

Two of the crew, named William Walls, a stoker, and Henry Briggs, a carpenter, were missing; but it was some time ere the steam had sufficiently dispersed to allow a search to be made. The discovery of the body of the unfortunate man Walls was most startling. He was in an erect position between the two engines, and apparently alive, for one of his arms and his legs were in motion. On going up to him, however, he was found a corpse, having been scalded to death. The search was then continued for Briggs, and by breaking down the bulkhead of the engine his body was discovered in the berth of Walls, into which he had apparently rushed to escape. His death also must have been instantaneous.

It appeared that a portion of the machinery had given way, and the broken pieces being kept in motion by the engine had struck and severed the steam-pipe, by which the whole of the steam had rushed into the engine-room, causing instantaneous death to the persons engaged therein.

19. Storm on the East Coast of Scotland.—The coasts of Scotland have been visited by a fierce hurricane, attended with a very lamentable loss of life and great devastation of property.

Last night, says a letter from Aberdeen, about 1000 boats, each manned by five fishermen, left the various ports of the east coast of Scotland, betwixt Stonehaven and Fraserburgh, for the herring fishery. When at the offing, at about an average distance of 10 miles, and the nets down, the wind, which had continued during the day at south and south-west, suddenly chopped out to the south-east with rain. About 12 o'clock it blew a gale, the rain falling in torrents; and the night was so dark that none of the land lights could be seen. As soon as the gale came, some of the fishermen began to haul their nets; but the sea ran so high that most of the fleet had to run for the shore to save life. At Fraserburgh, the boats being to leeward of Rattray Head were less exposed than the boats to the southward, and managed to get a landing without loss of life; but at Peterhead, which is the easternmost point of the coast, and altogether exposed to an easterly gale, seventy out of the four hundred boats that were fishing there are missing, and there is too much reason to fear that most if not all of them are wrecked or sunk. At daybreak this morning the scene that presented itself along the shore between the Buchanness lighthouse and the entrance to the south harbour was of the most appalling description. The whole coast for a mile and a half was strewed with wrecks and the dead bodies of fishermen. Twenty-three corpses were carried into Peterhead before nine o'clock; and at the time the latest accounts left, others were being constantly thrown ashore among the

wreck on the sands or the rocks. Forty boats were wrecked within the circuit of half a mile; and so sudden and awful was the catastrophe, that no means of succouring or saving the distressed and perishing fishermen could be devised. It is calculated that along the coast not fewer than a hundred lives are lost; and when it is considered that for the most part the deceased fishermen have left wives and families, it will be felt that the widowhood and orphanage of our seaport towns have received in one short night an unparalleled augmentation.

Similar scenes were witnessed on the coasts of Sutherland and Caithness, from Helmsdale to Wick. Eight boats of the latter port were lost simultaneously as they tried to enter the harbour, and the whole of their crews perished. A number more were wrecked, but the crews escaped. It has been ascertained that 93 fishermen, many of them leaving families, perished in this disastrous gale; and that the value of the boats and nets destroyed amounted to at least 20,000*l*.

21. Collision on the Preston and Lancaster Railway. — A frightful accident occurred about five o'clock in the evening, on the Lancaster and Preston Railway, which was attended with fatal consequences. The train from Preston was stopping at the Bay Horse station, about six miles from Lancaster, when the Lancaster and Carlisle express train, which was due more than an hour previous, was heard, and was seen coming at a rapid pace. The driver of the Lancaster and Preston train endeavoured to set it in motion, but before he could do so the express rushed into it, breaking into splinters the hinder carriages, which were scattered in all directions. Several of the passengers, seeing the express train, jumped out, and thereby saved themselves, but about thirteen who remained in were seriously hurt, two or three with fractured limbs, and one woman was killed. None of the express passengers were injured. The unfortunate woman had a child in her arms, and, forseeing the accident, threw it out of the window and thus saved it.

— Bursting of a Reservoir.— A calamitous accident happened at Over Darwen, through the bursting of a "water lodge." The reservoir is about half a mile from the town, and at a considerable elevation above it; it is 150 feet across when full, 330 long, and 24 deep. It is supplied by a small stream at one end, and at the other the superfluous water runs through an aperture in a stream to the town. The pool lies in a valley, being kept in at the end towards the town by a high embankment. Very early in the morning, a violent thunderstorm broke over the neighbourhood; a vast quantity of water poured into the lodge; the immense weight forced down the embankment; and the water fell with tremendous force down a steep of from twenty to full forty feet, carrying away a mass of earth, stone, and sand, about sixty feet across, eighty feet long, and forty feet deep. The torrent then rushed along the bed of the stream, which generally carried off the surplus water from the bywash, and rose to a height of at least ten feet, carrying away hedges, trees, large stones, side-banks, and all such temporary impediments, in its course, and covering places before high above the stream and

green with grass to the depth of several feet with the gravel, stones, &c., usually found in the bed of a river. Culverts were torn up, walls washed away, and the flood rushed into the houses in the town. Some persons escaped narrowly, but no one was drowned till the water got to Bury Street. In this street there were inhabited cellars, in which persons were sleeping at the time, and twelve lost their lives. In one house, three men, two women, and two children perished: the only lodger saved was a young man who had got on a table and kept his face against the roof till he was dragged through a window. In another cellar, a woman and two children were drowned. Two children and an old woman perished in other places.

22. Hurricane in the West Indies.—A most disastrous hurricane occurred in the middle of August, and devastated Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, and St. Thomas. At Antigua and St. Kitts there has been no such loss of life and property for nearly twenty years; neither the hurricane of 1835 nor the earthquake of 1843 having been attended with such deplorable results.

On the evening of the 21st, the appearances of the sky betokened the approaching catastrophe; but the mercury in the barometer was very little affected. At midnight the wind raged furiously; lightning and thunder were incessant, accompanied by floods of rain. At this time a severe shock of earthquake was felt, attended by very heavy gusts. The gale continued to increase, until its force was perfectly terrific. By half-past one the mercury had fallen four-tenths of an inch, and the storm at this time was dreadful. By two A.M. it had abated; and towards morning the day dawned as calmly as if the elements had been at peace; but on looking abroad on the 22nd, the island, which had been studded with neat structures and populous villages, appeared as a waste of rubbish and ruin. It is believed that the south and west part of the island experienced the wind much more than the north side. In the old road division the devastation was immense. Villages were utterly destroyed, and plantations swept away, the Middle Ground Buildings thrown into the sea. Government loss in English harbour alone is 25,000*l*. Throughout the island 2000 buildings are unroofed, and 700 totally destroyed. The number of lives lost is said to be thirty; authentic accounts of eighteen have been received. Immense numbers of cattle and stock of all kinds have been destroyed. The largest trees were torn up by the roots, and houses were lifted twenty-five yards from their foundation.

Nearly similar scenes occurred at St. Kitts and Nevis. At St. Thomas the storm was less terrible.

24. Burning of the Ocean Monarch, and loss of 178 lives.—A most appalling catastrophe occurred off the Orms Head, within a few miles of shore, by which not less than 178 persons perished by the most frightful of all deaths.

The *Ocean Monarch*, an American emigrant ship, left Liverpool in the morning, having on board 399 persons, crew and passengers. She had not advanced more than fairly into the Irish Channel before she took fire, and in a few hours was burnt to the water's edge; and *at least half the number of the persons on board perished!*

The vessel had proceeded with

a favourable wind, and had reached the bay between the Orms Head and Abergeli, where she was met by a yacht belonging to Mr. Littledale, who was returning from the Beaumaris regatta.

Mr. Littledale and his friends were admiring the beauty of the splendid ship as she was pursuing her course to the Atlantic. On a sudden the *Ocean Monarch* was observed to put up her helm as if returning to Liverpool. A flag of distress was immediately hoisted, and in a few seconds flames were observed to burst out abaft. The ship was lying right in the course of the yacht, and Mr. Littledale immediately bore away for her. On nearing her, although there was a stiff breeze blowing, with a heavy swell, the boat of the yacht was lowered, and proceeded to the ship for the purpose of rendering what assistance she could. Of course, with the swell on, it would have been next to certain destruction to the yacht had she been run alongside the ship, but the exertions of Mr. Littledale and his crew were of the noblest description, and he saved from destruction thirty-two persons, being as many as his little vessel could possibly hold.

The scene which presented itself to Mr. Littledale on nearing the vessel was of the most appalling and harrowing description. The flames were bursting with immense fury from the stern and centre of the vessel. So great was the heat in these parts that the passengers, male and female, men, women, and children, crowded to the fore part of the vessel. In their maddened despair women jumped overboard with their offspring in their arms, and sank to rise no more. Men followed their wives in frenzy, and were lost. Groups of men, women, and children also precipitated themselves into the water, in the vain hope of self-preservation, but the waters closed over many of them for ever. No pen can describe this awful scene. The flames continued to rage with increased fury. In a few minutes the mizen-mast went overboard, a few minutes more and the mainmast shared the same fate. There yet remained the foremast. As the fire was making its way to the fore part of the vessel, the passengers and crew, of course, crowded still further forward. To the jibboom they clung in clusters as thick as they could pack—even one lying over another. At length the foremast went overboard, snapping the fastenings of the jibboom, which, with its load of human beings, dropped into the water, amidst the most heart-rending screams, both of those on board and those who were falling into the water. Some of the poor creatures were enabled again to reach the vessel, others floated away on spars, but most met with a watery grave.

In about an hour and a half after the yacht reached the vessel, the Brazilian steam frigate *Affonso*, having on board the Prince and Princess De Joinville, the Duke and Duchess D'Aumâle and their suite, came up. She anchored immediately to windward, and close to the burning vessel. She got a rope made fast to the *Ocean Monarch*, and by the use of the said rope her boats were enabled to go backwards and forwards to the burning vessel with great facility, and by this means a large number of persons were saved. The noble personages on board the *Affonso* exerted themselves with the most undaunted courage in the work of

humanity, freely risking their lives; the princesses and their ladies shewed the most unbounded benevolence in their succour to the unfortunates received on board. The noble Frenchmen saved at least 160 persons from the most horrible of deaths, and rendered to them all that circumstances could possibly admit of to alleviate their sufferings. The *Prince of Wales* steamer, which was on her passage hence to Bangor, came up shortly afterwards, and, with the *New World* packet ship, bound for New York, sent boats to the rescue of the passengers, and were the means of saving a large number.

The *Queen of the Ocean* remained alongside till three o'clock. At that time the vessel was burnt near to the water's edge, and there were only a few of the passengers on board, several boats being alongside, endeavouring to take them off. The amount of the disaster is thus given by Captain Murdock, the commander of the ship. The fire was announced to him at noon, when the ship was off the Great Orms Head.

"I at once went below, and discovered smoke proceeding into the main cabin, through one of the after state-rooms. We began without delay to throw water down; but in five minutes afterwards, indeed almost instantly, the after part of the ship burst into flames. We put the ship before the wind, in order to lessen the draught, but were obliged to bring her to again. The fire produced the utmost confusion amongst the passengers: all appeared infatuation and despair; yells and screams of the most horrifying description were given; all control over them was lost; my voice could not be heard, nor my orders obeyed. Finding that nothing could be done with the yards, I caused both of the anchors to be let go, that the ship's head might be to wind, and the fire be kept as abaft as possible. The passengers crowded in numbers to the bowsprit to avoid the heat of the flames; many, in alarm and despair, leaped overboard; and, although spars and all loose materials lying about deck were thrown out for them to cling to, a great majority were drowned.

"In spite of all that could be done, the flames increased. I gave orders to get the boats out. Two of them were got out; but before the lashings of the others could be cut they were enveloped in flames. The mate and several of the passengers, with part of the crew, got into one of the boats which was lowered, and a portion of the crew with some passengers into the other. The last thing which I did was to throw overboard a topgallant-yard, with the assistance of the carpenter and one or two men, with a rope attached to it to make it fast alongside, and to tell the people to jump overboard and cling to it; then, finding the flames approaching so rapidly that I could neither get forward nor aft, I was obliged to heave myself overboard."

Some got off in boats; the first mate, Mr. Bragdon, gallantly helping them in their distraction. "At this time," he writes, "the confusion was so great—passengers screaming and running against each other—that order was entirely out of the question. On looking round to see what could be done, I saw that the second mate had lowered the stern-boat, and, with three men, had got into it. They were lying by astern. The captain was all this time ex-

erting his utmost to restore order and to save lives. I next saw that some of the crew and passengers were launching the waist-boat. They succeeded, and a crowd pressed eagerly to fill her. They would most assuredly have swamped her, for she did nearly fill. In order to preserve the boat, as essential to the saving of lives, I jumped overboard and swam to the boat. I ordered the rope to be cut; and that being done, she drifted astern. After drifting about four miles to leeward, a sloop picked us up: we were thirteen in number. The origin of the fire could not be ascertained; it was generally said to have been caused by one of the emigrants lighting a fire in one of the wooden ventilators."

The *Ocean Monarch* went down at her anchors at half-past one o'clock on the following morning. The weather was fine and calm. The captain of the steam-tug *Liver*, which was within thirty yards of the ship when she sank, says that, with the exception of the solid timbers about the stem, on which was the figure-head in an almost perfect state, the fire had consumed the whole of her upper works to within a few inches of the water's edge. Indeed, so even was the work of destruction round the sides of the ship, that it appeared to have been the work of carpenters. The water first made its way into the after-part of the ship. As she gradually settled herself into the bosom of the sea, large volumes of flames rushed forward with a hissing and crackling sound, till at length the water completely buried her; and the remains of this once noble vessel disappeared in about fourteen fathoms, causing a heavy swell for the moment.

The precise number of lives lost is uncertain. The following table, framed from authentic sources, is nearly correct:—steerage passengers, 322; first and second cabin, 32; captain and crew, 42; total, 396. Saved, per *Affonso*, Brazilian steam-frigate, 156; *Queen of the Ocean*, yacht, 32; *Prince of Wales*, 17; smack, 13: total saved, 218; missing, 178; grand total, 396.

Such an appalling catastrophe was well calculated to call forth the sympathies of the public. A subscription for the relief of the survivors speedily amounted to upwards of 3500*l.*, besides ample supplies of clothing and food, furnished with an unsparing generosity by the magistracy and inhabitants of Liverpool.

The Prince de Joinville forwarded a very considerable sum for their succour, saying, "Take this for these poor people; it was intended to be expended in a tour of pleasure; which, after this, it is impossible to enjoy." A spirited sketch of the dreadful scene, by the Prince, was raffled for, and produced nearly 100*l.* The Brazilian minister, the Chevalier De Lisboa, sent 100*l.* Her Majesty and Prince Albert sent 100*l.*

25. The Trials for Sedition.—The punishment of the parties concerned in the late dangerous proceedings commenced by the conviction of George Snell, a shoemaker, who presided over a meeting at the Chartist Hall on the 28th July. Bryson, a dentist, Crowe, a tailor, and Bezer, were also found guilty; the sentence on each was two years' imprisonment, a small fine, and to give securities to the amount of 200*l.* to keep the peace for five years. At Manchester, Dr. McDouall was found

guilty of sedition, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

26. India.—Defeat of Molraj.—The Indian Mail brings highly interesting news. The campaign against the insurgent ruler of Moultan has opened with brilliant success. The energy of the British is strongly contrasted with the failure of the Dutch Expedition. Lieutenant Edwardes having succeeded in crossing the Indus and Chenab, and effecting a junction with the forces of the Rajah of Bhawulpoor, on the 18th of June came into collision with the army of Molraj. They awaited his attack, and sustained a sanguinary conflict of nine hours' duration. The rebel army were completely defeated, and driven from the field, with the loss of nearly all their artillery, six out of their ten guns remaining in the power of the British.

The cause of Molraj is completely lost. Various conjectures were afloat at the time of the departure of the courier as to the course he would pursue. The utmost he could expect was to regain his fort in safety; but there is a more probable and a more Oriental termination to such a career—either that the rebel chief will destroy himself or be put to death by his own people.

Lieutenant Edwardes has earned for himself no mean place in Indian history.

A successful rencontre had taken place between her Majesty's ship *Scout* and a most audacious set of pirates near Amoy: Commander Johnston was slightly wounded. The coast is, in fact, swarming with pirates; yet the Government appears officially to discourage merchant-vessels acting as convoys to native craft. There is an increase of foreign vessels carrying up native produce to the North, particularly sugar from Hong-kong port to Shanghae. Owing to the late equalization of duties in India on foreign and British bottoms, the American flag is already in active and successful competition with the country shipping, which must suffer severely.

— Indian Archipelago.—An armament had been for some time in preparation by the Dutch against the Balinese pirates; which was, however, to await the intentions of the Home Government, as news had then just arrived in the East of the commotions in Europe. Subsequently, the Colonial authorities resolved to push their enterprise without delay. The Rajah of Lombock, to whom the Balinese territory once belonged, agreed to cooperate with troops and a naval armament. The Dutch authorities fitted out an expedition of some 2700 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 300 artillerymen with light guns; and on the 3rd June embarked them at Beazoe-Koe, on board of four war-steamers and eleven transports. The military and naval authorities were rather at variance as to the sufficiency of this force for its purpose: the naval commander distrusted it, but was overruled by the military head, who was so confident that he set out too early for the Rajah of Lombock to cooperate. The result has been disastrous. The stronghold of Djaga-Raga was the point attacked. The place was found to be fortified in regular form, and manned by the whole Arab force. It being four miles from the shore, the naval force could not assist after the landing of the Dutch force was completed. At first, the Dutch were somewhat successful, some outworks being taken, against great

defensive efforts; but ultimately they utterly failed, from want of force: they were outflanked and attacked in the rear, and at last were obliged to yield all advantages and retreat aboard their ships. Fourteen officers, 114 European troops, and as many Native troops, were killed; and the number of wounded was proportionably great. The attacking force shot away 80,000 rounds of ball cartridge: failure of ammunition is alleged as the cause of its retirement.

A Dutch expedition against the Sultan of Sooloo, for the piratical depredations of his subjects, has also failed. Captain Honckquest, who was put in command of the expedition, attacked Sooloo on the 23rd April, after three days' negotiations; his force being but two brigs. After many hours' cannonade by each party, the brigs retired beyond the fire of the Sooloo batteries. The town was fired in several directions.

28. Explosion of Fire-damp.—A fatal explosion of fire-damp occurred in Messrs. Wood and Co.'s colliery, Hindley Green, near Leigh. The men went to work with unprotected candles, though safety-lamps had been provided for their use. In half an hour there was a violent explosion. Two men and two boys were found dead; another boy died soon after—both his thighs had been broken, and a pick-handle had been blown into his body; five other miners were seriously hurt.

Collisions at Sea.—Two collisions at sea have recently occurred. The ship *St. Lawrence*, bound for New York, and the schooner *Cosmopolitan*, on her voyage to Bonny, came in contact, the ship running into the other vessel with great violence. The crew of the *Cosmopolitan*—with the exception of one seaman, who was knocked overboard and drowned—scrambled on board the ship, and were carried to Kingstown. On the 26th inst., the steamer *Prince of Wales*, from Belfast to Fleetwood, came in contact with the sloop *Jane*, of Liverpool; and the latter was wrecked: crew saved. The steamer afterwards went ashore, near the Point of Ayre lighthouse, and lost the second mate and two seamen.

SEPTEMBER.

Accidents.—Some very melancholy accidents have recently occurred.

Mr. F. Goold, a barrister, eldest son of the late Master Goold, has been drowned on the coast of Sligo. He went out in a boat, with his brother, to shoot seals; a squall upset the vessel, and the brothers were plunged into the sea; the elder perished, and the other was so exhausted when rescued that he was insensible for two hours.

A fatal accident occurred near Monaghan. Mr. R. Lamertine Grason, his wife, and Miss Graham, his sister-in-law, were driving a pony phaeton in the afternoon towards Rosmore Park; the horse took fright, and leaped over the parapet of a bridge which spans the Ulster Canal; the descent is very great, and the whole party were killed by the fall. It is said that Mr. Grason leaves a large property with no relative to inherit it.

A number of poor creatures went to the sands at Ballinass Pierhead to seek a kind of eel, found in the sand, for food. A sailor volun-

teered to ferry them over a narrow channel in a ship's boat; the little vessel was upset; seven of them were drowned, including the sailor.

The Rev. John Lloyd Crawley was drowned at Arlingham in attempting to swim his horse across the Severn, at the ferry at that place. The horse swam ashore.

A young lady, from Bristol, has been killed by a fall from a cliff near Dover. She hired a donkey at St. Margaret's, and rode along the top of the cliffs towards Dover: alighting at the Cornhill Coast Guard station, she asked one of the guard if she might safely descend to the beach, and the man told her she might by a zigzag path which he pointed out. Near this zigzag was an almost perpendicular slip used for drawing up manure. Some time after, another Coast Guard man found the young lady's corpse on the beach, immediately under the slip: it is supposed that she had mistaken the slip for the path mentioned by the guard, and had attempted to descend by it. The cliff at this spot is two hundred feet high.

2. Accidents on the London and North-Western Railway.—A serious accident occurred at night on the London and North-Western Railway, near Newton Road station. The express train from Liverpool was twenty minutes behind time at Wolverhampton; it consisted of a powerful engine, a tender, three carriages, and a luggage-van. About three hundred yards south of Newton Bridge, the engine ran off the up rail, crossed the down line, dragging the tender and luggage-van with it, and dashed into an embankment. The luggage-van stood completely across the rails. The passenger-carriages fell over into a ditch, the coupling irons at taching them to the engine having been torn away, with the front of the first carriage. The passengers were dashed against each other by the shock, and received numerous injuries. Mr. Shuard of Somerleyton, was found lying under a carriage, so wedged in the wreck that he could not be extricated till the carriage was removed; his left leg was broken in two places, and the injury ultimately proved fatal. Colonel Baird, of Stirling, a veteran, 71 years of age, who had served in all quarters of the globe, was so greatly shaken that he died on the Tuesday morning following, at Birmingham. The other passengers were not seriously hurt. The driver and stoker, though pitched off the engine, suffered little. Soon after the disaster, a pilot-engine from Birmingham, sent to ascertain what caused the delay of the express, came along the down line, and knowing nothing of the accident, and not observing the signals which were attempted to be made, ran into the ruins of the express train, cut the luggage-van quite through, and, running off the rails, eventually fell into a ditch; both driver and fireman being hurt.

The first accident happened on a curve, and was reported to have resulted from excessive speed, but on examining the carriages after the accident, it was found that in one of them the springs were so weak and so improperly placed, that the body of the carriage, when laden, sunk down upon the wheel, and thus formed an impediment, which resulted in causing the engine and the following carriages to run off the rail.

Another accident, of a very

complicated character, happened on the same line on the Tuesday morning following. Near Leighton Buzzard station there is a ballast-pit, whence gravel is obtained for laying the road: a train of wagons left Wolverton two hours after midnight, to get gravel from the pit; having arrived at the Leighton station, the train was transferred from the up to the down line of rails, and then proceeded through Linslade tunnel to the pit. There are two sidings running into this pit; and as neither one of them was sufficiently long to contain the whole train, Cole, the driver, detached some portion of the wagons and placed them in the siding, and then returned for the other portion of the train left in the meantime upon the main down line. He had just got back on to the main line, and was about to couple his engine to the remaining wagons, when the 12.30 A.M. luggage-train from Camden station came through the Linslade tunnel at a great speed, and ran into the train of empty wagons, crushing the break-van into a thousand pieces, and strewing the wagons about the line in every direction. The engine and tender of the goods train were thrown off the rails and driven nearly on to the up line, while several of the goods wagons were entirely destroyed, and their contents scattered over the railway.

Before there was time to give warning of the accident, the York mail dashed up, and ran into the wreck: the engine and tender were thrown across the down line, the break-van and luggage-van were smashed, and several passenger-carriages broken. The driver was much hurt; the under-guard was buried in the ruins of the break-van, and it was two hours before he could be got out; the passengers escaped with cuts and bruises.

Succeeding trains were stopped, and no further mishap occurred.

On Tuesday, the 11th inst., a woman was killed while attempting to cross the rails of the same line at the Stithford station; the express train, proceeding at great speed, knocked her down, and she was killed on the spot.

4. POISONING IN ESSEX.—The agricultural county of Essex has acquired a fearful notoriety from the discovery of many very dreadful cases of poisoning, several instances of which crime have already been recorded in this CHRONICLE. An investigation has for some time been proceeding into the cause of the death of Thomas Ham, a blacksmith, of Tendring, near Thorpe. Ham was a young man, and had been in good health till within two months of his death. He died after two days' illness. His wife had told him she liked Southgate better than himself, that she would marry him when Ham died, and if he did not die soon she should kill him. Ham died, and about three weeks afterwards his widow married her paramour. Professor Taylor found fifteen grains of arsenic in the body—sufficient to kill five people. On Monday, Hannah Southgate was present in custody. Mrs. Elrich deposed to conversations between Mrs. Ham and Mary May, who was executed at Chelmsford, a few weeks since, for poisoning her brother. May said, if Ham were her husband she would "give him a pill;" the other replied, she would "give him a dose one of these days." Witness had heard Mrs. Ham say she would poison her husband if he did not

die soon. The prisoner was very anxious during Mrs. Elrich's examination, and frequently contradicted her. A number of persons described the unhappy manner in which May and his wife lived together, her profligacy, and the very suspicious remarks which she had let fall. May kept arsenic in the house, as she had been seen to spread it on bread and butter to kill rats. The verdict was "Wilful Murder" against Hannah Southgate. On hearing it, she exclaimed, "I am innocent, gentlemen!" but she did not exhibit any discomposure at her position. It is said that the woman May left a confession, by which a clue has been obtained to a deliberate system of poisoning existing in this district, and practised by a large number of women, for the purpose of obtaining the fees paid by the "burial clubs," or, as they are here called, "death clubs," on the decease of their husbands and children.

5. Prorogation of Parliament.—Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person. There was but a scanty attendance of peers, but the magnificent hall was crowded and beautified by an immense assemblage of peeresses and ladies of rank. The diplomatic attendance was very large. In the space between the diplomatic tribune and the throne stood the Prince of Hesse, the Prince de Joinville, and the Duc de Nemours. Her Majesty went in the usual form, attended by the great officers of state. The day was exceedingly fine, and the crowds of people who lined the streets more than usually numerous. The reception of Her Majesty was enthusiastic beyond even the usual warmth which greets our gracious Sovereign, and seemed intended to give assurance that, amidst the fall of monarchs and the wreck of thrones, the Sovereign of this country has her seat firmly based in the hearts of her subjects. Her Majesty appeared deeply gratified at the marked respect and love of her people.

— The Queen's Visit to Scotland.—The Scottish portion of her kingdom having been again selected for the autumnal residence of the royal family, Her Majesty and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, and the Princess Royal, embarked in the royal yacht, at Woolwich, immediately after the ceremony of the prorogation of Parliament. The royal squadron immediately proceeded on its voyage, without regard to the places of anchorage which had been appointed for the night, and, under the favourable circumstances of a light breeze and smooth sea, made such rapid progress that the several headlands and points on the coast, on which preparations for greeting had been made, were passed many hours before the signal-men commenced their look-out. The squadron arrived in Aberdeen harbour about 8 o'clock on the Thursday morning, full twenty-four hours before they were expected; the authorities, however, were not caught napping, as happened to their more southern neighbours of Edinburgh, but the premature arrival probably cut short some of the intended ceremonials. The Provost and Town Council were received, and presented to Prince Albert the freedom of the city; and afterwards the Prince landed, and on foot viewed the notabilia of the place. On the following morning the Royal Family landed, and proceeded, amidst the usual demonstrations of welcome, to Balmoral,

the house selected for their sojourn.

Balmoral Castle is a large house, of modern structure, situated on the south bank of the Dee, about fifty miles from Aberdeen. The mansion consists of a centre, square and lofty, and of two wings; projecting windows and balconies give an extensive and beautiful prospect. The rooms of the house are spacious and handsome. The private apartments of the Queen and Prince Albert, and the rooms of the children and their attendants, lie in the east wing, looking down the Dee and towards the grand Highland outlines of Ballater. Adjoining to the western wing is a conservatory. Round the eastern wing is a garden, about an acre in size.

The residence of Her Majesty and family at Balmoral not partaking in any degree the character of a state visit, presents nothing subject to public record. The amusements consisted of the usual occupations of a family of distinction *en campagne;* driving, riding, walking, and boating, on the part of the ladies, shooting, riding, and walking excursions on the part of Prince Albert, and suitable amusements for the youthful Princes. The Royal Party honoured with their presence a "Gathering of the Clans" at Invercauld, and exhibited that interest in the wild and manly sports which are so acceptable everywhere, and not least to the brave Highlanders. After about a month of healthful retirement and recreation, the Royal party left Balmoral on the 28th instant, and embarked at Aberdeen in the evening; but tempestuous weather had arisen and the sea was very high; the Royal party, therefore, disembarked on the following morning, went overland to Perth, where they slept; thence to Crewe by railway, and passed the night there; arrived at Buckingham Palace at half-past ten on Sunday morning, and on Monday went to Osborne House.

Great Capture of Whales.—The appearance and slaughter of whales of the bottle-nosed species has occasionally been recorded in this Chronicle. Another capture has now taken place. The hardy fishermen of the Cromarty Firth were suddenly thrown into excitement by the discovery of a large shoal of these animals gambolling in the shallow water. Man, woman, and child instantly armed themselves with guns, spits, pitchforks, and every other kind of rural weapon, and rushed into the waves. The frightened inhabitants of the deep were easily driven on shore, and a sanguinary contest took place, which resulted in the death of forty-five of the strangers; others were captured on other points: in the whole about seventy were slain. This fortunate skirmish produced ample booty, in addition to the honour, for the bottle-nosed whale yields a considerable quantity of oil. The whales are from 10 to 18 or 20 feet in length.

9. Great Robbery of Sovereigns.—Two thousand sovereigns have been stolen while in transit from Messrs. Praed, the bankers, to correspondents at Truro. The money was inclosed in a box, and sent to the Swan-with-two-Necks, to be forwarded *viâ* the Great Western Railway. A box rather larger was received at Truro, filled with pewter and rubbish: the address written on the box was a very good imitation of that on the original. Messrs. Praed had insured the money. This robbery

is supposed to have been committed by the same parties who committed the audacious plunder of the mail-bags, to be recorded in the CHRONICLE of next January.

11. THE REGENT'S QUADRANT.—One of the most distinctive features of the metropolis has been removed on the alleged grounds of morality and convenience. An act of parliament having been obtained during the last session for the removal of the colonnade of the Regent's Quadrant, the materials have now been sold by private contract, it is said for railway purposes. The cast-iron pillars, 270 in number, realized 2900*l*. The houses are to be new-fronted. The total cost of this alteration is estimated at 3900*l*., to be defrayed by the sale of the old materials and by a rate on the inhabitants.

15. ACCIDENT ON THE BRISTOL AND BIRMINGHAM RAILWAY.—While a body of labourers were engaged in laying ballast on the line of the Bristol and Birmingham Railway, which is one of those lines which are adapted both to the broad and narrow gauge, and is used jointly by the Great Western and the Midland Railways, a luggage train consisting of fifty-four trucks came down from Cheltenham. The greater number of the men stood altogether aside until it should have passed; but the deceased and some others merely stepped aside on to the other rail, and were attempting to count the long line of trucks. While absorbed in this attempt they did not observe that a passenger train was coming up on the broad gauge; this train, therefore, came upon them unnoticed, when three of them were killed instantaneously, and two others dreadfully injured.

16. FIRE AND LOSS OF LIFE IN WHITECHAPEL.—At an early hour of the morning a terrible fire broke out on the premises of Mr. Watkinson, a staymaker, No. 5, Whitechapel Road. The inmates were with much difficulty roused from their slumbers, and attempted to escape; but being met by a dense mass of flame and smoke, they were driven back into the upper floors, from the windows of which they called loudly on the people below to assist them. The fire-escape not being at hand, there was no resource left but to take the perilous chance of leaping into the arms of the crowd below. Mr. Pitt did so, and suffered little injury; but his wife was afraid to follow his example, and fled, with two of her children, into another room, where she was doomed to the dreadful agony of seeing her son, a lad of 13, burnt to death before her eyes. Mr. Watkinson now courageously mounted a narrow ledge, and seized one of the children, whom he handed in safety to a person below; he next seized another child, a girl, whose apparel was actually in flames, and threw her out of the window; she fell on the pavement below, and was so much burnt by the fire and injured by the fall, that she shortly expired. Mr. Watkinson next succeeded, but with great difficulty, in pulling Mrs. Pitt out of the window; she was much injured by the fall, and severely burnt, and, being far advanced in pregnancy, it was much feared she could not survive. Mr. Watkinson was then obliged to give over his courageous exertions, being very much burned and otherwise injured. By very great exertions the fire was subdued, but not until this and the adjoining houses were destroyed.

When the ruins were sufficiently cooled, the firemen commenced their search for the lad who was known to have perished. After some time his body was found on the ground floor, standing almost in a perpendicular position on its head, showing that he must have been in one of the upper rooms, and, when the flooring gave way, had fallen head foremost into the place where he was found.

—THE CHARTIST TRIALS.—The trials of the Chartists who were in custody charged with sedition, were commenced at the September Sessions of the Central Criminal Court. John Shaw, an undertaker, was convicted on the 18th. Dowling was then put on his trial, which occupied the Court three days. The unexampled mass of materials proper for the HISTORY and CHRONICLE of this year precludes the possibility of giving any detailed account of these and the subsequent trials, which indeed presented few features worthy of remark, and excited the least possible interest in the public. The evidence showed, to a very noticeable extent, how utterly the evil-minded are in the power of each other, no meeting of the confederates, even the most private, being unattended by persons whose intention in so doing was to betray them if they could make anything by it. The evidence of Powell, the informer, by whose disclosures the prisoners were chiefly convicted, who appeared to be a voluntary spy for the police, revealed a series of diabolical and senseless projects, whose only end was slaughter and devastation, without any plan for converting the terror to be thereby occasioned to any conceivable political end. The chief variety which relieved the dull monotony of the proceedings arose from the pugnacious proceedings of Mr. Kenealy, the barrister who defended the prisoners, and who got up an occasional personal skirmish with the venerable Judge (Mr. Justice Erle) and the Attorney-General. "Does your Lordship mean to apply that remark to me?" said the irritable gentleman. "I said, 'in general,'" replied his Lordship, backing out of the encounter. "The Attorney-General had spoken in the venerable presence of the Judges; if he had said it elsewhere he should at once have chastised him." The learned Judge expressed a determination not to allow any learned gentleman in his presence to express an intention to violate the law himself or to exhort others to do so. "What right had the Attorney-General to say he blushed for him?" retorted the counsel learned in the law. On Monday the jury received the charge of the Judge, and retired. After a lengthy consultation, they returned a verdict of "Guilty" on the second count.

The trial of Cuffey, Lacy, Fay, and Mullins, was then commenced. The evidence adduced was that of voluntary spies—men who had entered the clubs, and allowed themselves to be elected "Generals," "Presidents," &c., with the sole purpose of conveying the information to the police—not that they were instigated or hired to do so, or had any abstract love of their country or loyalty to their sovereign, but that they were ready volunteers in expectation of getting something—hoping a satisfactory reward from Government, but quite content if they got allowance as witnesses; in fact, so utterly depraved were the principal con-

spirators, that it may almost be supposed that, excepting a few heated democrats, or "Red Republicans," the councils of the Chartists were composed of men whose sole purpose was to betray each other. Upon cross-examination it came out that Powell, the principal informer, was a very indifferent character. The trial lasted the entire week. On Saturday the jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" against all the prisoners. The prisoners received the announcement with explosions of ridiculous violence. The sentence on all was transportation for life.

The principal leaders of this obnoxious conspiracy being thus disposed of, the fate of the subordinates was quickly decided; some were found guilty, others pleaded guilty. Those arraigned for felony were sentenced to be transported for life; those indicted for misdemeanour were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, varying from two years to less; fines of varying amount, and to be bound over to keep the peace for periods after the expiration of their sentences. About a score of the less notorious or offensive were allowed to plead "Not Guilty," and were liberated on their own recognizances to keep the peace.

21. Sudden Death of Lord George Bentinck. — The announcement of the sudden death of this very distinguished nobleman, under the melancholy circumstances detailed in the evidence given at the inquest, caused the greatest astonishment and sorrow. A sketch of the life of this eminent man will be found in our Chronicle.

The inquest was held on the following day at Welbeck Abbey, by Mr. Falkner, the Coroner of Newark, and a jury of gentlemen farmers. The jury inspected the corpse. "Death," says the report, "had left no painful trace upon the features of the departed nobleman; a cheerful smile was diffused over the face."

William Parks, a footman who waited at the breakfast-table on the morning of Thursday week, deposed that Lord George never was in better health or spirits than at breakfast: he took no luncheon, and for the greater part of the morning he was occupied in his dressing-room, writing letters. He remained at home till twenty minutes past four; then set our for Thoresby, where he was going to spend two days with Lord Manvers.

Lenthall and Evans deposed to having seen Lord George on his walk towards Thoresby.

Richard Evans, junior. —"On Thursday afternoon, I was returning home with my father and John Mee, when we saw a gentleman, whom I did not know, standing against the gate on the road in the meadow. We thought at the time that it was the Marquis of Titchfield. My father and Mee passed on the road, and I stood for a minute or so looking at the gentleman. While I was standing, he turned round, and looked towards the Kennels. I thought he was reading, as before he turned round he held his head down. He was still standing at the gate when I walked on. I was about two hundred yards from the gate. It was about half-past four o'clock."

Richard Lenthall, the stable-helper who drove Mr. Gardner, Lord George Bentinck's valet, to Thoresby, related the finding of the body. "I was called out of

bed at night, and asked if I had seen Lord George on my way home, as he had not reached Thoresby. I got up, and, along with the gardener and George Wilson, went to search for his Lordship. We took lanterns with us, and followed on the foot-road I had seen him taking. We found the body of his Lordship lying close to the gate which separates Kennel water-meadow. He was quite dead, and lying on his face. His hat was a yard or two before him, having evidently been thrown off in falling. He was lying flat upon his face, and one of his arms was under him. I left the men with the body, and immediately started for Mr. Hase, of Worksop, surgeon. A few minutes before we found the body, Mr. Hase had passed on horseback, and asked what we were searching for. We declined telling him, as we had no idea that any harm had come to his Lordship, and did not wish to set any rumour afloat."

George Wilson accompanied Lenthall.—"A little after ten o'clock on Thursday night, I, along with Richard Lenthall and William Gardner, went along the path to the corner of the Deer Park. We found his Lordship lying near a gate which he had passed through. He was lying on his belly and face. His hat was about a yard and a half before him. His hands were under his body, and in one he grasped his walking-stick. The stick was partly underneath him. I felt at his leg, and it was stiff and cold. A break was sent for from Welbeck, and in that he was removed to the Abbey. I had not seen him that morning. There was a little blood upon his face. The blood appeared to have flowed from his Lordship's nose. Besides that on his face, there was some on the grass. The body was not moved till Mr. Hase came. I and Gardner carried lights with us."

Gardner, the valet, was absent in London on the day of the inquest: the Coroner thought his presence was not required.

Mr. Ward, Lord George's regular medical attendant in the country, gave evidence of the *post mortem* examination. "I have this day opened the body, and am of opinion that he died from spasm of the heart. There was very little food in the stomach; but there was no morbid appearance beyond congestion, which prevailed over the whole system. There was emphysema of the lungs, and old adhesions from former diseases. The heart was large and muscular, and covered with fat. It contained no blood, and bore the appearance of irregular contraction."

A juryman inquired as to the state of the brain of the deceased?

Mr. Ward—"It was perfectly healthy, with the exception of a little venous congestion, in about the same ratio as the other organs."

A juror asked if Mr. Ward supposed that the blood which was found on his Lordship's face and on the grass had been produced by the rupture of a blood-vessel in the head? Mr. Ward said, he believed it had not: his opinion was, that blood had flowed from the nose in consequence of the deceased having fallen upon his face.

The Jury immediately returned a verdict of "Died by the visitation of God, to wit, of a spasm of the heart."

24. Murder and Suicide at Liverpool.—A murder and suicide were discovered at Toxteth Park, Liverpool. Robert Howarth,

a cattle-dealer, had separated from his wife, but she went to him once a month to receive an allowance. She called on him for this purpose on Friday, and nothing having been heard of her subsequently, on Sunday morning Howarth's house was entered. In a bedroom up stairs, the woman's corpse was found lying on the floor, in a pool of blood: it appeared that great violence had been used towards her. On removing the clothes, the man was discovered in bed; he appeared to be asleep, but he was really dead. There were no wounds on his body. A cup was found in the kitchen, containing a mixture supposed to comprise arsenic. At the inquest, on Tuesday, a surgeon stated that he had found a quantity of what appeared to be arsenic in *both* bodies. It was stated that Howarth had for some time before exhibited great agitation of mind in consequence of a heavy loss he had sustained in his trade.

— Elections.—Some elections of members to serve in Parliament, occasioned by the members who had taken their seats under the general election last autumn having been declared by Election Committees to have been unduly returned, have recently taken place.

At Leicester, R. Harris and J. Ellis, Esqs., were returned without opposition in the room of Sir J. Walmsley and R. D. Gardner, Esq.

At Derby there was a contest, the result of which was—

M. T. Bass, Esq.....	956
L. Heyworth, Esq.....	912
— Freshfield, Esq.....	778
— Lord, Esq.	760

The two former gentlemen were therefore returned in the room of the Right Hon. E. Strutt and the Hon. E. Gower.

At Cheltenham, to which the family quarrel of the Berkeleys has given some notoriety, the Hon. C. L. G. Berkeley was returned by a considerable majority over Mr. Bickham Escott, superseding his brother, the Hon. Craven Berkeley.

At Bolton, Stephen Blair, Esq., was elected in the room of Mr. Bolling. Some opposition was simulated by the threat of proposing a Chartist Dissenting minister named Barker, but he was of course withdrawn when the required annoyance had been inflicted.

— The Assault on Mooltan. —A letter from an officer in the army before Mooltan, gives a graphic account of the gallant attack by which the enemy were driven from the outworks, and the body of the place laid open. "At about half-past seven o'clock A.M. the two columns were drawn up in line. At the word 'Forward,' we gave them one huzza, and advanced. When within 50 yards of their intrenchment we lay down, and received their first volley in that position; immediately on receiving it, away we went, at the Devil's own pace, though in very good line, regularly up to them before we gave them a volley; but that was of little avail, for the intrenchment was so strong that our musket-balls did not tell as we could have wished. However, many kissed mother earth, and those who survived the first volley did not get away (for we were all round them), but fought like maniacs, and killed and wounded a good many of our men over the walls and through the loop-

holes. It was no good; a strong party was left there to knock over any fellows who might try to escape, and away we went, headlong, at a second intrenchment further on, where we were also greeted with a very warm reception. However, the Europeans very soon knocked in the windows and doorways, and, drawing up in front, fired such volleys into them, that very few lived to tell the tale, and those who did get out had not time to get far from the intrenchment, for we were all over the place, as we were obliged to be, to screen ourselves somewhat from the tremendous fire kept up from the enemy's parallels. After taking this second intrenchment, and setting fire to it, away we went at the enemy's trenches, but after advancing and firing into them for some time, and just as we had got close up to them, they brought out such a fire of guns, jingals, zumbooruks, bows and arrows, &c., upon us, that we were obliged to fall back, *en masse*, upon the second intrenchment we had taken, and when there the men, both European and native, mounted the walls, determined that not a soul should escape. Certainly the massacre that took place within a taeekhana (inclosed on all sides by loopholed walls, and intrenched all round) was something awful to one who had never been on service before. At this intrenchment Lieutenant Cubitt, of the 49th Regiment Native Infantry, was shot by a wounded man. After being sent up to camp he survived only about seven hours. Poor fellow! he will be a sad loss to his regiment, for a better soldier never breathed. He was universally beloved by his brother officers, and, indeed, I may say by all who knew him. After setting fire to this intrenchment in several places, we returned to the intrenchment we had first taken, and this we were obliged to get scaling ladders to take, as it was so strong. No sooner were the scaling ladders up than Colonel Pattoun was the first to ascend, and down he jumped, right amongst the enemy within, when, as a matter of course, he was instantly cut to pieces; for these fellows, immediately you attempt to close with them, draw their tulwars, and they know how to use them too, as several officers and men can say, for they have left their marks on many. Here, too, fell Lieutenant Taylor, Quartermaster of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, and Major Montizambert, of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, besides three or four other officers wounded. But not a man escaped, for the doors, &c., were burst open, and an attack from above and below made, when every man within those walls fell a victim to the bayonets of both Europeans and natives." It was immediately after this gallant affair, and when apparently on the point of success, that the disaffection of the Sikhs compelled our forces to withdraw.

— The Sale at Stowe.—The noble family of Buckingham have ever borne their honours so kindly, and contributed so generously to the maintenance of the prosperity of the counties with which they are more immediately connected, and with the interests of which they were held to be almost the head, that the known embarrassments and misfortunes of the last bearers of the ducal honours had caused a general feeling of regret. The family had been generous and princely in the disposition of their almost regal fortunes, and their

decadence was marked with respectful sympathy. The public were not, however, prepared for the catastrophe which was impending over the ducal house. It was well known that the large outlying possessions of the family had been disposed of for very large sums, and that all those parts of the property which had successively become free from settlements and entails by the termination of limited interests, had been immediately sold; also that the life estates of the last and present dukes were deeply encumbered; but the entailed estates immediately attached to the dukedom, and the mansion at Stowe, with all its rich collections of works of art and literature, its family jewels and traditionary wealth, were supposed to be beyond the reach of the spoiler. It was therefore with surprise and regret that the public were informed that the Marquess of Chandos had joined his father in destroying the entails—that Stowe and its temples, its woods and groves, statues and obelisks—its pictures, plate, wines, and furniture, even the most domestic—its gems, library, matchless collections of works of art and vertu, were all to be submitted to the hammer of the auctioneer. The first portion alone of the sale was to extend over thirty-seven days. The mere inspection of the almost regal residence and domain attracted crowds of visitors, to whom its most sacred recesses were revealed by the misfortunes of the family—not even the Tuilleries or Versailles, assailed by a mob of insurgents, was more completely laid open to the vulgar gaze. The astonishing amount of artistic wealth collected by the magnificence and extravagance of succeeding owners for several generations, surpasses all moderate description. Stowe and its magnificence can be described only in a work devoted to the purpose, and only adequately appreciated by a careful study of its voluminous catalogue.

The sale commenced on the 14th August, in the state dining-room, which was densely crowded with an attendance of wealth and rank altogether unexampled, and the prices realized throughout were extravagant. The articles first offered to competition formed part of the matchless collection of china, consisting of fine specimens of Raffaelle or Majolica ware, Chelsea, Dresden, Sevres, and Oriental china. The gold, gilt, and silver plate, many pieces being exquisite specimens of the *cinque-cento* period, designed or wrought by Cellini, Fiamingo, and others, brought enormous prices. The marbles and bronzes, many of them fine antiques, caused less competition. Of the many hundred lots into which the sale was divided it is impossible to name more than some of the most remarkable—single vases, candelabra, figures, sold for ten, fifteen, twenty, to thirty-eight guineas each—cabinets, eighty and a hundred guineas—tables, forty and fifty guineas.

No.
101 Three Dresden vases, 38*l.*
227 Ebony cabinet, 93*l* 9*s.*
240 Tazza, Limoges enamel, 30 gs.
274 A benetoire, 106*l.*
288 A Fonthill cabinet, 89*l* 5*s.*
344 Two pair velvet curtains, 84*l.*
367-8 Two cabinets, 89*l* and 95*l.*
404 Sevres sceaux, 45 gs.
405 Ditto, 37 gs.
408 Scent bottle, 5*l* 15*s.*
409 Pair of cups and saucers, 12*l* 10*s.*
411 Pair of silver gilt cups, 14 gs.
483 A Raffaelle vase, 51 gs.
561 Pier table of marbles, 157*l* 10*s.*
567 Malachite table, 73*l* 10*s.*

No.
570 Pearl nautilus, pedestal carved by Fiamingo, 67*l.*
573 Pair of jars and covers, 32*l* 10*s.*
574 Pair of candelabra, 39*l* 7*s.*
610 A bowl, 15 gs.
618 Pair of jars, 25*l.*
625 Coffee cup and saucer, 14*l* 5*s.*
627 Ditto, 12 gs.
628 Ditto, 11 gs.
630 A coffee-cup and saucer, 35*l* 10*s.*
631 Coffee-cup, cover, and saucer, 21 gs.
636 A chocolate cup, cover, and saucer, 45 gs.
639 A Sevres salver, 81 gs.
640 A ditto, 100 gs.
641 A cistern of Raffaelle ware, 64 gs.

	£	s.	d.
697 The Marine Venus (ant.)	163	16	0
733 The Laocoon (bronze)	567	0	0
751 A bust of Prior by Roubiliac	136	10	0
817 Table of malachite	136	10	0
861 A table of marqueterie, ormoulu, mother-of-pearl, &c.	188	0	0
982 Candelabra, Sevres	246	15	0
1021 An armoire of tortoise-shell, buhl, and ormoulu	210	0	0
1059 A Sevres ewer and basin, &c.	80	17	0
1061 Ditto, ditto	52	10	0
1083 A pair of Oriental jars, fifty-two inches high	122	17	0
1130 A Persian carpet, the largest ever imported	57	15	0
1146 A cabinet of marqueterie	246	15	0
1147 A marqueterie table	183	15	0
1152 A pair of candelabra, Sevres, Bleu du Roi	152	6	0
1503 Two candelabra	199	10	0
283 Equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington	104	0	0
323 Napoleon's supper tray, and eight plates	461	5	0
420 An oval cistern of silver	330	12	0
442 A superb candelabrum of silver gilt	238	13	0
445, 446, 447. Three sets of ice-pails	320	12	0
	332	7	8
	304	18	1
456 and 457. Two sideboard vases, &c., cover surmounted by a figure of a cavalier, &c.	622	10	0
596 An ewer and dish, embossed with figures, (57*s.* per oz.)	232	19	0

No.
634 The magnificent testimonial piece given to the Duke of Buckingham by the agriculturists and tenants of the county was withdrawn. It weighed 2206 oz. 5 dwts., and was purchased for 772*l* 3*s* 6*d* on behalf of the subscribers.

644 A tankard, carved in ivory	184	16	0
766 "Balfour and Bothwell," a beautiful centre piece executed by Mr. Garrard	327	8	6
The companion group sold for	248	3	8
768 The death of Sir Bevil Grenville, &c.	828	18	1
779 and 780. Two beautiful stands for flowers, one antique	342	8	6

The twenty-first day's sale commenced the pictures. "The Collection," says the Catalogue, "contained few or no pictures of what is called *high art*, that is, of the Italian school. The Rembrandts, the Cuyps, the Teniers, and some other works of the Dutch and Flemish schools, were among the best in the collection. There were also fine specimens of Salvator Rosa and Domenichino. The portraits were generally of considerable interest, and some of them were capital specimens of the several masters," &c.

No.			
51 Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Holbein	50	8	0
55 Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley (Zucchero)	63	0	0
110 Charles I. on horseback, by Thornhill, after Vandyck	53	11	0
280 The celebrated miniature portrait of Charles II. by Cooper, sent by the king in 1651 to Henry Lord Beauchamp	105	0	0
289 Henry VIII., by Holbein	94	10	0
290 Queen Mary, by Holbein	70	7	0
291 Queen Elizabeth, by Zucchero	60	18	0
296 Pope, by Richardson	73	10	0
318 Sir Richard Leveson, by Vandyck	65	2	0

No.	£	s.	d.
338 Countess of Shrewsbury as Minerva, by Lely . .	68	5	0
341 Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, by Sir J. Reynolds	168	0	0
342 Marchioness of Buckingham, with her son, the late duke, by Sir J. Reynolds .	186	10	0
344 The Right Hon. G. Grenville, by Sir J. Reynolds .	168	0	0
347 Earl Nugent, by Gainsborough	106	1	0
352 Marquess of Buckingham, his son Richard Earl Temple, and Marchioness, by Sir J. Reynolds . .	210	0	0
370 Nell Gwynne, by Lely .	105	0	0
371 Marquess of Granby, by Sir J. Reynolds . .	210	0	0
372 Marquis de Vieuville, by Vandyck . . .	220	10	0
380 Minchenden House, Southgate, by Wilson .	204	14	0
382* Wreckers off Calais, by Stanfield	430	10	0
403 Head of Christ, by Carlo Dolce	168	0	0
404 Head of the Virgin, by Carlo Dolce . . .	183	15	0
405 Diane de Poictiers (probably by Primatticcio) .	111	6	0
410 A Negro with bow and arrows, by Rembrandt .	263	11	0
432 Sybilla Persica, by Domenichino . . .	724	10	0
435 Burgomaster, by Rembrandt	850	10	0
436 Finding of Moses, by S. Rosa . . .	1050	0	0
436 Philip baptizing the Eunuch, by Cuyp . .	1543	10	0
488 The unmerciful Servant, by Rembrandt . .	2300	0	0

382 The famous Chandos portrait of Shakespeare was bought by the Earl of Ellesmere for 375*l* 15*s*. The account of it, as given in the Catalogue, is as follows;—

"This renowned portrait is presumed to be the work of Burbage, the first actor of Richard the Third, who is known to have handled the pencil. It then became the property of Joseph Taylor, the poet's Hamlet, who, dying about the year 1653, left it by will to Sir William Davenant. At the death of Sir William, in 1663, it was bought by Betterton, the actor, and when he died Mr. Robert Keck, of the Inner Temple, gave Mrs. Barry, the actress, 40 guineas for it. From Mr. Keck it passed to Mr. Nicoll, of Minchenden House, Southgate, whose only daughter and heiress, Margaret, married James, Marquess of Carnarvon, afterwards Duke of Chandos, from whom it descended in right of his wife, Anna-Eliza, the late Duchess, to the present Duke of Buckingham and Chandos."

The museum of Natural History was sold on the 3rd October, and was the only portion of the rarities of Stowe which did not produce competent prices.

No.

70 A collection of British birds, 16gs.

78 The collection of mineralogy and geology formed by the Abbe Haüy, comprising nearly 10,000 specimens, for which the Duke gave 4000*l*., brought only 325*l*.

69 The Buckingham collection of mineralogy and geology, containing 6000 specimens, 68*l*.

80 A very perfect specimen of the Pleisiosaurus Dolichodeirus, 8 gs.

The following summary of the produce of each day's sale will give some idea of the splendour of Stowe House:—

Day of Sale.		£
1st,	China . .	516
2nd,	China . .	1074
3rd,	Furniture .	1602
4th,	China . .	1679
5th,	China . .	2147
6th,	Sculpture .	2119
7th,	Furniture .	2474
8th,	China . .	2698
9th,	China . .	2649
10th,	Marbles . .	1116
11th,	Wines . .	811
12th,	Wines . .	585
13th,	Glass . .	1206
14th,	Vertu . .	2136
15th,	Wines . .	668
16th,	Plate . . .	2157
17th,	Plate . . .	2569
18th,	Plate . . .	6587
19th,	Plate . . .	5248
20th,	Plate . . .	4932
21st,	Pictures . .	1876
22nd,	Pictures . .	1867

Day of Sale.		£
23rd,	Pictures .	5219
24th,	Pictures .	10821
25th,	Wines .	787
26th,	Furniture .	421
27th,	Furniture .	454
28th,	Furniture .	351
29th,	Furniture .	689
30th,	Furniture .	506
31st,	Glass, &c. .	721
32nd,	Armour .	301
33rd,	Glass, &c. .	1017
34th,	Furniture .	195
35th,	Furniture .	278
36th,	Museum .	2471
37th,	Furniture .	321
38th,	Furniture .	459
39th,	Furniture .	540
40th,	Linen, &c. .	477
	Total . .	£75,562

OCTOBER.

The Cholera. — This fearful scourge, whose approach has been watched with very great anxiety, had now beyond all question reached our shores, and was committing great ravages in several localities, especially in the north of England. In consequence, the Government lost no time in putting into activity the provisions of the statute passed in the last Parliament, entitled the Health of Towns Bill. The Board of Health, the Poor Law Commissioners, the Police Commissioners, and other controlling departments, issued very careful instructions and directions to those under their care. The Police Superintendents were ordered to make a daily return of all cases occurring within their respective divisions, the reports so furnished were to be transmitted to the Government and the Board of Health. The hospitals made due preparations for the prompt treatment of cases.

The General Board of Health issued a code of very valuable instructions, of which those parts which relate to the mode of treatment are worthy of preservation.

It repeats the statement that the cholera is not contagious; so that panic, flight from the sick, quarantine regulations, &c., under that imaginary supposition, are supererogatory evils.

The premonitory symptom is diarrhœa, often without pain, mostly of a *very* mild character. During the prevalence of cholera, diarrhœa demands instant attention: the *slightest* degree of looseness of the bowels ought not to be neglected.

The proper remedies at this stage are, "twenty grains of opiate confection mixed with two table-spoonfuls of peppermint-water or with a little weak brandy and water, and repeated every three or four hours, or oftener if the attack is severe, until the looseness of the bowels is stopped; or an ounce of the compound chalk mixture, with ten or fifteen grains of the aromatic confection, and from five to ten drops of laudanum, repeated in the same manner. From half a drachm to a drachm of tincture of catechu may be added to this last if the attack is severe. Half these quantities should be given to young persons under fifteen, and still smaller doses to infants. It is recommended to repeat these remedies, night and morning, for some days after the looseness of the bowels has been stopped."

Diet should be moderate. Every variety of green vegetables, cooked or not, and all kinds of fruit, raw, cooked, dried, or preserved, should

be avoided. The wholesome articles of vegetable diet are, well-baked (not new) bread, rice, oatmeal, and good potatoes. Diet should be solid rather than fluid, and principally animal food; avoiding salted and smoked meats, pork, salted fish, and shell fish. Avoid acid drinks of all kinds, ginger beer, and ardent spirits. Above all, be moderate, during the whole duration of the epidemic period. "One single act of indiscretion has in many instances been followed by a speedy and fatal attack." In proof, during the former visitation of this country, "the most frequent and deadly attacks were those that took place in the middle of the night, a few hours after a heavy supper."

Clothing should be warm, with flannel next the skin; the feet kept dry and warm; clothes changed after exposure to wet or moisture; sitting rooms and bed rooms kept well aired, dry, and warm.

Purgative medicines of all kinds must be avoided; Glauber salts, Epsom salts, and Seidlitz powders, in any quantity, are dangerous; also senna, colocynth, and aloes; except under medical advice.

When seized with cold, giddiness, nausea, vomiting, and cramps, get into a warm bed; use heated flannel, bags of hot camomile flowers, of heated bran, salt, or sand, or bottles of hot water, to produce warmth; have the extremities rubbed; apply a large poultice of mustard and vinegar over the region of the stomach, for fifteen or twenty minutes; drink, every half-hour, a spoonful of sal volatile in a little hot water, or a dessert-spoonful of brandy in a little hot water, or white wine whey (made by pouring one glass of sherry into a tumbler of hot milk); and *send for the doctor as quickly as possible.*

6. Murder of Count Latour. —A letter from Vienna gives an animated account of the successful insurrection in that city, and the following horrible account of the murder of Count Latour:—

"With a great deal of difficulty I got, at about six o'clock, to the War Office, where a spectacle presented itself to my eyes, the horrors of which I shall never forget. On a high lamp-post in the middle of the yard, the body of the War Minister, Count Latour, was suspended, stripped quite naked, and with a leather strap round his neck. He was fearfully mutilated, covered with wounds and cuts without number, and the face dreadfully disfigured. Whilst I was there they covered him over with a linen cloth; but they had hardly done so when the infuriated mob tore it off again, striking the corpse at the same time with sabres, firing at it, and uttering the most awful imprecations and curses. The scene was horrible beyond description: in the dim light of torches I saw the body shaking about: the yelling and firing were deafening, and with much difficulty I collected the following particulars.

"Latour had concealed himself in a wooden box in the fourth story of the War Office, but was discovered by several national guards and most cruelly murdered. They threw him out of the fourth story into the yard, raised the body on the point of the bayonet to the height that was required to hang him, and amused themselves with firing at him. The night before, he had had his fate in his own hands: he had been waited upon by a deputation, and urgently cautioned against the sending away of the Deutschmeister Grenadiers, as a disturbance would be sure to take place.

His reply was, 'A disturbance was the very thing he wanted, and he had only waited this opportunity to proclaim martial law in Vienna.' In the following night the moon shone on his maimed body."

— Baron Jellachich, Ban of Croatia.—A similar letter gives the following description of the Baron Joseph von Jellachich, the Ban of Crotia, the Marcellus of the imperial armies:—

"I have had occasion often to converse with Jellachich. He is a man of the middle height, of a powerful and firmly knit frame, forty-nine years of age; in his youth of a delicate constitution, but now enjoying excellent health. His head is bald at the top, but encircled with a fringe of jet black hair; he has a high forehead, bushy eyebrows, a mild clear dark eye, an aquiline nose, a finely chiselled mouth, with an expression of great decision of character. He leaves the impression upon the observer of a man of a mild but determined character, fully confident of his own powers. He has not one particle of pride about him, and one would scarcely look upon him as the leader of a wild race or a man of high ambition. His voice is soft, his education is entirely German, he speaks German as if it was his native tongue, and with the Austrian accent; he is a great admirer of the German language and literature, but his Sclavonic nationality scorns the German arrogance, which disdains anything Sclave; he speaks the Hungarian, Croatian, and Italian languages equally well. He is unmarried, does not possess and does not care for riches, but is devoted to his nation. The secret of his influence over the Croats is that he is a Croat and proud to be one, and all his energies are turned towards one object—to procure for his nation that position in Hungary which they claim. He speaks the dialect of the people: 'It is the language of my beloved mother,' he said to me one day, 'and I am proud that I can speak it.' Their Ban and their general, he converses with his Croats, and tells them things they had never dreamt of—visions of honour and glory. It is no wonder that when he appears every eye is turned upon him—that they listen, open-mouthed, to what he says, and that they are ready to follow him to Buda, Pesth, Vienna, or Milan! When they see him, they shout their enthusiastic 'Zivio!' (Let him live!) and will follow him anywhere."

— Lieutenant Edwardes.—The Queen has ordained a special statute of the Order of the Bath, for appointing Lieutenant Herbert Benjamin Edwardes, of the East India Company's service, to be an extra member of the third class of Military Knights Companions. The young hero, whose exploits call to remembrance the wonderful deeds of Clive, Wellesley, and Lake, in India, has also been raised to the rank of major in the army in India.

8. Treble Murder in Ireland.—A slaughter exceeding even the customary horrors of Irish assassinations, has occurred at Bansha, 16 miles from Clonmel, county Tipperary. It appears that a warrant had been issued against a man named Bryan, for 4*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.*, for poor rates (which has now taken the place of tithes in Irish hatred), and as it was known that he was removing his corn, four men were placed over it as keepers. These men, learning that an attack upon

them was meditated, fled to the house of a neighbouring farmer, to which they were followed, and three of them murdered under circumstances of uncommon barbarity. The evidence of the farmer will give some idea of the atrocity.

Patrick Cushin, of Corroughbrook, sworn:—Stated that he resides within about half a mile of where the deceased men were placed as keepers. Slept at home on Saturday night; and Sunday morning, about 7 o'clock, the deceased men came for shelter to his house. They were followed by a party, who demanded that the door should be opened, adding, "If you don't we will burn the house." One of the bailiffs inside shouted out, "If you will spare us our lives we will take our oaths never to come again." The people asked, if they had pistols inside? and were told they had not, upon which a large stone was thrown against the door; another was thrown, the lock was broken, the door opened, and three men entered, one of whom had a gun. Walsh and Dwyer were begging for their lives, and said they would never come again. Regan was now pulled out by the party, and the three men again entered the house. Dwyer and Walsh fell on their knees and begged for mercy, but they were both murdered in the kitchen. One was shot, and the other was beaten with a gun, and when the stock of it broke he was beaten and killed from blows with the barrel. Deponent states that, after Dwyer and Walsh were killed, the three men who killed them left the house; went with them, and saw Regan surrounded by six or seven persons at a borheen or passage leading into his yard. One of the party desired Regan to go on his knees. He did so, and was immediately attacked. Heard repeated blows given to him and saw a gun presented at him, upon which he (deponent) retired, fearing he might be hurt, as the gun was pointed towards where he was standing. After the murder of the three, the six or seven men went away at a slow pace, and faced towards the mountains. Does not know any of the party who entered his house, who all had their faces blackened and were disguised.

9. Accident at Spithead.—As Her Majesty and Prince Albert were returning to London from Osborne House, while on their passage from the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth, they were witnesses of a very distressing accident.

The *Grampus* frigate had just arrived at Spithead, from the Pacific. Five women of Portsmouth, who had relatives among the crew, hired an open boat to put them on board; and engaged two watermen to take them out in the midst of a strong gale of wind, in weather so rough that the foul-weather flag was flying. The boat was swamped, not far off the *Grampus*, and in the way of the Queen's yacht. The accident was not seen from any ship, and became known on board the *Fairy* from a custom-house boat unceremoniously steering across her bows, to rescue a man seen in the water clinging to his capsized boat. At this point, Prince Albert was the first to discover other persons in the water. He ran out of the cupola on deck, exclaiming, "Stop her, stop her! I see six persons overboard! Lower the boat!" The barge was lowered instantly, and Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence hastened with a crew to the point indicated by the Prince. Three women

were found floating, one of them holding by a plank, and alive, the others apparently dead, but they were all taken ashore and put under medical charge. The first was slowly recovered; the others showed some signs of life, but were not ultimately saved.

Her Majesty was deeply affected by the painful occurrence, and did not proceed on her journey until she had ascertained that all had been done that the circumstances admitted of, leaving a generous mark of her sympathy. Her Majesty also expressed her very high approbation of the noble exertions of Mr. Whitty, who commanded the custom-house boat.

11. The Sea-Serpent. — The existence of this animal, which has been the subject of so much controversy, and whose appearances to wandering navigators, especially American, have passed into a standing joke, has now received a confirmation from a quarter which puts any doubt as to the good faith of the testimony entirely at rest. The following official letter from one of Her Majesty's post-captains to the Board of Admiralty, excited very great interest.

"Her Majesty's ship *Dædalus*,
Hamoaze, Oct. 11.

"Sir,—In reply to your letter of this day's date, requiring information as to the truth of a statement published in *The Times* newspaper, of a sea-serpent of extraordinary dimensions having been seen from Her Majesty's ship Dædalus, under my command, on her passage from the East Indies, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that at 5 o'clock P.M. on the 6th of August last, in latitude 24° 44′ S., and longitude 9° 22 E., the weather dark and cloudy, wind fresh from the N.W., with a long ocean swell from the S.W., the ship on the port tack heading N.E. by N., something very unusual was seen by Mr. Sartoris, midshipman, rapidly approaching the ship from before the beam. The circumstance was immediately reported by him to the officer of the watch, Lieutenant Edgar Drummond, with whom and Mr. William Barrett, the Master, I was at the time walking the quarter-deck. The ship's company were at supper.

"On our attention being called to the object, it was discovered to be an enormous serpent, with head and shoulders kept about four feet constantly above the surface of the sea, and as nearly as we could approximate by comparing it with the length of what our maintopsail yard would show in the water, there was at the very least 60 feet of the animal *à fleur d'eau*, no portion of which was, to our perception, used in propelling it through the water, either by vertical or horizontal undulation. It passed rapidly, but so close under our lee quarter, that had it been a man of my acquaintance I should have easily recognised his features with the naked eye; and it did not, either in approaching the ship or after it had passed our wake, deviate in the slightest degree from its course to the S.W., which it held on at the pace of from 12 to 15 miles per hour, apparently on some determined purpose.

"The diameter of the serpent was about 15 or 16 inches behind the head, which was, without any doubt, that of a snake, and it was never, during the 20 minutes that it continued in sight of our glasses, once below the surface of the water; its colour a dark brown, with yel-

lowish white about the throat. It had no fins, but something like the mane of a horse, or rather a bunch of sea-weed, washed about its back. It was seen by the quartermaster, the boatswain's mate, and the man at the wheel, in addition to myself and officers above-mentioned.

"I am having a drawing of the serpent made from a sketch taken immediately after it was seen, which I hope to have ready for transmission to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by to-morrow's post.

"I have, &c.,

"PETER M'QUHAE, Capt.

"To Admiral Sir W. H. Gage, G.C.H., Devonport."

A very spirited drawing, made from memory immediately after the occurrence, by the officers of the ship, was published in the *Illustrated London News*. This letter and pictorial representation drew forth a very admirable criticism from Mr. Owen, the celebrated Professor of Comparative Anatomy, in which the conclusions of the gallant Captain were controverted. From the form of the head, the situation of the mouth, the size and position of the eye, and from the colour and surface of the skin, the Professor argued that the creature seen was a warm-blooded animal;—in fact a very large seal which had been floated down on an iceberg, and which, the iceberg having melted beneath him, was now swimming in search of a resting place—that it was swimming at a very great rate by means of its paddles and tail, which would be entirely submerged, and that the great apparent continuation of the animal was, in fact, the eddy caused by the passage of so large a body through the water. The Professor then gives some admirable reasonings for his opinion that no such animal as a gigantic sea-serpent exists *in rerum natura*.

Captain M'Quhae, in a second letter, repeated his statement with explanations. The creature—seal or serpent—seems to have been seen by other vessels about the same time.

23. THE VERNON GALLERY OF PICTURES.—One of the most magnificent gifts ever made by an individual to a nation has now become available to the people on whom it was bestowed. Mr. Vernon, a private gentleman of large fortune, has long been known as a munificent patron of art, and his collection of pictures of the English school has always had the reputation of being unrivalled. This gallery, collected with indefatigable diligence and admirable taste, and increased by a liberal patronage of contemporary genius, Mr. Vernon has presented to the nation, without restriction or stipulation of any kind, except that it should always be kept as a distinct collection. It may further be mentioned, as an instance of free and unselfish generosity, that Mr. Vernon, in presenting the whole, did not force upon the trustees of the National Gallery the necessity of taking the entire collection, which might have appeared to savour of gorgeous vanity, but freely offered the unlimited selection of such works as might seem to the trustees worthy of a place in a National Gallery, and calculated to improve the taste of the people—all others might be freely rejected. Of this liberal offer the trustees largely availed themselves by the selection of one hundred and sixty of the finest productions of British art. Four of these were of Turner's most ad-

mirable works. Of Etty six examples were chosen; of Eastlake two; of Maclise two; of Mulready three; of Uwins two; of Landseer six; of Briggs two; of Stanfield four; of Collins three; of Chalon one; of Calcot seven; of Wilkie three; of E. M. Ward three; of Sydney Cooper two; of Sir Joshua Reynolds one; of Gainsborough two. These are, with scarcely an exception, the finest productions of the several artists; examples of their best time, and selected with consummate judgment and the keenest apprehension of their several excellencies. As no building at present exists fitted for the reception of such a splendid addition to the public repositories of art (for the National Gallery, independent of its inherent defects, is inadequate to the proper exhibition of the pictures of the ancient masters we already possess), the generous donor further permitted his private residence to be freely accessible to the lovers of art, under proper restrictions for avoiding confusion. The curiosity and taste of the public, however, rendered this liberality too great an intrusion upon the privacy of an aged and retired invalid, and the collection was removed for a temporary exhibition to the basement of the National Gallery, where, the Gallery having been this day reopened after the usual autumnal closing necessary for the proper cleansing and rearrangement of the pictures, it was daily visited by thousands of eager and admiring spectators. It now remains for the nation to exhibit its gratitude by providing a suitable gallery for the splendid gift, and some testimonial to the munificent donor. The pictures are said to be of the value of 30,000*l.*

24. Bigamy. — *Mansion House.* —Henry Bramell, *alias* Henry Edward Bramell, *alias* Henry Beaumont, a surgeon, was brought before the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion House, charged with having married several women, all of whom are alive.

The prisoner was apprehended upon a charge of fraud. Mr. Dakin had been applied to by the owners of a vessel, which was going abroad, to provide her with medical stores, and the prisoner, whom that gentleman had seen acting in a medical capacity elsewhere, called at his warehouse in King William Street, and under pretence of being engaged as surgeon to the ship, obtained from him the sum of 3*l.* The moment information was received that the prisoner had been marrying in sundry localities, care was taken to adopt the most prompt mode of dealing with him, and Mr. Dakin accordingly had him traced and taken into custody.

When in custody, it appeared that he had been guilty of a series of systematic crimes of the most heartless description, of which the evidence given at his examination will convey an idea.

A gentleman, who stated himself to be the friend of one of the young ladies whom the prisoner had prevailed upon to marry him, produced three certificates of marriage, in each of which the prisoner was a contracting party. The first stated that the prisoner had married Elizabeth Timley, on the 25th of March, 1843; the second, that he had married Emily Georgina Rose, in Calcutta, in 1847, in the name of Henry Edward Bramell; and the third, that he had married Hannah Amelia Bland, in Liverpool, on the 30th of September in the present year.

The witness said, "The case as regards the young lady with whose family I have been for several years acquainted is one of peculiar atrocity. She was no more than 15 years of age, and was going out with her mother and sisters to India, in a ship in which the prisoner was acting as surgeon. She is a young lady of high accomplishments; and, upon the passage, the prisoner contrived to gain her affections, and to obtain her mother's sanction to their union on the vessel's arrival at Calcutta. He represented to the family that his father had lately died, leaving 5000*l.*, and he produced letters, which were, too late, found to be forgeries, confirming the extent of the inheritance. By his address, by the production of the false documents, so favourable to his views, and by the offer to settle 3000*l.* of the 5000*l.* upon the young lady, he made such an impression that there was very little hesitation; and upon his return to this country with his young wife, he abandoned her at an hotel in Liverpool. She is now with her friends in Devonshire."

The Lord Mayor.—"Did he make the mock settlement on her?"

Witness.—"He actually settled the money with all the necessary forms upon the poor girl. I had been watching for his arrival, and he came to the knowledge of that fact and got away. However, through Mr. Dakin, the ends of justice are likely to be answered. In the course of my inquiries I learned that he had married Miss Timley, in 1843. He had, it appears, gone down to the country and set up business as a professional man, in the neighbourhood in which that lady resided. She had a small annuity, which was forfeited when she married, and she not only was a loser in that way, but he got hold of her clothes, furniture, and trinkets, and sold them. When he went to India, he left her in London, with an authority to receive his half-pay, and he then went deliberately to work upon his fellow passenger's affections. Subsequently, I found that he had married Miss Bland, and I have every reason to believe, from the statement of a relative of his, that he has left a wife and two children in Liskeard, in Cornwall. Some delay, however, must take place before we can get the parties together. The base conduct of the prisoner has, I need hardly say, occasioned the deepest distress."

Mr. Dakin said the prisoner had represented to him that he had been disappointed in his expectations of an advance of money from the captain of the vessel, and that he was in want of 3*l.*, which the witness believing to be a true statement, handed to him. It was, however, afterwards ascertained, that though the prisoner had been in treaty with the captain to go out as surgeon in the ship, the negociation was at an end before Mr. Dakin was applied to for the money.

The prisoner here said that his agreement to go out in the vessel was not nullified until after he had got the money from Mr. Dakin, so that, at all events, that transaction was nothing more than a debt. (*A laugh.*) "I intended to pay that money," said he, "and I do intend to pay it. Whatever may have been my conduct in other respects, I had no idea of committing fraud in that matter."

The prisoner is supposed to have several other wives. At his subsequent examination, when his unfortunate victims were produced,

very distressing scenes occurred. The prisoner, who conducted himself with the greatest indifference throughout, was finally committed, tried and convicted, and sentenced to be transported.

26. Trial of Mullins, a Chartist. — Another Chartist, George Bridge Mullins, a surgeon, was tried for treasonable conspiracy. The trial was similar in all its features to that of Cuffey and the other prisoners who were convicted at the September Sessions; Powell being again a principal witness. George Davis gave evidence that the prisoner laid before the "War Committee" a plan for barricading London. St. Paul's was to be burnt if it could not be taken.

The cross-examination of the witness by the prisoner's counsel, threw great discredit upon Powell and other informers; but as this was no more than every one knew before, the jury found the prisoner "Guilty." After verdict, witnesses were called as to character. Dr. Kingston, physician of the Westminster Hospital, deposed that the prisoner was his clinical clerk for two years, and during that time conducted himself with exemplary morality and diligence. Other officers of the same public institution spoke similarly in his favour. He was sentenced to be transported for life.

— A fine Collection of old books, pictures, and other articles of taste and vertu, preserved at Nevill Holt, an ancient seat of an ancient family, the Nevills, has lately been dispersed. The following rare articles produced considerable competition, and realized high prices: —Shakespeare's Comedies, &c, 1632, 27½ guineas; Boke of the Psalms, black letter, 1547, 34 guineas; Missale Romanum, with 20 illuminated borders and initial letters, 12*l.* 15*s.*; another Missal, 10*l.* 10*s.*; lot 453, Manuscript in Latin, relating to the possessions of monasteries in England, quarto, 100*l.*: this volume, after a lengthened competition between Mr. Rodd and Mr. Thorpe, was knocked down to the latter; two early Missals, 10*l*, 10*s.*; lot 460, two Missals, 11*l*; lot 461, Horæ Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, printed on vellum, with 39 illuminations, 46*l.* The sale included an interesting collection of miniatures, many of celebrated persons of the Elizabethan period. The pictures were not remarkable for excellence, with the exception of the head of David, by Carlo Dolce, which possessed considerable county reputation. This picture was put up at 100 guineas, and the biddings rapidly advanced to 320 guineas.

28. Frightful Coal Pit Explosion.—Thirty Lives Lost.—A dreadful explosion, by which nearly the whole of the hands employed at the Whinny-hill Pit, at Cleaton Moor, near Whitehaven, leased by the Hematite Mining Company, have been killed. The explosion occurred between six and seven o'clock in the morning, at which time the whole of the hands, 31 in number, usually employed in the pit were engaged in their labours. Of these, 30 were killed instantaneously; the other escaped without injury. Of course nothing could be known as to the cause of the catastrophe.

29. Accident on the York and Newcastle Railway.—A fatal accident happened, late at night, on the York and Newcastle Railway, near the Boldon station. An engine was conveying some workmen to Shields; the engine was incautiously stopped at the bridge

over the Don, to take in water; while thus delayed, a mail-train came up on the same line; the night was very thick, and the moving train was dashed into the stationary one: the carriage containing the workmen was crushed to pieces. One man was killed on the spot, two others died in a few minutes, and the condition of a fourth was considered hopeless; the driver of the special engine suffered a fracture of the leg, and the other people were all more or less hurt. The passengers in the mail-train escaped almost unscathed.

30. The Railways. — With a view of allaying the distrust which now prevails in respect of the prospects of this species of investment, and to revive the shares from their present depressed condition, the principal railway companies have published elaborate statements of their position and prospects. The North-Western Railway Company proposes to abandon the construction of fifteen lines for which Parliamentary powers have been obtained: reducing by 3,876,963*l.* their proposed expenditure. The total expenditure, by the year 1852, they estimate at 25,862,012*l.* To pay seven per cent. on this sum, a revenue at the rate of 2,528,167*l.* per annum, or 48,618*l.* weekly, will be needed. The gross revenue of the year ending 30th June was 2,194,093*l.*, or 42,194*l.* a week. The practical question therefore becomes, whether the revenue of the main line and the new lines to be opened by 1852 will swell the present income by 6424*l.* per week.

The Great Western Railway Company sums up its expenditure to the 30th June, 1848, at 11,311,069*l.*; and estimates its further requirements at 4,137,913*l.*— total capital, 15,448,913*l.* It supposes that the traffic will continue to yield the same rate per mile on the 296 miles which will be opened when the whole capital is spent, as at present; and that its revenue, after deducting 40 per cent. for working expenses, will then yield a net sum of 883,100*l.* This sum will give a dividend of 6*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the presumed full capital. The Oxford and Cheltenham and the Cornwall Railways are to rest in abeyance.

The South-Western Company's accounts are not quite so clear or full. The result held out to the shareholders is, that the net revenue will give a dividend of 6*l.* per cent. on a share capital of 6,471,703*l.*; but this result implies an increase of 2,495*l.* (about a seventh) in the weekly receipts.

Fall of a Viaduct.—The Rother Viaduct, a great railway work in construction, about six miles east of Sheffield, suddenly fell and killed three men. The viaduct was comprised in the works of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, and was designed to consist of thirty-six arches thirty feet in span, built with brick. Twenty arches had been completed, and the timber supports generally withdrawn, the masonry being approved by the inspectors as unusually strong. The centering of the nineteenth arch was eased shortly before, and no danger was apprehended; but in consequence of heavy rains which had fallen in the neighbourhood and inundated the valley, orders were given to reshore the nineteenth arch. While seven or eight men were employed upon this work, the arch fell in, and four of the men were overwhelmed. In a

few moments a dozen more of the arches followed the nineteenth in regular succession, the noise and concussion resembling those accompanying an avalanche or an earthquake. Ultimately the whole structure became a ruin.

The accident is supposed to have arisen from the insufficiency of the foundation.

30. Trial for Arson. — *Central Criminal Court.* — Emma Beaumont and Mary Anne Fitzgerald were tried for arson, and James Fry for aiding and abetting. The particulars of this very audacious attempt at fraud are shortly these. Beaumont kept a coffee-house in Long Acre; Fry was her sweetheart, and Fitzgerald her servant; Beaumont was in difficulties; she was insured for 400*l.*; a fire occurred, and a large sum was claimed from the insurance office. It was alleged that the fire was wilful, and that hardly any property had been destroyed. The chief witness against the female prisoners was Joseph Bagster, a porter in Covent Garden Market, who had lodged at the coffee-house. He declared that Beaumont had offered him money to fire the house, in order that the insurance money might be obtained, with which Beaumont and Fry would emigrate: Bagster at first appeared to assent; a large quantity of property was gradually removed from the place; Bagster received some money, and more was left one night when he was to set fire to the house in Beaumont's absence; he pocketed the money, but told Fitzgerald he would have nothing to do with the arson: he left the place. Fitzgerald met him subsequently in the street, and told him that she was going to do the job, for 20*l.*; and after the fire, this woman avowed to him that she had caused it. On other occasions, however, she contradicted this. Fry had advised that combustibles should be arranged, and the flames burst out while Fitzgerald was in bed. Cross-examination did not shake this witness's evidence or damage his character. After more witnesses had been examined, Fitzgerald's confession to the magistrate was produced. Mr. Justice Wightman directed an acquittal of Fry, as the testimony against him was merely that of the other prisoners. After hearing counsel for the women, the jury retired, and returned in half an hour with a verdict of "Guilty." The judge sentenced Beaumont to be transported for fifteen years; but Fitzgerald's term, as she appeared to have been a tool of her mistress, was only seven years.

— Systematic Abortion.—*At the same Court.* — Two women, Lindfield and Dryden, and Richard Orpin, were tried on the charge of having wilfully murdered Eliza Wilson. It appeared that Eliza Wilson was with child by the prisoner Orpin, and that, in order to conceal her pregnancy, she was sent to the house of the prisoner, Lindfield; and it was alleged, that she had died from the effects of measures adopted by the women, with the cognizance of Orpin, to bring about a miscarriage. The young woman's dying statement of the purpose for which Orpin sent her to the women, and of Lindfield's proceedings, was the chief evidence against the parties; for the other evidence was very inconclusive—nothing at all to prove the *wilful* destruction of the woman; and a surgeon admitted that the cause of death *might* have been the result of accident while the midwife, Lindfield,

was performing a legitimate function of her calling. Mr. Parry thought it unnecessary to make any defence for Orpin. Dryden said she had nothing more to urge than she had told the magistrate—that she had merely administered proper medicines. Mr. Ballantine, for Lindfield, pleaded that as the charge rested only on the dying declaration of Wilson, it was a dangerous kind of evidence on which to place implicit reliance; and he suggested that death was the result of accident. The jury soon returned a verdict of "Not guilty."

Two other indictments against the prisoners were abandoned. Very sinister reports had long been current respecting the proceedings at Lindfield's house; it was said that women were frequently seen to come there far advanced in pregnancy, and that, after a stay of a few days, they were seen to leave much reduced in size—that numerous babies had been secretly buried or got rid of by very disgusting methods—the house and its occupiers had a very bad reputation. The recorder cautioned the women as to their future conduct, and they were discharged.

30. Fall of a Sugar Warehouse.—About seven o'clock in the morning, the large sugar-house of Messrs. Wilson and Sons, in Alston Street, Glasgow—a building seven stories in height—fell down with one mighty crash. There were some twenty men on the premises at the time, and all were buried in the ruins. Every exertion was made by the authorities of the city to rescue the sufferers; and gangs of men succeeded each other in removing the rubbish, though in peril from the tottering condition of two gable walls. During the day, five men were got out alive, some of them little hurt, others more seriously, though all were expected to recover. At midnight, three corpses had been taken out; but there were still eleven people in the ruins: one had been spoken with, and there were hopes of saving him, but the fate of the others seemed too certain. The workmen continued their operations by torchlight.

Early on Tuesday morning, the man who had been spoken with was got out—dead: while he was still in the ruins cordials had been administered to him, but he gradually sank, apparently from loss of blood caused by a great gash in the shoulder. Another man was heard beneath the ruins for some hours, but he too died before he could be disinterred. On the same morning a third corpse was taken out so horribly mutilated that no one present could identify it. In the whole, the number of victims to this unfortunate accident was fifteen, many of whom, besides the agony of their wounds from the falling materials, were dreadfully scalded by the boiling sugar, and must have endured excruciating agonies before death relieved them from their sufferings. The building was old, had never been considered safe and substantial, and had been shored up upon several occasions. It is not known whether the catastrophe was owing to general decay, or to the weighty goods having been improperly distributed. Besides this lamentable loss of life, the destruction of property is immense.

— Fatal Fire.—The house of Mr. Sidney Powell, optician, in Gray's Inn Lane, was destroyed by fire at a late hour of the night, and two of its inmates perished.

The flames were carried up the staircase on the bursting open of the door, and a woman who was escaping was driven back into the upper rooms. Her husband, who had got down stairs in his shirt only, rushed through the fire and smoke, found his wife, and dragging her to a window tried to force her out; but at the moment he himself leaped she was overcome by the smoke, and fell backwards from his grasp into the room. The husband was taken up nearly dead: he was taken to a hospital, and died in a few moments from the hurts of his fall. The wife was seen no more at the window, and the house rapidly burnt to its walls. At four o'clock this morning, the poor woman's corpse was found, unburnt, on a small part of flooring which remained attached to the wall under the window whence her husband leaped.

31. Reform at Cambridge.—The Syndicate appointed to consider "whether it is expedient to afford greater encouragement to pursuit of those studies for the cultivation of which professorships have been founded in the University; and if so, by what means that object may be best accomplished," have presented a report which was now laid before a congregation for the purpose of confirmation. The Syndicate recommended considerable changes.—The report is a document of considerable length and complexity; but the following is a summary of their recommendations:—

The Syndicate, admitting the superiority of the study of mathematics and classics over all others as the basis of general education, and acknowledging therefore the wisdom of adhering to our present system in its main features, are nevertheless of opinion that much good would result from affording greater encouragement to the pursuit of various other branches of science and learning, which are daily acquiring more importance and a higher estimation in the world, and for the teaching of which the University already possesses the necessary means. In accordance with this view the Syndicate recommend as follows:—

A. That, at the beginning of each academical year, the Vice-Chancellor shall issue a programme of the subjects, places, and times of the several professors' lectures for the year then to ensue.

That all students who, being candidates for the degree of B.A. or for the honorary degree of M A., are not candidates for honours, shall, in addition to what is now required of them, have attended, before they be admitted to examination for their respective degrees, the lectures delivered during one term at least by one or more of the following professors:—Regius Professor of Law, Regius Professor of Physic, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Professor of Chemistry, Professor of Anatomy, Professor of Modern History, Professor of Botany, Woodwardian Professor of Geology, Jacksonian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Downing Professor of the Laws of England, Downing Professor of Medicine, Professor of Mineralogy, Professor of Political Economy; and shall have obtained a certificate of having passed an examination satisfactory to one of the professors whose lectures they have chosen to attend.

That all students who, being candidates for the degree of B.C.L., do not pass the examinations for the first class in that faculty, shall,

in addition to what is now required of them, have attended, before they be allowed to keep their act, the lectures delivered during one term at least, by one or more of the professors (as before, besides the Professor of Law).

That this regulation shall apply to all students answering the above descriptions who shall commence their academical residence in or after the Michaelmas Term of the year 1849.

B. That a new Honour Tripos be established, to be called "the Moral Sciences Tripos," the places in which shall be determined by an examination in the following subjects:—Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Modern History, General Jurisprudence, the Laws of England. That the examiners for the Moral Sciences Tripos be the Regius Professor of Laws, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Professor of Modern History, the Downing Professor of the Laws of England, the Professor of Political Economy, together with one additional examiner, to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and appointed by grace of the Senate; and in case any of the above-mentioned professors be prevented from examining in any year, deputies to examine instead of them shall be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and appointed by grace of the Senate.

That the first examination for the Moral Sciences Tripos, under the regulations now proposed, shall take place in the year 1851.

C. That a new Honour Tripos be established, to be called "the Natural Sciences Tripos," the places in which shall be determined by an examination in the following subjects:—Anatomy, Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Botany, Geology. That the examiners for the Natural Sciences Tripos be the Regius Professor of Physic, the Professor of Chemistry, the Professor of Anatomy, the Professor of Botany, the Woodwardian Professor of Geology, together with one additional examiner, to be nominated by the Vice Chancellor and appointed by grace of the Senate; and in case any of the above-mentioned professors be prevented from examining in any year, deputies to examine instead of them shall be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and appointed by grace of the Senate. The first examination to take place in the year 1851.

D. That, with a view to encourage attendance at the lectures of the mathematical professors, and to secure a correspondence between those lectures and the mathematical examinations of the University; and also as a means of communicating to the students themselves, from a body of experienced examiners and lecturers, correct views of the nature and objects of our mathematical examinations, the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, the Plumian Professor of Astronomy, the Lowndean Professor of Geometry and Astronomy, and the Jacksonian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, together with the Moderators and Examiners for mathematical honours for the time being, as well as those of the two years immediately preceding, be constituted a Board of Mathematical Studies, whose duty it shall be to consult together, from time to time, on all matters relating to the actual state of mathematical studies and examinations in the University, and to prepare annually, and lay before the Vice-Chancellor, a re-

port, to be by him published to the University in the Lent or Easter Term of each year.

The Syndicate, having respect to the great importance of the study of Theology, and with the view of giving increased efficiency to the regulations already established for the promotion of it, further recommend :—

E. That all persons who present themselves for examination at the theological examination, established by grace of the Senate, May 11, 1842, be required to produce a certificate of having attended the lectures delivered during one term, at least, by two of the three Theological Professors, viz., the Regius Professor of Divinity, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, and the Norrisian Professor of Divinity. This regulation to come into operation in Michaelmas Term, 1850.

Separate "graces" were presented for each regulation, one in respect of each tripos, and one in respect of each mathematical board. All the recommendations were adopted intact.

— The French in London.— The streets of the metropolis have been enlivened, and the wonder and fear of the more ancient portion of its inhabitants have been excited, by the invasion of some hundreds of the Parisian National Guard, of all arms, in full uniform. Upwards of a thousand of these military citizens came over by special trains and packets on early days in the week, and have been prominent in the throng of metropolitan passengers. Some four hundred visited Westminster Abbey in a body; and fortunately arriving while the Canon Residentiary was present, they were by his orders admitted "gratis" to a sight of every part of the building. Even the Tower of London, that bulwark of the London citizens, was freely thrown open to the invaders; and, as the venerable structure is held in traditionary awe by the French, it was eagerly visited. The military barracks were of course visited, and eagerly viewed; and it is said that the complimentary Nationals expressed "admiration and pleasure at the excellent arrangements of each." The theatres were crowded by masses of the Guards; and pleasant fraternization was set on foot by the performance alternately of French and English national music. The strangers were most cordially welcomed by all classes, and their passage through the streets was accompanied by warm greeting, and, on the part of the French, the warmest expression of pleasure at the "surprising" frankness and cordiality of their reception here.

NOVEMBER.

The Dead Sea and Sea of Tiberias.—Since the visit of Lieutenant Molyneux, of H.M.S. *Spartan*, about two years ago, no scientific account has been given of these sacred and mysterious localities, by which the actual condition of the waters and the shores of the Sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea could be ascertained, and the disputed questions, geographical and physical, solved. They have been once more visited by Captain Lynch, of the United States Navy, who has published some interesting memorials of his journey. The Expedition consisted of 15 persons, and carried with it two boats of metal: after

a most arduous journey from St. Jean d'Acre, the boats floated on the Sea of Tiberias on the 8th of April.

"We found the navigation of the Jordan very difficult and dangerous on account of the fearfully rapid currents. The idea of the fall of the Jordan between the Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea may be conceived by its crooked bed, which, in a distance of 60 miles, serpentines 200 miles. In this distance the expedition was plunged into no less than 27 dreadful rapids, not counting several others of a less remarkable declivity. The difference in the level of these two seas is 2000 feet.

"For a few hundred yards from its mouth, the water of the Jordan is sweet. The waters of the Dead Sea are without smell, but to the taste, they are bitter, salt, and disgusting.

"On entering, the boats encountered a gale of wind, and so thick were the waters that the boats appeared to strike against the hammers of the Titans rather than the waves of a raging sea."

The expedition continued its daily operations, making topographical sketches, until its arrival at the southern extremity of the sea, where a very astonishing spectacle awaited it.

"On passing the mountain of Sodom (says Captain Lynch), we observed to the S.E. a large column, in the shape of a funnel, composed of solid rock salt, and covered by carbonate of calcium, a mine of crystallization. Mr. Dale made a sketch of it, and the doctor and I landed to obtain specimens.

"The expedition made the tour of the Dead Sea, and returned to the point of its departure; the boats were in the same condition as when we left New York, and all the crew in good health."

The following facts are not without interest:—

"The bottom of the northern part of the Dead Sea is almost flat (a plain).

"The meridional lines at a short distance from the shore vary but little in depth; the greatest depth found up to the date of this letter (May 3rd) was 188 fathoms, or 1128 English feet.

"In the same proportion that the north part of the Dead Sea is deep, so is the southern part shallow, to the extent that for a quarter of its length the depth was found to be but 18 feet. Its southern bed presented no crystallizations, but its shores are covered with incrustations of salt, and on landing the footmarks in an hour's time were covered with crystallizations.

"The shores in face of the peninsula, and its western side, present evident marks of destruction.

"Birds and insects are, without doubt, to be found on the shore; sometimes ducks on the sea, for we saw some, but we could find no living object in this sea. However, the salt sources it receives contain fish belonging to the ocean. I feel certain (says Captain Lynch) that the result of our expedition will confirm to the very letter the history of the Holy Land, as regards the sunken cities.

"The bottom of the Dead Sea forms two sunken plains—one elevated, the other depressed. The first part, south, is composed of clay or fat mud, covered by an artificial bay; the latter, the upper part and more north, of mud, incrustations, and rectangular salt crystallizations, extending to a great depth, and with a narrow

ravine defiling in the midst of it, corresponding with the Jordan at one extremity, and Wady Seib at the other.

2. Murder in Ireland.—While Major Phibbs, Staff-officer of Pensioners, and Sergeant Grant, were proceeding on a car from Parsonstown to Roscrea, they were attacked by an armed party of six men, who demanded the cash-box, containing the monthly pay of the out-pensioners. Sergeant Grant hesitating to deliver it, he was at once shot through the heart, and the booty was carried off by force. A strong party of military and police were immediately despatched to scour the country in pursuit.

6. Inquest on Viscount Midleton.—An inquest was held at the mansion of Pepper-Harrow, near Godalming, on the body of the late noble owner, Viscount Midleton, who destroyed himself under the circumstances detailed in the evidence.

George Caesar, who said that he had been in the service of Viscount Midleton for a period of 10 years, said he saw his lordship last alive on Tuesday evening the 31st ult. He was then in his bedroom, and it was about 20 minutes past 11 o'clock. Whilst there witness saw him take a wine-glass and pour something into it, which he drank. He could not tell whether it was brandy or wine. On the following morning (Wednesday) witness went into his lordship's bedroom at about a quarter past eight o'clock with the letter-bag, but not finding him there, he went in search of him. After looking in several rooms he remembered that his lordship had told him a few days previous to take a brazier into another room, and prepare some charcoal, which he stated he wanted for lighting a fire to dry the paper on the walls. The paper in that room was peeling off. According to his lordship's directions the brazier was placed in the room. The room was a very small one, and approached by a narrow staircase. On reaching that room witness found the door closed, but not locked. A wax-candle which had been in the candlestick was quite burnt out, and on looking round the room he found his lordship dressed and lying on the floor. The brazier was standing in the middle of the room. He examined the body, and found it stiff and cold.

Mr. C. A. Parsons, of Godalming, surgeon, said that on Wednesday morning last he was called upon to attend deceased. On his arrival, at half-past ten o'clock, he found him dead and extended on the floor, with his head resting on a pillow, which was placed on a wooden step. On entering the room he experienced a strong smell of charcoal, so strong that witness could not have stopped in the place had the door been closed. There was an iron brazier in the room, with a quantity of charcoal in it. Witness did not think there was any necessity for a *post mortem* examination, as the cause of death appeared so conclusive.

Several gentlemen, who had been in frequent intercourse with his lordship, and some servants, were then called, who deposed to the deceased having been of late in a state of great depression of spirits.

The Rev. Lawrence W. Elliott, of Pepper-Harrow, said that he had known the deceased for many years. In July 1847, Lord Midleton communicated to him the intelligence of her ladyship having

left him, and added that it was all his own fault. He was then in such a distressed state of mind that witness did not like to leave him by himself. Two or three days afterwards, Lord Midleton told witness that he was in such a distressed state that he had hardly been able to keep from laying violent hands on himself. Mr. Elliott could not attribute his state of mind to anything else than the separation between himself and Lady Midleton. About the middle of March 1848, whilst conversing with witness, he said, "Oh, my life is a hell on earth;" and added, that he had had such a night, that he would not have another like it for all the world; and he concluded by saying that he had been on his knees all the night. He was extremely violent in his language, and seemed to suspect his best friends of wanting Lady Midleton to set him at defiance. He often said he hoped he should be seized with a fit of apoplexy and die. During the last two months, he had spoken of how he had disposed of his property, and what would be the result after his death.

The jury found the following verdict—

"That the Right Honourable George Alan, Viscount Midleton, in a certain room in Pepper-Harrow mansion, in the parish of Pepper-Harrow, within the county of Surrey, did, on Wednesday, the 1st November, 1848, destroy his own life, he being at the time in a state of temporary insanity."

7. Strange Accusation.—The Baroness St. Mart, a fashionably attired lady, who was accompanied by her husband and her mother, the Countess Grabouski, was brought before the sitting magistrate at Marylebone, charged, under the following extraordinary circumstances, with having stolen two valuable diamond rings, the property of Sir J. Hare, of 26, Royal Crescent, Bath.

The prosecutor said—In April, 1847, the Baroness, who was then Miss Todhunter, was on a visit to me at my residence in Bath, as was the Baron, to whom she was about to be married, and also the Countess, her mother. On the 26th of that month I had written some letters, and was going to a party in the evening, at which I was to introduce the Baron. Prior to my leaving home I opened a portable desk, from which I took out a ring and put it on my finger; the prisoner, the Baroness, asked me to let her look at it, and I gave it into her hands. From a small casket I took another ring, which she also asked to look at. I gave it to her, and she put it on her finger, as she did the first. After a few minutes I said to her, "Give me those again;" and she said, "No, I shall keep them." I pressed her very much to return them, but I could not get them from her; and being anxious to save the post I quitted home with my letters, the Baron walking with me to the post-office. This was on the Tuesday, and on the next Thursday the Baroness, the Baron, and the Countess left, and I had forgotten all about the rings till they were gone. On the next day (Friday) I came up to London to recover, if possible, the articles which I had missed, and repaired to their residence in Thayer Street, Manchester Square, having been invited to be present at the wedding of the Baroness and Baron, which was to take place on the Saturday. The Countess pressed me eagerly to stay dinner, and, as

soon as an opportunity was afforded me, I spoke to the Baroness as she was going up-stairs, having called her aside for the purpose, and asked her for the rings; she made no observation, but went up. In the course of five minutes she came down and said, "What were you saying to me just now?" To which I remarked, that I had asked her to bring me the rings. She affirmed that she knew nothing whatever respecting them. Some altercation ensued, and the Countess also denied that her daughter the Baroness had the rings in question.

Mr. Broughton.—Have you seen the rings since?

Sir J. Hare.—I have not, Sir.

Mr. Broughton.—What do you consider to be the value of them?

Sir J. Hare.—I should say at least 40 guineas.

Eliza Russell, through whose information the Baroness was ultimately apprehended, said,—I lived in the service of the Countess three years, and left last Saturday week.

Mr. Broughton.—Have you at any time been employed by the Baroness to dispose of rings?

Witness.—Yes, Sir. Last May twelvemonths she gave me two rings, which she desired me to pledge for 10*l.*, at Mr. Boyce's, Lisson Grove, North. I obtained that amount upon them, and gave the money into the Baroness's own hands. Immediately she received the tickets from me she tore them up.

The Baroness.—Now, tell me, what did you leave my mother's, the Countess's, service for?

Witness.—You thought I had opened your jewel-box and had made free with its contents; but I was quite innocent of anything of the sort.

The Baroness, being asked if she had any statement to make, replied,—I have been in the habit of meeting Sir J. Hare, and he has been a very kind and good friend; while lodging in the Champs Elysées, at Paris, with my mother, we had the use of his carriage, and having learned that I was about to be united to the Baron on our return to London, he said he should act as papa at the wedding, and invited us down to Bath. We went thither, and although he knew I was engaged to the Baron he made me an offer of marriage himself, at the same time telling me that he should make a much richer husband for me than the one I had fixed on. On the Wednesday or Thursday he speaks of, we were all in the parlour, when Sir John took a ring from a box, saying, "This is a beautiful ring," and he put it on my finger; he also put upon it another, saying, "This belonged to my dear departed angel." I gave them to my mother to look at, having done which she gave them back to me, and I gave them to the Baron, who returned them both to Sir J. Hare.

Mr. Broughton. — You have heard what the pawnbroker has stated—what do you say to that?

Prisoner.—If he has had the rings, it was not through me, Sir.

Mr. Broughton (to Sir J. Hare).—Now, Sir John, I need scarcely remind you that you are upon your oath; did you ever make an offer of marriage to this lady, the Baroness?

Sir J. Hare.—Never: I can swear it.

Mr. Broughton.—Did you see the rings passed to the Countess?

Sir J. Hare.—I did not. The Baroness retained possession of them herself.

Mr. Broughton.—It's rather a curious circumstance that you should not have demanded the rings back before the party left your house.

Sir J. Hare.—It does seem rather strange, but it happened to escape my recollection.

Mr. Broughton (to the prisoner).—Sir John swears that there is no truth as to his having made you an offer.

Prisoner.—He really did, Sir; what I have stated is the fact.

The accused was remanded, being admitted to bail.

The Countess, on leaving the Court, addressed the prosecutor, saying, "Sir John, with your grey hairs, such revenge is unworthy of you."

Upon a re-examination other evidence was adduced, but without adding anything to the proof. On the trial there was very good reason to believe that there was no truth in the evidence of the witness Russell, and that the accusation arose from an erroneous impression on the part of the prosecutor. The Baroness was therefore at once acquitted.

Piracy in the Mediterranean.—A daring instance of piracy has occurred in the Mediterranean, which however was promptly chastised by one of our war-steamers. The English brig *Three Sisters*, commanded by Mr. J. H. Foster, which arrived at Gibraltar on the 24th of October from Glasgow, cleared on the 30th with a cargo of gunpowder and bale goods for Malta. The vessel was becalmed about 12 miles off Cape Tres Forcas, coast of Morocco; and while in that helpless condition, it was attacked by six piratical boats filled with Moors. The master found that he had no hope of defending the ship; so he ordered his crew into the ship's boat, and boldly put out to open sea: he was picked up next day by the English brig *Dawn*, which landed him and his men at Gibraltar on the 7th. The Governor, Sir Robert Wilson, immediately despatched Captain M'Cleverty in the *Polyphemus* war-steamer in search of the vessel and to recapture her. Captain M'Cleverty found her where she had been first attacked, in the possession of about 500 Moors, who were well armed, and had mounted a long gun on their prize. The Moors were attacked by a cutting-out expedition, which advanced under cover of the guns of the *Polyphemus;* but they were not driven from the ship till after a severe fight, in which Lieutenant Wasey and several men were wounded, some very severely. It was found that the master's cabin and all the after part of the *Three Sisters* had been plundered; and that one tier of the bale cargo, a large part of the gunpowder, and all the sail-rigging, had been carried off. The recaptured ship was towed into Gibraltar.

The Moorish inhabitants of the coast of the province of Rif are notorious pirates, and are supposed to have destroyed many merchant vessels which have not been heard of after approaching that coast.

10. Suicide of a Clergyman at Nottingham.—A melancholy suicide has been committed at Nottingham, which caused great sorrow in that neighbourhood. During the last two years the Rev. W. Brown, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has been officiating as curate at Sneinton, a large parish adjoining the town of Nottingham. Shortly before Easter last the Rev. E. Bull, of Pentlow, in Essex, came

with his family to Nottingham on exchange of duty with another clergyman of the town. The Rev. E. Bull has a daughter, about 17 years of age, who is a ward in chancery, and on attaining her majority will become possessed of considerable property. This young lady having become the object of Mr. Brown's affections, he made his attachment known to her father, hoping to be accepted as her suitor. The rev. gentleman, however, in very considerate terms, declined his offer, at all events for the present, on account of the youth of his daughter, and strongly, yet in a kind spirit, advised him to think no more about the matter. During the afternoon the deceased was seen to walk in the streets in Nottingham in a very hurried and excited manner, and on visiting two or three shops his altered manner excited a considerable degree of attention. At four o'clock he went to the castle, and having obtained admission at the lodge, walked to the ruins, and entering a compartment at the south-west corner, drew a pistol from his pocket, and holding it in his left hand, shot himself in the forehead, the charge taking away the whole of the orbit of the left side, and pressing the eye down inside the cheek.

12. Murder and Robbery at St. Leonard's.—A very terrible murder was committed at St. Leonard's, Hastings, at the residence of Miss M. A. C. Moore, Catharine Villa.

Miss Moore, Dr. Moore, her brother, and all the servants, except the cook, left the villa in their carriage, as was usual, for the purpose of attending Divine service at Hastings.

The cook, Mary Ann Newman, who was 50 years of age, and had been a servant in the family 27 years, was the only person connected with the establishment who was left in the house. On returning from church, Dr. Moore, his sister, and the servants were unable to obtain admission; and on the footman entering through a window, and opening the front door, the house was found to have been ransacked; property, consisting of jewellery, watches, &c., of the value of 150*l*., was missed; and the cook was found in a passage weltering in her blood, her skull having been driven in by repeated blows of a spade standing near. Life was not quite extinct, and the unfortunate woman lingered till Tuesday, when she died.

Inquiries were immediately instituted by the police for the discovery of the murderer, but nothing was found to point out the perpetrator: after the lapse of some days it was ascertained that a man named Pierson, who had formerly been coachman in the family had, at about half-past 12 o'clock on the morning of the murder, called at a public-house, known as the Victoria, at Hollington, about two miles off, on the road to Battle Abbey. He here asked for a drink of water, stating that he was "hard up." This was given to him, and he then went towards Hastings, and asked for more water at the turn pike-gate, a quarter of a mile nearer Hastings. This led to a minute search in the neighbourhood, and some foot-tracks were discovered exactly corresponding with his shoes. One of his shoes had on the toe an iron "tip," broken in a peculiar manner, and a corresponding peculiarity was found in the foot-tracks. Pursuing these tracks, the searchers came to the leaves of a "shaw," a provincial expression

denoting a narrow slip of coppice running like a hedge-row from the road between two fields, about 40 yards from the Victoria public-house. Here the tracks were lost; but in this shaw, on Friday morning, James Ashdown, a farm labourer, observed an ash "teller," from which the bark had been gnawed by teeth in a place nearly as large as the palm of the hand; and, conjecturing that the mark had been made as a guide to the place where plunder had been deposited, he pulled away the leaves and rubbish, and discovered just beneath the surface the whole of the property known to have been stolen, and likewise various articles, the property of Miss Moore, but which had not been missed.

The whole of this property was tied in a handkerchief, which was identified as the property of the prisoner.

Pierson was immediately apprehended. He was tried at the spring assizes and acquitted.

13. The Scotch Chartists.—The trials of the Scotch Chartists for conspiracy and sedition were commenced in the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, after protracted technical contests. Grant, Ranken, and Hamilton, were charged with sedition and conspiracy, in that, on the 28th of April, they "wickedly, feloniously, and seditiously, resolved and agreed to form a body to be called a National Guard, and to be provided with arms, to be used for the illegal and seditious purpose of effecting by force and violence, or by armed resistance to lawful authority, alterations of the laws and constitution of the realm; and with having become members of the said body." The evidence was that of policemen and reporters; and the proofs were chiefly speeches very similar to those delivered in London by the English Chartists.

Exculpatory evidence was given with the object of throwing the real criminal burden on one M'Kay, a fierce physical-force man, whose notions and plans were opposed by the prisoners and the regular Chartists. The speeches of the defending counsel were directed to the double point of insisting on the force of this exculpatory evidence, and of palliating the speeches which the prisoners had actually made: the language they had used was rhetorically extravagant and inflated, but it inculcated constitutional principles, and was not more violent than the speeches of Mr. Aytoun and others in the King's Park, during the Reform Bill agitation.

The jury returned as verdicts—

"The Jury unanimously find the charge of conspiracy against the three panels as libelled not proven.

"The Jury also unanimously find John Grant 'Not Guilty' of sedition as libelled.

"The Jury further unanimously find Robert Hamilton 'Guilty' of sedition, in so far as that he used language calculated to excite popular disaffection and resistance to lawful authority.

"And by a majority of one, find Henry Ranken 'Guilty' of using similar language."

The substitution of the word "calculated" for "intended" gave rise to subsequent proceedings.

14. Wreck of Two Emigrant Ships.—Two deplorable shipwrecks, of German emigrant vessels, with between 300 and 400 passengers on board, occurred during the night on the Long and Goodwin Sands. The

unfortunate vessels were both from Bremen. The ship *Burgundy*, 500 tons burden, with 300 emigrants, for New Orleans; and the bark *Atlantic*, bound for New York, also with passengers (the number not exactly known). The weather was exceedingly boisterous, the wind blowing N.N.W., the evening setting in with a hazy atmosphere. Between 10 and 11 o'clock last night the report of signal-guns of distress was heard in the direction of the Long Sand. Several smacks, and Her Majesty's revenue cutter *Desmond*, bore down in the direction. On nearing the centre bank of the sands in question a large vessel was discovered completely on the shoal, almost ingulfed in heavy breakers. She proved to be the *Burgundy*, having, it was reported, been carried on by the rapidity of the currents about 10 o'clock. It was impracticable to get her off, and her destruction seemed inevitable. The crews of the surrounding vessels, on ascertaining the great number of human beings on board, lost no time in arranging a plan for their rescue, which was providentially successful, for the whole of the poor creatures, numbering between 200 and 300, including the crew, were safely taken off the wreck. They were landed on various points of the coast in a destitute condition. The wreck of the *Atlantic* was discovered in the morning on the Goodwin. She had got on the outside of the sands, and was fast settling down, when several Ramsgate and Deal luggers came to her succour. Although the weather was fine, a tremendous sea raged on the sands, sweeping over the ill-fated vessel every instant. Four lives had already been lost—the master, two passengers, and a boy, who were swept overboard, and not seen afterwards. With great difficulty the Deal boatmen succeeded in saving the crew and some of the passengers, while the remainder of the latter were taken off by several Ramsgate vessels, and conveyed to that port and those adjacent.

15. Destructive Fire at Manchester.—Between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock, P.M., the whole of the immense pile of buildings known by the name of the Gaythorn Cotton Works, the property of Mr. James Fernley, and situate in Albion-street, Manchester, were destroyed by fire. The fire originated in No. 5 card room, situated in the centre of the pile, owing to which there were no means of saving it. Upwards of 800 hands will be thrown out of employ. Mr. Rose, the superintendent of the Manchester fire-brigade, was immediately on the spot with 12 engines and a large body of men; but, in consequence of the rapidity of the flames, no efforts could stay its progress. The loss is variously reported at from 30,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* The property was insured for about 22,000*l.*

17. Shocking Occurrence.—Early this morning the driver of a luggage-train on the Richmond Railway, while crossing Barnes Common, saw what appeared to be the stuffed figure of a man reclining against the wooden fencing of the line. The train was stopped, and the people approached the object. They were horror-struck at finding a human being, surrounded by a pool of blood, and not only dead, but partly frozen: the blood was easily traced in a direct line to the up-rail, where

it was evident the accident had happened; but that the unfortunate victim should, after its occurrence, have crawled to the spot he was found in, would have been considered impossible, had it not been that the grass and weeds which he had convulsively grasped and torn up, in his struggle to get removed out of danger, fully confirmed that fact. His left foot had been all but severed, a tendon only uniting it to the leg; and the sufferer, who was found with an open pocket-knife firmly grasped in his right hand, had cut away his leather gaiter, prior, as is supposed, to his intended entire severance of the limb, when he sank from exhaustion, and literally died from loss of blood. The deceased was John Sharp, a hawker. He had left Richmond the preceding evening in an up-train, had probably fallen asleep, and, not waking at the Barnes station, where he ought to have got out, had attempted to alight while the train was in motion.

— Fatal Accident on the Datchet Railway.—A collision unfortunately took place in the evening on the line of railway from London to Datchet, by which one man lost his life, and several persons were severely injured. It appears that the express train which left the Waterloo Bridge station at 5.35 reached the junction at Richmond at 6.5. A green light having been shown at the approach of the train, it was proceeding on its way to Datchet, when a ballast-engine was most incautiously moved from a siding, although the express train was five minutes over due, and the result was an immediate collision. A man who was riding on the ballast-engine was so jammed up among the machinery that it was impossible to extricate him with life, and the guard and several passengers of the express train received very severe contusions.

— Typhoon in the Chinese Seas. — The underwriters at Lloyds' have received accounts of a fearful typhoon which visited the coasts of China on the 31st August, committing terrible ravages among the shipping, with great destruction of mercantile property, and loss of life, both native and European.

In Hongkong, early in the forenoon, the fall in the barometer attracted attention, and the assistant harbour-master went round the shipping and warned them of what might be expected. But little fear seems to have been entertained till the approach of evening, when the signal, "The barometer indicates bad weather," was seen flying at the flagstaff in front of Pedder's Hill.

From this time the wind gradually increased till half-past two, when the hurricane was at its height—the barometer being so low as 28.92. Fortunately the China boats took the alarm early, and made for the sheltered creeks on the Cowloon side; but even there they seemed to have suffered severely, as a number of salt and cargo boats were driven on shore, and many of their crews drowned. A few large junks and a lorcha remained at anchor off the Lower Bazaar, all of which were destroyed during the night. Of four which came on shore opposite Circular Buildings about midnight, the crews, with the exception of three or four men, were landed in safety.

In the morning the colony exhibited a most melancholy appear-

ance. In the harbour — several vessels dismasted, others on shore, and the whole beach strewed with wrecks of Chinese junks, in the midst of which dead bodies were occasionally seen floating, while on shore every house exposed to the storm suffered more or less — tiles torn from the roofs, walls levelled, verandahs blown to pieces, and, wherever a garden plot formerly existed, the plants and bushes were either broken short off or torn up by the roots.

Sixteen European vessels are enumerated as having lost their masts, been driven on shore, or otherwise damaged. At Macao the hurricane was equally severe; but the damage was chiefly confined to the native vessels, and upwards of 100 Chinese junkmen were drowned. At Capsingmoon the damage was even greater; the *Isabella Robertson* was sunk, with a cargo valued at half a million of dollars, with the greater part of the crew, and many vessels, with very valuable cargoes, were driven on shore, dismasted, &c. The loss of life, chiefly of Chinese boatmen, was very great. At Canton the effects of the hurricane were equally diastrous, the whole river being covered with wrecks of innumerable junks.

— The Exiled Royal Family of France.—The health of these illustrious exiles had become so seriously affected during their residence at Claremont, that they abruptly left that mansion and took up their abode at the Star and Garter at Richmond. From the symptoms it became evident that the cause was some deleterious matter acting slowly on the system, such as would arise from the decomposition of the leaden pipes by water used by the establishment. The Countess de Neuilly (Her Majesty), who was very seriously indisposed, and obliged to keep her bed for several days after the arrival of the ex-Royal Family of France at the Star and Garter at Richmond, soon became convalescent. The Count de Neuilly, who was in the enjoyment of excellent health, was scarcely affected by the deleterious nature of the water. The leaden and zinc pipes through which the water was conveyed to Claremont House were removed, and new ones substituted. The large reservoirs, also, whence all the water is obtained for the use of the household, were ordered to be cased, so as to prevent the possibility of any danger for the future arising from the same causes which have occasioned so much alarm. The family, suite, and domestics of the ex-King and Queen number no less than thirty-eight persons, and occupied between forty and fifty apartments at the Star and Garter Hotel.

28. Coroner's Inquest.—An inquest was held at the Globe Tavern, London Street, Tottenham Court Road, on the body of Ann Pullen, aged 14½ years, alleged to have been murdered by her mother, Jane Pullen, a widow, with whom she resided, at No. 3, Princes Street, Fitzroy Square.

Jane Pullen, the accused, was brought into court, and, in answer to the coroner, said—"My name is Jane Pullen. I live in the second floor back-room of No. 3, Princes Street, and am a widow. My husband was a sailor. The deceased was my daughter. I saw her last alive about half-past 11 on Friday morning. I left her in the room, and locked her in. I did not return home till half-past 10 the same night. I had fastened

her with a cord to the bed-post in the morning. When I returned home I found the door still locked. On opening it, all was dark and quiet. I called to my daughter, but she made no answer. I then went to where I had fastened her. I found her dead, and I cut her down."

Coroner (interrupting).—"Don't say anything further about it. It now becomes my duty to inform you that you are to consider yourself in custody. You can make any statement you please after the evidence, but it will be taken down against you."

Mr. Joseph Layman examined.—"I am landlord of the house, No. 3, Princes Street, Fitzroy Square. The accused and her daughter occupied the second floor back-room, and they had had for about three weeks a young woman, a servant out of place, staying with them. She went out on Thursday morning, and did not return till Saturday night. About 11 o'clock, on Friday night last, I had retired to rest, when the accused knocked at my room door and said, 'Get up,' and on my doing so she said, 'Ann is dead, what shall I do—what shall I do?'—She had then a light, and having put on my clothes, I went up stairs with her to her room. I saw the deceased lying on the floor quite dead, and a rope lying on the bed. I said, 'We had better send for a doctor:' to which she replied, 'What is the use of a doctor, as she is dead?' I then felt for the pulse, but it had ceased to beat, and the body was cold. I, however, thought it right to go for a surgeon."

The Coroner.—"Now state to the jury all that transpired between you and the woman Pullen."

Witness.—"I said to her, 'This is a very serious case, and there must be an inquest.' She replied, 'Something must be done, for I did it.' She then said, 'I left her in the morning with directions to mend some of her things, and she had been kept at home that day for the purpose from her work. I went out early in the morning, and when I returned at 11 o'clock she had done nothing. I told her she should have nothing but dry bread, and, in order to prevent her sitting down, I put the rope round her neck, and made it fast to the bedpost to prevent her sitting down,"

The Coroner.—"Now be particular, and state if she told you how she tied deceased."

Witness.—"She said she tied her neck, and then passed the rope round the headpost of the bedstead (a French one), and then passed the ends of it round the foot, in order to prevent her untying it, so that the end of the rope was out of her reach. She said she put the rope round and round the deceased's neck, and then coiled it under the knob of the bedpost. The accused then went on to say to witness, that when she found deceased she was leaning forward in a bending position, close to the bed, but a little on one side. She said she tied the rope slack, but not slack enough for the deceased to get the rope over her chin. On the following day, I said to her that I could not understand how she had tied the rope, and she again said she had made both ends fast at the foot of the bedpost."

The rope, which is such as is used for a thick clothes-line, was here produced, and the witness expressed his belief that it was the same he saw on the bed, and which had been used.

The jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter" against the mother.

The prisoner was tried for manslaughter on the 20th of December, and found guilty; the learned judge commented in suitable terms on the barbarity of her conduct; but thinking it more an act of ignorance than of wilful cruelty, sentenced her to imprisonment and hard labour for a year.

— Horrible Assassinations at Wymondham.—An accumulation of crimes, such as have scarcely ever before been recorded in civil life, were committed at Stanfield Hall, near Wymondham, about four miles from Norwich. This mansion, the residence of Mr. Isaac Jermy, the recorder of Norwich, is a large building, in the Norman style of architecture, with a moat before it, and an extensive park around it. In the front of the main building there is a porch entrance, leading into a spacious hall, from which there is a passage to the dining and drawing rooms on the left. There is also a servants' entrance, with a passage leading to the offices on the one hand and to the sitting-rooms on the other. Mr. Jermy, his son, and Mrs. Jermy, the wife of the latter, had dined together. The butler, a man servant, and two females, were on the premises. Two female servants had gone to Wymondham, and had returned to the park, but were not in the hall before eight o'clock. About half-past eight Mr. Jermy left the dining room, and walked through the hall to the front of the building. On returning, just as he entered the porch, a man, wrapped up in a cloak and wearing a mask, fired a pistol at him, and the ball lodged in the upper part of the left breast, close to the shoulder. He fell, and instantly expired; but, owing to what followed, was not removed for nearly an hour. The assassin then went to the servants' entrance to the right, passed through the passage across the building, and met the butler. With a pistol in each hand he motioned the butler to go back. Being greatly alarmed at the apparition of a man in a mask presenting two pistols, the butler retired into his pantry. The assassin proceeded onwards to the turn of the passage, where there was a dark recess, and a door opening into another passage, leading to the back of the premises. He appears to have arrived in the recess just as Mr. Jermy's son, alarmed at the report of a pistol, left the dining-room: as the young gentleman went to the door opening into the back passage, the man fired at him, and shot him through the right breast, killing him on the spot. Mrs. Jermy, hearing a noise, went to the same place; and, while she knelt over the lifeless body of her husband, the assassin fired a pistol at her. The shot shivered one of her arms, and wounded her in the breast. Her maid, Eliza Chestney, more courageous than the other servants, went to the same spot to see what was the matter; and, while clasping her mistress, the murderer discharged another pistol at her, and seriously wounded her in the thigh. The female servants, thinking they should all be murdered, hid themselves. The man servant, who was then in the stables, hearing all this firing, and supposing that the house was attacked by a number of ruffians, swam across the moat which surrounds the

house, and set off to Wymondham, where he gave the alarm, and caused a telegraphic message to be sent to Norwich police-station. The murderer, therefore, had no difficulty in making his escape. The two female servants, who had gone to Wymondham, returned with two young men; and, while they stood outside of the moat talking, they heard the report of a pistol, and saw the flash: they thought that young Mr. Jermy was trying to frighten them, and they went to the lodge.

Assistance arriving, the victims of this atrocious crime were removed. Mr. Jermy, sen., who was about 69 years of age, was found to be quite dead, the balls having passed through his heart. The son, who was aged about 30, was also dead, the bullets having pierced through his body on the right side. Mrs. Jermy was frightfully injured, her arm was dreadfully shattered, and her side much lacerated; from her bodily and mental sufferings it is doubtful whether she can ultimately recever. The servant maid was also dreadfully injured, but less so than her mistress.

Suspicion pointed to a man named Rush, a farmer and auctioneer, living in the neighbourhood, with whom Mr. Jermy had had frequent disputes, and he was immediately arrested; Mrs. Jermy and the servant retaining sufficient recollection to declare that, though disguised, they were certain that he was the assassin.

A very lengthened inquiry was immediately commenced before the coroner.

Surgeons described the cause of death: a charge from a gun or a pistol, fired at a very short distance, had lodged in the body; little pieces of lead were taken from the bodies—two pieces from the father's corpse, and five from that of the son—more being left in the wounds: some of the pieces weighed eleven grains, and others thirteen.

James Watson, Mr. Jermy's butler, described what he saw of the assassinations:—"About a quarter past eight o'clock on Tuesday evening I was in my pantry, when I heard the discharge of a gun or a pistol shot at the front of the house. The pantry is in the front of the house, and nearly adjoins the porch. I left my pantry immediately after hearing the report; and when I got to the corner of the passage, not more than five or six feet from the pantry-door, I saw a man walking past from the back passage towards the staircase hall. He was turning the corner. Immediately fronting the kitchen passage was a small lamp: the man was not past the lamp at the time I first saw him. His face was towards me, with something over it, apparently a mask. He had a cloak on; it had a cape to it; I do not know whether it was long or short; I do not remember whether it was above or below his knees. His head was covered with something, but I do not know what. He was a short man, and stout. It was a dark cloak. The man was carrying a pistol in each hand. They were large pistols; but I cannot say the size of them, or the length of barrel. He did not speak to me, nor did I speak to him. I believe he saw me." It occurred to Watson that the man was Mr. Rush, whom he knew well by sight, as he had been frequently at the Hall of

late. "The man was passing me quickly, towards the door leading to the staircase hall, the door of which was opened by Mr. Isaac Jermy at the instant of time that the man that I suppose to be Mr. Rush reached it. I saw the man fire a pistol, and Mr. Jermy instantly fell back. I went back into my pantry. As soon as I was there I heard two other reports. I then came out, and went towards the hall staircase. When in the passage, Mrs. Jermy rushed past me towards the back staircase. I went on, and opposite the door into the hall staircase I saw Eliza Chestney lying screaming. She said, 'Oh! take me up, or I shall die.' I did take her up, and took her towards the back staircase." He raised an alarm. The glass-door, by which the murderer passed into the house, was one by which Rush was in the habit of entering, without knocking or ringing. Mr. Jermy always went out for a few minutes after dinner; a habit so common that many might know of it. Rush had a short interview with Mr. Jermy on the Sunday night.

Mr. Hubburty, superintendent of police, found a fur cap and a wig in a chest in Rush's bed-room: the wig was a large black, long-haired one, and could be put on the head so as greatly to conceal the face. This wig was nearly at the top of the box, and seemed to have been rudely thrust in.

The most important evidence, both at the inquest and at the examination before the magistrates, was that of Emily James, whose real name was Sandford, a young woman who had lived in Rush's family, first as a governess, latterly as his housekeeper or mistress: she had described herself as a widow, but afterwards admitted that she was unmarried, and she was evidently far advanced in pregnancy. Reporters were not allowed to be present at her examination, but the following was the substance of what she said. At the first examination, she had said, Mr. Rush came home to tea at six, and took off his boots for the night; went out of the room at about nine, for ten minutes only; returned then, and did not again leave the house. Subsequently, however, under a more rigorous questioning, her story changed. She deposed, that on the night of the murders Rush came home at about six, by appointment, to take her to a concert, given by Madame Dulcken, at Wymondham; but he asked her if she desired to go, as he was unwell; and it was agreed that they should not go. They took tea, and he stayed in the room till eight. He then said, "I want to go out for a short time." She endeavoured to dissuade him, on account of his cold; but he went to the back-kitchen, where the boy Savory was, and thence to his own bed-room, and in a few minutes after he came down and went out. As he went out he observed that the door would not fasten, so she went and fastened it, while he held it close from outside; it was dark, and she did not see how he was dressed. She took a novel to read. He returned at about nine, and knocked at the door with his knuckle. She went and unfastened the door-latch, and saying, "It's undone," returned without seeing him. He waited outside a minute or so, then entered, and went up-stairs; and as he went, he called from the passage, "You had better go to bed." He took no candle, as he had

patent wax tapers in his bed-room. In a minute or so he came down-stairs in his shirt-sleeves, and looked in at her. He said, "What a large fire you have got! put it out, and go to bed." There was something in his manner that caused her to look at him more attentively, and she then observed that his face was deadly pale, (he is naturally a man of very florid complexion,) and that he appeared much agitated. She said, "Is there anything the matter with you?" He turned from her, and said, "No." After a short pause, he added, "If any one asks you about me, say I was not out more than ten minutes." [What she did state the next day before the magistrates.] He then went up stairs to his bed-room again, and locked the door. She took some of the heated coals from the fire, and having a can of water in the room, threw some upon the fire, and quenched it. She then retired to her bed-room. In the course of a few minutes she heard the door of Rush's room opened so as to make as little noise as possible, and heard the prisoner groping his way down-stairs without his shoes. About two or three minutes afterwards she heard him return up-stairs in the same manner, and re-enter his bed-room. She then went to sleep, and did not awake until the morning, when she was aroused by the information that the police were in the house.

The inquest was adjourned for further inquiry; when resumed, several additional witnesses were examined. A boy stated, that, by Mr. Rush's order, on the morning of the murders he littered straw along a path leading from Potash farm to Stanfield Hall: the straw was laid for about three furlongs. The lad Savory, whose evidence had been suspected, was re-examined at great length. He had said that he had been in the habit of putting a peg in a door which would have prevented Rush from getting his boots from the wash-house; but he now admitted that the door could be opened despite the peg—he pretended that he did not know that until the police had proved it. He admitted that he had asked a man to give evidence about the peg, to "screen" Mr. Rush. A policeman spoke to the finding of letters at Potash farm, which showed ill-feeling towards Mr. Jermy. A glazier produced a large ramrod which he had found in a passage at Stanfield Hall on the night of the murders. The inquest was again adjourned. The investigation before the magistrates having in the meanwhile produced some important evidence, which was read over at the inquest, the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder" against Rush.

The evidence before the magistrates above alluded to produced many important facts.

Eliza Chestney, Mrs. Jermy's servant-maid, was examined in the presence of Mr. Rush, who was taken to Stanfield Hall and confronted with her. Chestney stated positively that Rush was the man who fired at herself and at her mistress: she described his appearance "about the head;" when the disguising wig, found in his room, was put on him, the truth of her description was apparent, and her belief was confirmed.

The young woman, Emily Sandford, having overcome the terror she evinced in the presence of her seducer, made important re-

velations, showing that she had been the passive instrument used by Rush in working of divers nefarious schemes. Her evidence had disclosed a secret place in a closet of the Potash farm-house, used as a depository of documents. Rush himself one day showed it to her, saying, "I want to let you into a secret." He lifted a board in the floor with a chisel, and said, "This is a place made to keep all my papers: my poor mother was the only one that knew of it, and now she is dead I will let you into the secret."

In that repository the police found a box containing a number of documents neatly engrossed on stamped paper. One of them seemed an agreement, signed by the late Mr. Isaac Jermy, to the effect that he would burn his mortgage, and release Mr. Rush from all the money he owed, on condition of Mr. Rush's giving up all writings about the title to the Stanfield Hall and Felmingham estates, and maintaining Mr. Jermy in possession. Two other documents were agreements for leases of these estates; one of them from Mr. Isaac Jermy to Rush; and the other from Thomas Jermy and two persons of the Larner family, three of the persons who have litigated the ownership of the Stanfield Hall property. It turns out that the signatures of the late Mr. Jermy's name are forgeries; and Miss Sandford admitted that she engrossed these papers for Rush, and signed her name as a witness to the execution of them, "without thinking much about it, as she was in the habit of obeying him." She habitually engrossed business documents on stamped papers, like deeds, for him.

During the private examination Rush had conducted himself with extreme violence towards Miss Sandford and the magistrates: he called the magistrates villains—villains whom he would show up. On the 14th, at the close of Miss Sandford's examination, speaking of her depositions, he said—"If she signs them, I hope her hand will rot off; and if she bear a child by me, I hope it will be born with a brand upon it, for she has done all she could against me."

At the end of Thursday's examination, Mr. Rush produced some notes, which he diligently and coolly studied: he then said he had "got a good deal to say." He complained that copies of the depositions had been denied to him and to his family; that documents of his own, important to his defence, had been taken, and kept away by Mr. Cann, the magistrate's clerk, who had acted from the 29th of November to the 4th instant as an attorney for his defence. He repeated the charge he had made against the magistrates, that "their conduct had been most villanous in the examination as regards the ends of justice, and particularly as regards their conduct in getting the evidence of Emily Sandford;" and he believed "they knew the two last depositions or examinations, whichever they liked to call them, to be false." He signed his statement in bold writing; and was committed to be tried for the murder of Mr. Isaac Jermy and his son. On retiring he jocosely observed to the reporters, "All will be out by-and-by: time will show."

The most diligent search has hitherto failed in discovering the instrument with which the assassinations were perpetrated.

Besides many quarrels and lawsuits of recent origin, it is stated that the late Mr. Jermy and Mr. Rush had long been engaged in litigation on a mutual claim to the Stanfield Hall property. Mr. Rush's family is one of respectability and standing, and he claimed to be a nearer heir than Mr. Jermy to a common ancestor of the two families, named Preston, from whom the property has descended. Some eight years ago, Mr. Rush took forcible possession of Stanfield Hall, and was only ejected by a military force, called in to aid the constabulary.

Some other claimants to the property had also been litigating the succession, under the auspices of Rush; these parties are said to have been induced by Rush to come down into the neighbourhood, at the period of the murders, it is supposed with the infamous purpose of suggesting that they were the perpetrators of his intended murders; they had, however, fortunately left.

DECEMBER.

1. Flight of the Pope from Rome.—The following telegraphic despatch announcing the flight of the Pope from Rome, which was published in this morning's journals, excited the greatest interest, as well from the political importance of the event, as from the more deep and typical meaning attached to it by those earnest Protestants who are expecting the fall of Popery, and watch eagerly the fulfilment of certain vague prophecies, which fix the occurrence of this downfall about this period.

"Civita Vecchia, Nov. 26, three p. m.

"The Consul of France to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.—The Pope departed secretly on the 24th, at five o'clock in the afternoon. Rome is calm and indifferent. The Pope is on his way to France. The Tenare has gone to Gaeta to take him on board.

"A vote of confidence has been passed in favour of the [Roman] Ministry."

— Fire and Loss of Life.—Shortly before 12 o'clock at night a policeman discovered flames, &c., issuing from the windows of a house in Gray's Inn Lane, occupied by Mr. Powell, an optician, and several other families. He immediately sprang his rattle and set about alarming the inmates. After repeated knockings at the door, the officer succeeded in making most of the residents sensible of the great danger to which they were exposed, and many of the parties succeeded in effecting a safe retreat, but not without great difficulty. As soon as the doors were opened the draught made the flames ascend with still greater fury, and a woman who lodged in the second floor was unable to descend the staircase. The poor creature, upon getting upon the landing, was met by a huge sheet of flame, which prevented her escape. Her husband, who had gained the street, anxious to save the life of his wife, rushed through the flames, and gained the upper floor. In so doing, his clothing became ignited, and he was speedily enveloped in fire. Finding that all means of escape were now cut off, he made for the back window, and having called to his wife to throw herself out of the window, he jumped into the back yard, his night-clothes being then in flames. The poor fellow fell with a fearful crash upon the stones, and was

most dreadfully injured; he was with difficulty got out, and conveyed to the hospital, where he expired almost the moment he entered the institution.

The flames, in the meantime, had made fearful progress, the building from the bottom to the roof presenting one immense sheet of fire, which illuminated the whole of the neighbourhood. The neighbours, and the police, made a desperate attempt to get the poor woman out of the blazing premises, but without success, and some of the parties nearly perished in the attempt. The water being abundant, the firemen worked incessantly, but without producing any effect upon the flames for a considerable time.

As soon as possible, search was made for the unfortunate woman. After examining several of the rooms the firemen discovered her corpse in the second floor. Life was of course quite extinct, but the body was not much burnt, and it was clear that death was caused by suffocation. The deceased was in an advanced stage of pregnancy.

2. Dreadful Catastrophe on a Steamboat—72 Persons Smothered.—A most frightful catastrophe, by which 72 persons lost their lives, under circumstances of suffering not paralleled since the horrors of the Black-hole of Calcutta, occurred on the steam-boat *Londonderry*, which runs between Liverpool and Sligo, calling at Derry on her route. It appears that the *Londonderry* left Sligo on Friday evening for Liverpool, with nearly 200 passengers on board—a large number of whom were emigrants, who intended to re-ship at Liverpool for America. There was also on board a quantity of live stock. The night became so stormy that the captain considered it necessary that the passengers should go below. This the mate and crew proceeded to effect by driving the unfortunate passengers into the steerage cabin, a confined space about 18 feet long, 11 wide, and about 7 high. The hatches were then closed, and, as some of the poor creatures endeavoured to free themselves from this horrid den, a tarpaulin was thrown over the entrance and was then fastened down. The most horrible consequences ensued: the air of this charnel-house was insufficient to maintain existence for more than a few minutes; a horrible struggle ensued—frenzy, convulsions—the scene is hidden from view. After the lapse of some short time one of the poor wretches, more fortunate than his fellows, succeeded in gaining the deck and alarming the mate. He instantly hastened to the relief of the unfortunate beings—but too late; when the cabin was entered, a horrible mass of bodies, dead or dying, was found. No less than 72 persons had thus miserably perished! The bodies were fearfully convulsed, the blood starting from their eyes, nostrils, and ears: others were shockingly mangled and trampled in the mad struggle. The vessel put into the port of Derry, where every effort was made to relieve the sufferings of the survivors. The money found on the deceased passengers, amounting to 177*l.*, was preserved untouched to their use, and they were forwarded gratuitously to their destinations; few, however, were willing to resume their design of emigrating, the horrors of their short passage sufficing to deter

the most stout-hearted from further tempting the perils of the seas. The corpses were carried to the workhouse, and buried in a deep pit 16 feet long and 10 feet wide. The captain and crew were taken into custody.

A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies of the sufferers; in the first case the jury returned the following verdict:—

"We find that death was caused by suffocation, in consequence of the gross negligence and total want of the usual and necessary caution on the part of the captain, Alexander Johnston, Richard Hughes, first mate, and Ninian Crawford, second mate; and we therefore find them guilty of 'Manslaughter;' and we further consider it our duty to express in the strongest terms our abhorrence of the inhuman conduct of the remainder of the seamen on board on the melancholy occasion; and the jury beg to call the attention of proprietors of steamboats to the urgent necessity of introducing some more effectual mode of ventilation in the steerage, and also affording better accommodation to the poorer class of passengers."

— Lord Campbell's Act. Avis *v.* Nugee. *Court of Common Pleas.*—This was an action brought by the plaintiff as administrator of his wife, under the provisions of the recent statute called Lord Campbell's Act (9th and 10th of Victoria c. 93), for compensation to the plaintiff and to his four infant children for the death of his wife and their mother, caused by the alleged negligence of the servants and workmen of the defendant in taking down a stack of chimneys, which fell upon the plaintiff's wife, and eventually caused her death. The defendant pleaded first that the plaintiff was not such administrator, and secondly not guilty.

The plaintiff was a carpenter and undertaker, residing at No. 27, High Street, St. Giles's, and that the defendant was the owner of some house property adjoining the dwelling-house of the plaintiff. On the 14th of April, 1847, the defendant was causing some improvements to be made in his houses, and it became necessary to pull down an old wall and a stack of chimneys, the latter being close adjoining to the back shop and parlour of the plaintiff. The parlour of the plaintiff was on the ground-floor, and had a skylight in the roof. About the middle of the day in question the plaintiff's wife was cooking the dinner of the family over the parlour fire, when the workmen proceeded to pull down the stack of chimneys. The defendant himself employed the labourers, and he was asked how the stack should be pulled down, and he answered, "He did not care a d——." The workmen thereupon, instead of erecting scaffolding, and taking it down properly, placed a coil of rope round the bottom of the chimney, and several men proceeded to pull at the rope, to pull the chimney down by force. As was to be expected, on the bottom part being pulled forcibly one way, the top of the chimney fell the other, and, tumbling upon the roof and skylight of the parlour, fell across the back of the plaintiff's wife, severely bruised her, and struck her down across the fire. Her four children, of the respective ages of 13, 10, 8, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ years, were playing about her at the time, but providentially escaped.

The plaintiff's wife was severely injured in her back in the region of the kidneys, producing disease, of which she ultimately died.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, on the part of the defendant, contended that the defendant ought not to be held liable for the accident produced by his workmen. But, if liable, in estimating the value of the life of the plaintiff's wife under the provisions of Lord Campbell's Act—a novelty to the English law—he begged them not to forget that she was afflicted with diseases which rendered her life uninsurable. From the evidence of a medical witness called for the defendant who had attended the plaintiff's wife, it appeared that the deceased had been long labouring under disease of the lungs, under the influence of which she was rapidly becoming emaciated, and was not likely to have lived beyond a year after the accident. The disease alleged was known as "Dr. Bright's disease" or "the nutmeggy liver."

The Lord Chief Justice told the jury that the owner of property who pulled it down was responsible for its being so done with safety to the public. There were two questions for the jury to decide—first, was the death of the plaintiff's wife occasioned or accelerated by the blow which she received from the materials of the falling chimney? if so, the plaintiff was entitled to their verdict. If, on the other hand, they were of opinion that the woman's death was not referable to that cause, but to disease alone, irrespective of the blow, as a remote cause of the disease, although she might have received some injury from the blow, they must find for the defendant.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff—"Damages, 100*l.*, and 50*l.* for each of the children, to be invested in trustees to their use."

— Lord Campbell's Act. Dearden *v.* The London and North-Western Railway Company. *Court of Exchequer.*—In this case the plaintiff, a boy 6 years of age, sued by his father, as his "next friend," and complained that, he being a passenger on the defendants' line of railway, they so negligently conducted themselves in that behalf, that the door of the carriage came open, and he, falling out, suffered serious injury. The defendants only pleaded the general issue—"Not guilty." It appeared, from the evidence of Mr. Dearden and two maid-servants, that on the 3rd of August, 1847, he and his family were travelling from Birkenhead to London by the railway, the maids and four of the children, ranging from $8\frac{1}{2}$ years of age downwards, being in the last compartment of a second-class carriage, and Mr. Dearden and a fifth child in the adjoining compartment. On arrival at Euston Square, the plaintiff was standing at the door next the platform, looking out, with his chin resting on his hand on the window. While the train was still in motion, the door at which the plaintiff was standing suddenly came open, and he fell out, rolling on the platform, and thence on to the ground beneath, where the carriages passed over his legs. When the plaintiff was picked up, he was taken to the hospital, where it was found necessary to amputate his right leg at the thigh and the great toe of his left leg, thus rendering him a hopeless cripple for the rest of his days.

On cross-examination of the maids, it appeared that no one had got in or out of their compartment

during the journey, and they denied that they had opened the door, or had positively stated to their master in the first instance that a railway porter had opened the door, but that they thought such had been the case, though they did not see any one open the door.

Mr. Bovill addressed the jury on behalf of the defendants, who, he stated, were most anxious on all such melancholy occasions to render all the consolation which pecuniary compensation could afford to the sufferers on their railway, when their officers were to blame. In this case, however, they did not admit that any blame could be attached to the company, and so they answered Mr. Dearden's appeal to them, informing him that the door must have been opened by one of the passengers, as there was not any servant of theirs near the carriage in which the plaintiff stood.

Evidence was called in support of this statement.

The Chief Baron summed up the evidence, leaving it to them to say whether the defendants were to blame in the matter. It seemed to him that the single question in the cause was, whether the door was opened by one of the maid-servants. If it was so opened, the defendants would not be liable; but, if such was not the case, it would seem to follow that the door came open in some way or other, for which the defendants were liable. If they thought that the defendants were to blame, they would give such fair, reasonable, and temperate damages as they should think the plaintiff was entitled to demand at the hands of the defendants for so grievous an injury as he had sustained in consequence of this unfortunate affair.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 600*l.* damages.

7. ACCIDENT AT HULL—SEVENTEEN LIVES LOST.—About 6 o'clock in the morning a number of men, women, and children who were employed at the Kingston Cotton-mills, and who resided in the neighbourhood of the Groves, got into a boat, as usual, at the ferry opposite York Street end in the Groves, to be taken across the River Hull to the Kingston Cotton-mills. According to the statement of the ferryman, Charles Ireland, there were upwards of 25 persons in the boat besides himself—consisting of men, women, and children, the latter from 12 to 14 years of age. As the boat was very full, and the tide running strong at the time, the boatman desired them all to be as quiet as possible, or danger might be the consequence. There was a vessel moored near the spot, and just as they pushed off, and when they had got a few yards across the river, the current, which was impeded by the vessel, caught the stern of the boat in which they were seated. The boat immediately heaved aside, and a simultaneous movement was made to the other end, and all crowded together in one corner. The boat immediately capsized, and every one was precipitated into the stream. The shrieks and cries of the unfortunate people were heart-rending, and brought several persons who were near the spot to their assistance; but, it being quite dark at the time, very little help could be extended to them. Eight of the individuals only were saved out of the 26 who were in the boat. The rest endeavoured to

save themselves by clinging to the boat or anything that might be within reach, but were almost immediately carried down the river by the tide, and were no more seen. The boatman managed to reach the shore with the greatest difficulty. Those who were saved were all more or less injured by coming in contact with the vessels, stones, and pieces of timber that were in the river.

10. Singular Case — Jewels of the ex-King of the French. *Marlborough Street Police Office.* —Eugene Saulier, or "Baron de Saulier," and Marie Delonie, otherwise "Baroness Richmond de Bassain," were charged with having unlawful possession of valuable property belonging to the Count de Neuilly. It appeared from the statement of Mr. Bodkin, who acted for Louis Philippe, and from the evidence, that an old gentleman and the two persons at the bar had recently arrived from France, and were staying at the Prince of Wales Hotel in Leicester Street. It was found that they were endeavouring to dispose of property which had belonged to the Count de Neuilly when King, and a warrant was obtained from a magistrate. The old gentleman was found in bed, suffering from paralysis, and an officer was placed over him; the two prisoners were with the old gentleman; in the rooms were discovered valuable property—jewellery, shawls, and a portion of a painting, cut from a larger one—altogether worth some 4000*l.* One of the shawls had been all but sold for 500*l.* General Alfred de Chabanne, one of the Ex-King's Aides-de-Camp, identified the property as having belonged to the Royal Family. Mr. Bodkin asked for a remand of the prisoners. Mr. Wontner, who appeared for the defence, said that the old gentleman had bought the jewellery at Paris, as his papers would show; he denied the competency of an English tribunal to deal with the matter—not that he had any objection to a proper investigation.

The parties were remanded. In the interim, the affair took a strange turn: all claim to the property by Louis Philippe was abandoned. It appeared that M. Bapst, of Paris, who was jeweller to the King, had been sent for to identify the jewellery; but on examining it he found that it was not the property it had been supposed to be: the articles nearly resembled those which had belonged to the Ex-King, so nearly that none but a jeweller could have seen the difference; but they were not the royal jewels, of which they might be described as fac-similes. As soon as this discovery was made, the Count de Neuilly abandoned the charge against the three persons accused; and Mr. Bodkin now stated that no proceeding of a criminal nature could take place respecting any portion of the property. The possession of the picture was not explained, but it was stated that it did not belong to the Baron, but was in the custody of his secretary, Eugène de Saulier. The magistrate, Mr. Hardwick, said that the extraordinary circumstances of the case had justified inquiry, but the accused were now at liberty.

The case being dismissed, the unlucky jewels were immediately seized by a Custom-house officer for not having paid the proper duty.

15. The Chartist Riot at Bradford—Murder of the Policeman. — Joseph Ratcliffe and Joseph Constantine, aged respect-

ively 31 and 21, were tried at Liverpool Special Assizes, for the murder of James Bright, at Ashton-under-Lyne, on the 14th of August last. Bright was the policeman who was killed by a mob during the late Chartist and Confederate excitements in the North. A number of witnesses swore positively that Ratcliffe drove a pike into Bright's thigh; and some witnesses declared that it was he who fired the shot which killed Bright; but on this last point there was contradiction. The evidence against Constantine failed. Under the direction of Baron Alderson—that the evidence, if believed, showed that Ratcliffe was present at the killing of Bright, and active in it, even if he were not the actual killer—the jury found Ratcliff "Guilty;" but they recommended him to mercy. Constantine was acquitted, and subsequently made disclosures of an important nature, and exculpating Ratcliffe from any participation in the murder, and he was consequently reprieved. As in London, there seemed to be little difficulty in finding persons ready to reveal all they knew of the acts of their confederates; and since this trial several persons have been informed against as being principals in the murder.

On the Monday following a number of the Ashton Chartists pleaded "Guilty" to indictments for sedition. In sentencing them, Baron Alderson told them that, instead of endeavouring to obtain universal suffrage, they ought to endeavour to obtain universal temperance, sobriety, and virtue: they should begin at the proper end, become good and virtuous citizens, and political power would come to them —all these advantages must come from themselves. He inflicted the punishment of imprisonment for different periods under one year.

Joseph Constantine and five others were then tried for treasonable conspiracy at Ashton-under-Lyne. After the defence had made some slight progress, the prisoners, acting on advice, withdrew their pleas of "Not Guilty," and pleaded "Guilty." Baron Alderson said, it was plain that all of them had been present at the murder of poor Bright, though his actual murderer had escaped to America. Constantine, Kenworthy, Stott, and Tassiker were sentenced to transportation for life; Sefton and Walker to transportation for ten years.

17. Explosion on the Eastern Counties Railway.—On Sunday morning, between two and three o'clock, the inhabitants of the town of Witham, on the Eastern Counties Line, were aroused from their slumbers and alarmed by a violent explosion. The alarm arose from a singular cause:—Shortly before the usual time of arrival of the up morning mail (which is due at 15 minutes before 3 A.M.), at the Witham station, the night-porter perceived a down luggage train approaching, which presently stopped at the station, when intimation was given by the guard of this luggage-train, that in the magazine in the last truck (where it is the custom of the company to deposit goods of an inflammable or combustible nature) there were two barrels of gunpowder, which, being respectively consigned to the towns of Maldon and Braintree, were to be removed from this train and forwarded on the branch lines from Witham to these towns. The train was an unusually long one, and the end was several hundred

yards distant from the station, extending, indeed, about thirty yards under and beyond the bridge on the high road from Chipping-hill to the town. On the porters coming to the magazine, they removed the barrels, placing them upon the ground until the train should have moved on. But just at this time the mail train was seen to be coming up the line near the station, and the porters therefore immediately left the luggage train to attend to the mail. While the mail was waiting, the luggage train moved on, but for some unaccountable reason the position of the barrels of powder seemed to have escaped the recollection of those who placed them there, and the mail train, having changed its bags, was allowed to proceed; its engine had no sooner arrived at the spot where the other train had stopped than a violent explosion took place, driving all the fire out of the fire-box of the engine, lifting the engine itself completely off the rails, and tearing up part of the permanent way, by which the train was almost instantly stopped. On the arrival of the porters from the station, the engine-driver and fireman were found both thrown back upon the tender, but neither of them seriously hurt, which was most surprising, considering the shock the engine had received. On the partial clearing away of the dense smoke in which the train was enveloped, it was found that several of the carriages were very much shattered, but neither the passengers, of whom there were six or eight on the train, nor the guard, had received any material injury, although they were very much shaken by the sudden stopping of the train, and alarmed by the loudness of the report.

18. Election for the West Riding of York.—The succession of Viscount Morpeth to the Earldom of Carlisle vacated his seat for the West Riding, and gave rise to a contest of much interest. The candidates were Mr. Denison, who had for many years represented the Riding, but who had been displaced at the general election in favour of Mr. Cobden, and Sir Culling Eardley Eardley. Mr. Denison is a steady conservative, Sir Culling Eardley a radical, and a violent opponent of the Church party. The contest produced more speechifying and pamphleteering than has attended elections of late years. The result was in favour of the old member by a considerable majority. The under-sheriff stated the numbers polled to be

For Mr. Denison . . .	14,743
For Sir Culling Eardley Eardley	11,795
Majority for Mr. Denison .	2,948

20. Shipwrecks.—During the storm on the 15th instant, a Greek vessel, bound from Chios to Liverpool, was wrecked near Fethard, on the Wexford coast. The vessel struck at low water; when the tide rose, the waves dashed it to pieces. Four seamen came ashore alive on part of the wreck; but the rest of the people—the master, his daughter, and twelve mariners—perished.

The bark *Rosanna* was wrecked on Cape Wrath, on the morning of the 16th instant, when, with the exception of the captain, who was fortunate enough to escape, all hands, eleven in number, perished. The vessel struck with tremendous violence; the three masts went overboard in a few minutes; the poop was then washed away with eight of the crew, who were dashed

to pieces on the rocks; the others were drowned. The vessel was ground to fragments against the rocks.

On the night of the 20th instant, the ship *Braams*, Captain Matson, from Hamburgh to New Orleans, with 115 emigrants, and a general cargo, struck and drove over the Goodwin, and, after losing two anchors, and cutting away her main and mizen mast, and losing another anchor-chain, struck on the Pansand. The crew, 20 in number, and the whole of the emigrants were rescued by luggers from Margate, but the ship went to pieces.

21. Shocking Catastrophe.—Five poor children have been killed, in a singular and distressing manner, at Faversham. John Davey, their father, is a hawker, who lives and travels in a house on wheels. On the arrival of the little house near Faversham, under the care of the eldest girl and boy, the latter begged some straw of a carter, on account of the inclemency of the weather. The girl took the straw which her brother brought, and was putting it in the house, when it caught fire. The boy ran away in terror; the girl screamed and fainted: some labourers came up, and dragged the house into a field, that it might do no harm on the road. On putting out the flames, they found that five other children, all under the age of eight years, had been imprisoned in the house, and been u rnt to death.

22. Singular Suicide.—An inquest was held upon the body of Mrs. Twynam, the wife of Dr. Twynam, of Knowle Hill, near Bishopstoke. The unfortunate lady, who had been for some time in a state of mental depression, destroyed herself by discharging the contents of a gun through her head. The body presented a most dreadful appearance, one half of the head being literally blown off, and the features scarcely recognisable. Sarah Barber, housemaid in the family of the deceased, said her mistress had been in a bad state of health lately, but she had kept about. She generally seemed in pretty good spirits. Witness had been out with her mistress in the morning, and had afterwards gone to dust the drawing-room. On coming down stairs she met the cook, and went into the room, which smelt of gunpowder, and there was a good deal of smoke in it. Witness was much alarmed, and ran to call a Mrs. Vear, who came down directly, and, upon seeing the appearance presented by the deceased, Mrs. Vear covered her head over with an apron. They had been obliged to keep knives out of her way for some time. Mr. Goldstone, surgeon, deposed that he saw the body of the deceased lying back in an easy chair, the head reclining to the right side. The left side was very much shattered. The face had dark marks, like those of gunpowder. A portion of the lower jaw was driven through. The charge appeared to have gone through the mouth; the left side of the head, and a large portion of its contents, were carried away. The poker was close to the right hand. The gun was lying between her knees, with the stock on the ground and the barrels pointed towards the head. It appeared to him that deceased discharged the gun by touching the trigger with the poker. It must have caused instant death. The Jury returned a verdict of "Temporary Insanity."

26. Disaster at the Victoria

Theatre.—A fatal disaster happened at the Victoria Theatre on "Boxing Night." An immense crowd, as is usual on that evening, assembled at the gallery entrance, to secure good places for a sight of the pantomime. On the opening of the doors, the staircase became so crammed with struggling persons of all ages, that some of the weaker fainted. Notwithstanding the cries of "Murder," and "Save us!" "Save us!" the people at the bottom of the stairs refusing to assist the retreat of those endeavouring to escape suffocation, the rails of the staircase were broken down, and a number of persons fell over on the heads of the crowd below. A panic arose, and in the rush which followed many were trampled to the earth. Two boys were killed, another was seriously, if not fatally, injured, and a great number of boys and women were seriously hurt. At the coroner's inquest it was shown that the two boys died of suffocation, and verdicts were returned of "Accidental Death," with severe remarks upon the insufficient nature of the entrances to our theatres.

28. Her Majesty's Private Theatre.—Her Majesty has added to the circle of royal amusements at Windsor Castle the performance of the choicest pieces of our dramatic literature, at a private theatre fitted up in the "Rubens Room." The performers are selected from the most eminent of the *corps dramatique*, without reference to rivalry between the different theatres. This patronage by Her Majesty and the Court afforded much satisfaction. It is hoped that it will tend, in some degree, to restore the drama to its former position as a fashionable and intellectual amusement. It certainly had the effect of so doing in some degree; for the performances being repeated in London, at the Haymarket Theatre, with as nearly as possible the same cast, on the evening following the representation at Windsor, the house was filled by a crowded audience, who eagerly flocked to see what had thus been stamped with the royal approbation.

The play selected to commence this circle of entertainment was Shakspere's *Merchant of Venice*, with the following cast:—"Duke of Venice," Mr. Diddear; "Antonio," Mr. Rogers; "Bassanio," Mr. A. Wigan; "Salanio," Mr. Boyce; "Salarino," Mr. Conway; "Gratiano," Mr. Webster; "Lorenzo," Mr. Leigh Murray; "Shylock," Mr. Charles Kean; "Tubal," Mr. How; "Launcelot Gobbo," Mr. Keeley; "Old Gobbo," Mr. Addison; "Leonardo," Mr. Field; "Balthazar," Mr. Clarke; "Stephano," Mr. Coe; "Portia," Mrs. Charles Kean; "Nerissa," Mrs. Keeley; "Jessica," Mrs. Compton. Director, Mr. Charles Kean; Assistant-Director, Mr. George Ellis; Prompter and Stage Manager, Mr. Frederick Webster.

These graver compositions were usually followed by a popular farce or slight comedy.

Gold Finding in California.—A discovery which will probably affect the prosperity of every part of the known world, and which will certainly extend European civilization into parts of the world which otherwise would have laid waste for ages, has, during the latter part of this year, become known by the discovery of gold spread in unlimited abundance over a large area of the new American province of California. The

tale, when first told, appeared to be one of those fables for which that part of the world has become celebrated; and it was not for some time credited, that the precious metal in dust and lumps was to be obtained in great quantities, without the aid of tools or any implements, by whoever was on the spot to gather it. The matter gradually became better authenticated. A well-informed American journal says:—"From the various accounts that have been received from California from time to time, within the last eight months or a year, we think there is little room to doubt that that newly acquired territory of the United States is rich, to an extraordinary and almost unparalleled degree, in mineral resources. We were not disposed to place much reliance on the first statements which we got thence, because the finding of gold among the sands of rivers, in such large quantities as were represented, is altogether unprecedented. Instead of the accounts first received thence being exaggerations, they were, if the intelligence recently received from that country is to be credited, rather within the truth. The excitement in that territory on the subject is increasing, too; old and young, male and female, the halt, and we verily believe the blind, too, are on their way to the land of promise and gold, cup and tin kettle in hand, to avail themselves of the riches so unexpectedly developed. The men of the sea vie with those of the land in pursuit of the treasure—the occupant of the bench is capsized in endeavouring to outrun the sheriff; the lawyer jostles against his client; the farmer and mechanic throw aside their implements, and there is nothing but a busy, exciting race, each on his own account, and the devil take the hindmost, to reach the gold region first, and to be the first in reaching the rivers, among the sands of which they find the object of their pursuits. This picture is not too highly coloured. It is beyond all question that gold, in immense quantities, is being found daily in this part of our territory, and that every pursuit of trade or business is abandoned. If the product is as great as it is represented to be, and the trouble of gathering it so slight, it will effect great changes in the value of precious metals all over the world."

The extent of the district, or the probable value of the treasure discovered, is not yet ascertained, and it is not the province of this "Chronicle" to do more than record the fact and the wonderful excitement which followed its announcement. Another account says:—

"Adverting, in the first place, to the facts of the case, we find that those now before us fully confirm the previous statements. The supply of the 'precious metal'—now 'precious' no longer—is declared by intelligent eye-witnesses to be literally inexhaustible, and the American assayers find that the quality of the gold is not inferior to its quantity. The consequence of this discovery is a complete revolution of society. Innumerable bands of emigrants are hastening to the scene of action from all parts of the American continent,—from the Canadian districts especially; and, to borrow a comprehensive phrase of a local writer, 'the whole country is now moving on the mines.'

"Monterey, San Francisco, Sonora, San Jose, and Santa Cruz

are drained of their male inhabitants, and a stranger arriving at any of those cities would suppose he had arrived among a race of women, who, by some anomalous provision of nature, multiplied their images without the presence of the other sex. Every bowl, tray, warming-pan, and piggin have gone to the mines—everything, in short, that has a scoop in it that will hold sand and water. All the iron has been worked up into crowbars, pickaxes, and spades. And all these roll back upon us in the shape of gold. We have therefore plenty of gold, but little to eat, and still less to wear.

"Every seaport as far south as San Diego, and every interior town, and nearly every rancho, from the base of the mountains in which the gold has been found to the mission of San Luis, south, has become suddenly drained of human beings—Americans, Californians, Indians, and Sandwich Islanders; men, women, and children, indiscriminately. Should there be that success which has repaid the efforts of those employed for the last month during the present and the next, as many are sanguine in their expectations, and we confess to unhesitatingly believe probable, not only will it witness the depopulation of every town, the desertion of every rancho, and the desolation of the once promising crops of the country, but it will also draw largely upon adjacent territories—awake Sonora, and call down upon us, despite her Indian battles, a great many of the good people of Oregon.

"At present the people are running over the country and picking it out of the earth here and there, just as a thousand hogs, let loose in a forest, would root up groundnuts. Some get eight or ten ounces a day, and the least active one or two. They make the most who employ the wild Indians to hunt it for them. There is one man who has 60 Indians in his employ; his profits are a dollar a minute. The wild Indians know nothing of its value, and wonder what the pale faces want to do with it; they will give an ounce of it for the same weight of coined silver, or a thimblefull of glass beads, or a glass of grog; and white men themselves often give an ounce of it, which is worth at our Mint 18 dollars or more, for a bottle of brandy, a box of soda powders, or a plug of tobacco. As to the quantity which the diggers get, take a few facts as evidence:—'I know seven men who worked seven weeks and two days, Sundays excepted, on Feather River; they employed on an average 50 Indians, and got out in these seven weeks and two days 275 pounds of pure gold. I know the men, and have seen the gold, and know what they state to be a fact—so stick a pin there. I know 10 other men who worked 10 days in company, employed no Indians, and averaged in those 10 days 1500 dollars each; so stick another pin there. I know another man who got out of a basin in a rock, not larger than a washbowl, 2½ lbs. of gold in 15 minutes; so stick another pin there. Not one of these statements would I believe, did I not know the men personally, and know them to be plain matter-of-fact men—men who open a vein of gold just as coolly as you would a potato hill.'"

"Thus far the gold has been obtained in the most primitive manner, by washing the earth in tin pans, wooden bowls, Indian

baskets, &c. The average, I am told, has been 16 dollars per day for each man engaged, and the deeper the soil is dug the richer it becomes. One man obtained over 30 dollars in one washing—say 15 minutes. I was told by an old miner that not more than one-half of the gold is secured in the present rude careless way of working. With a proper machine and the use of quicksilver, double the amount could be taken from the same soil. The largest amount taken by one person in one day was 200 dollars. The pieces are of an extraordinary size, the largest weighing half an ounce. The mountains have been explored on every side, and gold found in every creek. It is the opinion of all, that 30,000 or 40,000 persons could be profitably employed on the ground now explored. Nor is gold the only mineral discovered here. Platina has been found in one place in some considerable quantity; and very extensive mines of silver ore have recently been discovered within five miles of the saw-mill, and are said to be very rich. Iron is also abundant, and will pay about 85 per cent."

As the wonders of the "gold diggings" became known, the most ungovernable excitement seized the minds of mankind, and the rush thither from all parts of the world was unparalleled. The whole coasts of South America, the colonists of Australia and New Zealand, the Spaniards from Luconia, Malays and Chinese precipitated themselves on to the desired spot. In England ships were fitted out for emigrants, and by joint-stock speculators by scores, companies were formed, many tradesmen sold their goods and embarked as adventurers for the new El Dorado. In the United States the insanity was more irrepressible. Strange to say, the people of these States are further from their own province than almost any other of the emigrating nations. The nearest route from New York is down to the Isthmus (30 days), across to Chagres, and thence to San Francisco, (3700 miles), but this is at the best a journey of some months; although there is no difficulty in getting to the Isthmus, there are no conveyances beyond, and there the adventurer is stopped in mid course in a deadly region. The next course is round Cape Horn (17,000 miles); this is a voyage of seven months. The other course is across the deserts; but this route of 2000 miles from the frontier point can be performed only by stages of 15 miles a day, and is, in fact, not practicable for parties of more than ten or a dozen, so that an adventurer starting from London would get to California in less time and for less money than one from New York. Nevertheless, ships in hundreds were shortly to be seen flying down the coast of South America on the double voyage; and it is computed that the immediate emigration to the auriferous province will not fall short of 50,000 persons. Thus Divine Providence turns the avarice of mankind to the most beneficent purposes, and peoples desert places, and brings strange lands under the blessings of civilization.

APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

The MINISTRY, as it stood at the Opening of the Session of Parliament, November 18th, 1847.

IN THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury	Right Hon. Lord John Russell.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Lord Cottenham.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood.
President of the Council	Most Hon. Marquis of Lansdowne.
Privy Seal	Right Hon. Earl of Minto.
Home Secretary	Right Hon. Sir George Grey.
Foreign Secretary	Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston.
Colonial Secretary	Right Hon. Earl Grey.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Earl of Auckland.
President of the Board of Control	Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse.
President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. H. Labouchere*.
Paymaster of the Forces	Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay.
Postmaster-General	Most Hon. Marquis of Clanricarde.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Right Hon. Lord Campbell.
Woods and Forests	Right Hon. Viscount Morpeth (Earl of Carlisle).

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Commander-in-Chief	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of the Ordnance	Most Hon. Marquis of Anglesey.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson.
Master of the Mint	Right Ron. R. L. Sheil.
Secretary at War	Right Hon. Fox Maule.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Right Hon. Sir W. M. Somerville, Bt.
Attorney-General	Sir J. Jervis, Knt.
Solicitor-General	Sir David Dundas, Knt.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate of Scotland	Right Hon. Andrew Rutherfurd.
Solicitor-General for Scotland	Thomas Maitland, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Earl of Clarendon.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Maziere Brady.
Attorney-General	Right Hon. Richard Moore.
Solicitor-General	James Henry Monahan, Esq.

HOUSEHOLD APPOINTMENTS.

Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Earl Spencer.
Lord Steward	Right Hon. Earl Fortescue.
Master of the Horse	Duke of Norfolk.
Mistress of the Robes	Duchess of Sutherland.

* *Changes during the Year.*—Earl Granville, *Paymaster of the Forces*, in the room of the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, resigned, and *Vice-President of the Board of Trade*, in the room of the Right Hon. Thos. M. Gibson, resigned. Sir J. Romily, Kt., *Solicitor-General*, in the room of Sir David Dundas, Kt., resigned. Right Hon. W. G. Hayter, *Judge-Advocate General*, in the room of Right Hon. Charles Buller, appointed First Commissioner for Administration of the Poor Laws (since deceased). IRELAND.—Right Hon. James Henry Monahan, *Attorney-General*, in the room of Right Hon. Richard Moore, now a Justice of the Queen's Bench. John Hatchell, Esq., *Solicitor-General*, in the room of James Henry Monahan, Esq., now Attorney-General.

SHERIFFS FOR THE YEAR 1848.

Bedfordshire	Thomas Abbott Green, of Pavenham, esq.
Berks	John Hopkins, of Tidmarsh, esq.
Bucks	William Lowndes, of the Bury, in Chesham, esq.
Cambridge and Huntingdon	John Moyer Heathcote, of Connington Castle, esq.
Cheshire	Henry Dundas Maclean, of Lazonby, esq.
Cornwall	A. Coryton, esq.
Cumberland	Henry Brooke of the Grange, esq.
Derbyshire	Sir Robert Burdett, of Foremark, bart.
Devonshire	John Sillifant, of Coombe, esq.
Dorsetshire	John Gooden, of Over Compton, esq.
Durham	Sir William Eden, of Windlestone Hall, bart.
Essex	Beale Blackwell Colvin, of Mangham's Hall, Waltham Holy Cross, esq.
Gloucestershire	William Capel, of the Grove, Painswick, esq.
Herefordshire	Robert Maulkin Lingwood, of Lystone House, esq.
Hertfordshire	William Parker, of Ware Park, esq.
Kent	John Ashley Warre, of West Cliffe, St. Lawrence, Thanet, esq.
Leicestershire	Henry Freeman Coleman, of Evington Hall, esq.
Lincolnshire	Richard Ellison, of Sudbrooke Holme, esq.
Monmouthshire	Edward Harris Phillips, of Trosnant Cottage, esq.
Norfolk	Wyrley Birch, of Wretham, esq.
Northamptonshire	The Hon. Henry Hely Hutchinson, of Lois Weedon.
Northumberland	George Burdon, of Heddon House, esq.
Nottinghamshire	Robert Holden, of Nuttall Temple, esq.
Oxfordshire	Matthew Piers Watt Boulton, of Great Tew, esq.
Rutlandshire	The Hon. Charles George Noel, commonly called Lord Viscount Campden, of Flitteris Park.
Shropshire	William Henry Francis Plowden, of Plowden, esq.
Somersetshire	Edward Ayshford Sandford, of Nynehead Court, esq.
Staffordshire	The Honourable Frederick Gough, of Perry Barr.
Southampton, County of	John Wood, of Theddon Grange, Alton, esq.
Suffolk	Chas Andrew Lord Huntingfield, of Haveningham Hall.
Surrey	Lee Steere, of Jayes, Dorking, esq.
Sussex	Sir Sotherton Branthwayt Peckham Micklethwait, of Iridge Place, bart.
Warwickshire	Thomas Dilke, of Maxtoke Castle, esq.
Westmorland	Earl of Thanet, *Hereditary*.
Wiltshire	J. H. C. Wyndham, of the College, Salisbury, esq.
Worcestershire	Joseph Frederick Ledsam, of Northfield, esq.
Yorkshire	Yarburgh Greame, of Sowerby, esq.

WALES.

Anglesey	Sir Harry Dent Goring, of Trysglwyn, bart.
Breconshire	Henry Williams, of Penpont, esq.
Carnarvonshire	George Augustus Huddart, of Brynkyr, esq.
Carmarthenshire	Sir James Williams, of Edwinsford, esq.
Cardiganshire	James Bowen, of Twedyrauer, esq.
Denbighshire	Simon Yorke, of Erthig, esq.
Flintshire	Sir William Henry Clerke, of Mertyn, bart.

Glamorganshire . . .	Thomas William Booker, of Velindra, esq.
Montgomeryshire . .	William Lutener, of Dolerw, esq.
Merionethshire . . .	Hugh Jones, of Gwernddelwa, esq.
Pembrokeshire . . .	Owen Owen, of Cwmgloyne, esq.
Radnorshire	John Edwards, of Beguildy, esq.

Elected by the LIVERY *of London.*

London and Middlesex.	Thomas Q. Finnis, esq., ald. Jacob E. Goodhart, esq.

IRELAND.

Antrim	Charles M'Garrell, of Magheramourne House, Larne, esq.
Armagh	William Verner, of Church Hill, Moy, esq.
Carlow	Samuel Elliot, of Racrogue, Carlow, esq.
Carrickfergus Town .	James Cowan, of Barn Cottage, Carrickfergus, esq.
Cavan	Richard Fox, of White Park, Killeshandra, esq.
Clare	Henry Stewart Burton, of Carrigaholt Castle, Kilkee, esq.
Cork	Hon. W. H. White Hedges, of Macroom Castle, Macroom.
Cork City	Thomas Somerville Reeves, of Cork, esq.
Donegal	Benjamin Geale Humfrey, of Cavanacor, Lifford, esq.
Down	R. B. Houston of Orangefield, Belfast, esq.
Drogheda Town . . .	James Mathews, of Mount Hanover, Drogheda, esq.
Dublin	Robert Shaw, jun., of Kimmage House, Kimmage, esq.
Dublin City	Henry Sneyd French, of Mountjoy Square, Dublin, esq.
Fermanagh	John Madden, of Spring Grove, Clones, esq.
Galway	Francis Blake, of Creg Castle, Clare, Galway, esq.
Galway Town . . .	Thomas A. Joyce, of Rahason, Loughrea, esq.
Kerry	William Talbot Crosbie, of Ardfert Abbey, Ardfert, esq.
Kildare	Colonel Sir Rowland Eustace, of Kinneas, Kildare.
Kilkenny	William Villiers Stuart, of Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir, esq.
Kilkenny City . . .	George Reade, of Kilkenny, esq.
King's County . . .	Charles Barry Baldwin, of Parliament Street, London, esq.
Leitrim	George Lane Fox, jun., of Drumahair, esq.
Limerick	Francis Goold, of Dromada, Limerick, esq.
Limerick City . . .	Henry Maunsell, of Limerick, esq.
Londonderry City and County.	John Stevenson, of Fortwilliam, Tobbermore, esq.
Longford	Edward Ledwith, of Ledwithstown, Ballymahon, esq.
Louth	Miles William O'Reilly, of Knockabbey Castle, Louth, esq.
Mayo	Charles Lionel Kirwan, of Dalgan Park, Headford, esq.
Meath	Henry B. Coddington, of Old Bridge, Drogheda, esq.
Monaghan	Edward W. Lucas, of Castleshane, Monaghan, esq.
Queen's County . . .	John H. Leckie, of Coolbrook, Crettyard, esq.
Roscommon	James Kirkwood, of Hughestown, Carrick-on-Shannon, esq.
Sligo	Edward Howley, of Belleck Castle, Ballina, esq.
Tipperary	Richard Pennefather, of Knockeevan, Clonmel, esq.
Tyrone	A. Ferguson Knox, of Urney Park, Strabane, esq.
Waterford	Simon Bagge, of Ardmore House, Ardmore, esq.
Waterford City . . .	W. S. S. Doyle, of Newton, Waterford, esq.
Westmeath	James N. M. Berry, of Ballinagall, Mullingar, esq.
Wexford	Viscount Stopford, of Courtown House, Gorey.
Wicklow	Lord Brabazon, of Kilruddery, Bray.

BIRTHS.

1848.

JANUARY.

5. At Pau, Basses Pyrénées, the Lady Kilmaine, of a daughter.

— In St. Michael's Grove, Brompton, the lady of Alfred Sidney Wigan, esq., a son.

6. At Southampton, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel Malet, a daughter.

— At Lamphey Park, Pembroke, the lady of Lewis Mathias, esq., a daughter.

7. In Pelham-place, Brompton, the lady of T. Irwin, esq., a son.

— At Earlham Lodge, Norwich, Mrs. John Gurney, a son.

8. In Eccleston-square, the lady of Capt. H. G. Hamilton, R.N., a daughter.

— The lady of William Longman, esq., of Hyde Park-square, a daughter.

9. At Hanover, the Princess Royal, a daughter.

— At Stanford Court, Worcestershire, the Lady Winnington, a son and heir.

— At Dane End, Herts, the lady of H. E. Surtees, esq., a daughter.

— At Bath, the lady of George H. Skelton, esq., a daughter.

10. In Russell-square, the lady of James Russell, esq., Q.C., a daughter.

12. At Denston Hall, Suffolk, the Lady Keane, a daughter.

14. At Chichester, the lady of Capt. Johnson, Coldstream Guards, a daughter.

16. At Dittisham, the Lady Henry Kerr, a daughter.

17. The lady of F. Fowell Buxton, esq., a daughter.

— At Courtland House, West Clifton, the lady of F. Elton, esq., a son.

18. At Loxwood House, Sussex, the lady of John King, esq., a daughter.

19. At Torquay, the Hon. Mrs. T. C. Skeffington, a son.

20. In Bryanston-square, the lady of Edward Dawson esq., of Whatton Hall, Leicestershire, a son.

21. In Eaton-square, the Viscountess Adare, a daughter.

— At Kilbrittain Castle, co. Cork, the lady of Capt. Alcock Stowell, a daughter.

22. At Moffat House, the Hon. Mrs. Hope Johnstone, a son.

23. In Berkeley-square, the Lady Elizabeth Lawley, a daughter.

— At Moreby Hall, York, the lady of Thomas Preston, esq., a daughter.

25. At the Hall, Great Berkhamstead, the lady of T. P. Halsey, esq., M.P., a son, still-born.

26. At Hodnet Hall, Salop, Mrs. Heber Percy, a daughter.

— At Teignmouth, the lady of Captain F. J. Meik, H. P. 16th Lancers, a daughter.

27. In Park-street, the Lady R. Grosvenor, a son.

— In Greek-street, Soho, Mrs. Lewis C. Hertslet, a son.

28. In Chapel-street, Grosvenor-square, the Lady Margaret Milbank, a daughter.

29. At Trehill, Mrs. Plantagenet Somerset, a son.

30. At Headfort House, Kells, Meath, the Countess of Bective, a daughter.

— At Claybrooke Hall, the lady of H. Everard, esq., a son and heir.

31. At Backford Hall, Mrs. Holt Glegg, a son.

FEBRUARY.

3. In Hamilton-place, Piccadilly, the Hon. Mrs. Richard Boyle, a son.

— In Portland-place, the Right Hon. Lady Henniker, a son.

— At Stafford House, the Duchess of Sutherland, a daughter.

— At Tetworth Hall, Hunts, the lady of Charles James Barnett, esq., a daughter.

— At Auchlunkart House, Banffshire, Mrs. Steuart, a son.

— At Government House, Isle of Man, the Lady Isabella Hope, a son.

5. At Drayton House, Norfolk, the lady of Francis Weston Bradshaw, esq., a son.

— In Old Burlington-street, the Lady Theresa Digby, a daughter.

6. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, the Countess of Craven, a son.

— In Sussex-square, the Hon. Mrs. John Gellibrand Hubbard, a son.

7. At Warley Barracks, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel Leslie, a daughter.

— At Whitehall, Devon, the lady of Stanley Lowe, esq., a son.

8. At Highden, Sussex, the lady of Sir Harry Dent Goring, bart., a daughter.

— At Lincoln, the lady of G. T. W. Sibthorp, esq., a son.

— At Witton Park, Lancashire, the lady of H. M. Feilden, esq., a son.

10. At Neville House, Brighton, the lady of Alexander Donovan, esq., of Framfield-place, Sussex, a daughter.

BIRTHS.

— At Lilleshall, Salop, the lady of the Rev. H. G. Bunsen, a daughter.

11. At Singleton, the lady of H. Hussey Vivian, esq., a son.

12. In Eaton square, the Lady Pakington, a son.

— At Foxcote House, Warwickshire, the lady of John V. Gandolfi, esq., a daughter.

— At the Willows, Essex, Mrs. D. H. Fry, a son.

13. The lady of Reginald H. Craufurd, Craufurdland Castle, a daughter.

14. At Rockbean Court, Devon, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Daly, a daughter.

15. At Bolney Lodge, Sussex, the lady of James Henry Slater, jun., esq., a son.

— In Cavendish-square, the lady of W. Archer Shee, esq., a daughter.

16. In Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square, the lady of Capt. Manners, R.N., a son.

— In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the Lady Charlotte Watson Taylor, a daughter.

— At Corfu, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Robert Walpole, Deputy Quarter-master-General in the Ionian Islands, a son.

— At Trafalgar, Wilts, the Countess Nelson, a daughter.

17. At Moncreiffe House, Perthshire, the Lady Louisa Moncreiffe, a daughter.

18. In Lowndes-square, the Lady Mary Egerton, a daughter.

— In Wilton-crescent, the Lady Georgiana Romilly, a son.

19. At Bransby Lodge, York, the lady of Henry P. Cholmeley, esq., a daughter.

— At Donnington, Berks, the lady of Captain Hayes, R.N., a son.

20. At Dorchester, the lady of Arthur Dyke Ackland, esq., a son.

21. At Wootton Court, Kent, the lady of Captain R. P. Radcliffe, a daughter.

— At Maidstone, the lady of Captain Read, 9th Lancers, a son.

22. At Maberly House, Honiton, the lady of Colonel Tucker, a son.

— In Russell-square, the lady of John Walter, esq., M.P., a son.

— At Stroud Lodge, Roseneath, the lady of Colonel P. Edmonstone Craigie, C.B., Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, a daughter.

23. In St. James's-square, the Countess of Eglintoun and Winton, a son.

— At Shillinglee Park, the Countess of Winterton, a son.

— At Yeovilton Rectory, Somerset, the lady of the Rev. Reginald Pole, a son.

— In Eaton-square, the Viscountess Melgund, a son.

— The lady of R. J. Bentley, esq., of Eastwood House, near Rotherham, a son.

24. At Pisa, Lady Crawfurd, a son.

25. In Eaton-place West, the Lady Elizabeth Russell, a son, still-born.

— At Antwerp, the lady of R. Burdett, esq., a son.

27. At Hilderstone Hall, near Stafford, the lady of John Bourne, esq., a son and heir.

28. At Putney Heath, Viscountess Chelsea, a son.

MARCH.

1. At Rockingham Castle, the Hon. Mrs. Watson, a son.

— In Nottingham-place, the lady of Lancelot Shadwell, esq., a daughter.

— At Rufford Hall, Lady Arabella Hesketh, a son.

5. At Tawstock Court, Devon, the lady of Edward Weld, esq., a daughter.

— At Rome, the wife of Calverley Bewicke, esq., a daughter.

6. In Chester-terrace, Regent's Park, the lady of Captain Edward G. Fanshawe, R.N., a daughter.

— Her Majesty the Queen of Naples, a prince.

7. The Right Hon. Viscountess Forbes, a daughter.

9. At Wymondham, Norfolk, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Badham, a daughter.

— In Chesham-place, the lady of Mr. Serjeant Bain, a daughter.

10. At Barrow House, Somerset, the lady of J. H. Blagrave, esq., a son.

— At Richmond, the lady of W. F. Gostling, esq., a son.

11. At Cheltenham, the lady of Capt. Hunt, R.N., a son.

— At West Rownton, York, the lady of Capt. H. B. J. Wynyard, a son.

12. At Bangalore, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Key, 15th Hussars, a daughter.

14. At Hilton Park, Staff., the lady of George Vernon, esq., a daughter.

15. At Morden Lodge, Surrey, the lady of H. J. Hoare, esq., a daughter.

16. At Vienna, the Princess Nicholas Esterhazy, a daughter.

— In Arlington-street, Piccadilly, the Marchioness of Salisbury, a son.

18. At Brinton, Norfolk, the lady of John Brereton, esq., a son.

— In Wimpole-street, the lady of John Bright, esq., M.P., a son.

BIRTHS.

— In Argyll-place, St. James's, the lady of Joseph Toynbee, esq., F.R.S., a daughter.

— At Bolton Hall, the lady of W. H. O. Powlett, esq., a daughter.

20. At Chew Magna, Somerset, the lady of the Rev. Edward A. Ommaney, a daughter.

— In Chester-square, the Hon. Mrs. Walter Wrottesley, a daughter.

21. In Upper Berkeley-street, the lady of H. Goldsmid, esq., a son.

— At Cheltenham, the lady of Major Bolton, 5th Dragoon Guards, a son.

23. At Hathersage Hall, Derbyshire, the lady of John S. Shuttleworth, esq., a daughter.

25. In Arlington-street, the Lady Caroline Duncombe, a son.

— At Bedford, the lady of G. S. Harcourt, esq., a daughter.

— At Dorfold Hall, Cheshire, Mrs. Wilbraham Tollemache, a son.

26. At Berlin, the lady of the Hon. Henry Howard, Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, a son.

— At Stonecot Hill, Sutton, the Hon. Mrs. Sidney Roper Curzon, a son and heir.

— At Neasham Hall, Durham, the lady of James Cookson, esq., a son.

29. The lady of J. F. Burrell, esq., Manor House, Frimley, Surrey, a daughter.

30. At Bramham House, Yorkshire, the Hon. Mrs. Adolphus Liddell, a daughter.

— At St. Katharine's Lodge, Mrs. Bridges Taylor, a daughter.

31. At Milton, Peterborough, the Viscountess Milton, a son.

— In Grosvenor-street, Lady Mary Hewett, a son.

APRIL.

1. At Mount Boone, Lady Seale, a daughter.

3. At Stratton, near Cirencester, Lady Tancred, a daughter.

— At Everingham Park, the lady of William Constable Maxwell, esq., a son.

— In Portland-place, the lady of Lieut.-Col. the Hon. E. B. Wilbraham, a daughter.

— In Rutland-square, Edinburgh, the lady of Sir James Gardiner Baird, bart., of Saughton Hall, Midlothian, a daughter.

4. At Carlton Hall, Suffolk, the lady of F. N. Dickenson, esq., of Liston Court, Gloucester, a son and heir.

5. At Castle Horneck, Cornwall, the lady of Samuel Borlase, esq., a son.

6. At Firby Hall, Whitwell, Yorkshire, the lady of George Tomline Gordon, esq., a son and heir.

7. In Park-place, St. James's, the Lady Georgiana Codrington, a daughter.

— In Chester-square, the lady of A. L. Goddard, esq., M.P., a son and heir.

— At Starston, the lady of Archdeacon Ormerod, a son.

8. At Little Shardeloes, Amersham, the lady of Colonel W. T. Drake, a son.

— At Leeds, the lady of Capt. Thomas Carpenter, R.N., a daughter.

9. At Gloucester-square, Hyde Park, the lady of Alex. Mackinnon, esq., a son.

10. The lady of Col. G. H. Thompson, of Bolton Lodge, a daughter.

— At Ulcomb-place, Kent, the Lady Frances Fletcher, a daughter.

11. At East Hill, Wandsworth, the lady of B. Bovill, esq., a son.

12. At Beeston Hall, Norfolk, Lady Preston, a daughter.

— In Clarges-street, the lady of Robert Phillimore, esq., a daughter.

13. At Fulham, the Hon. Mrs. Bradshaw, a son and heir.

14. Lady John Russell, a son.

15. In Montague-st., Portman-sq., the lady of the Rev. C. Vansittart, a daughter.

17. At Harrowden House, Northamptonshire, the lady of C. Hill, esq., a son.

— In Lowndes-street, Lady Colthurst, a daughter.

19. At Brussels, the Hon. Mrs. Edward Erskine, a daughter.

— At West Huntingdon, the lady of Major G. Lister Kaye, a daughter.

20. At Tusmore Park, Oxon., the Hon. Mrs. Percy Barrington, a son and heir.

21. In South-street, the lady of the Right Hon. Edward Strutt, a daughter.

22. At Holcombe Court, the lady of P. F. Bluett, esq., a son.

23. The Lady Norreys, a daughter.

24. In Chesham-st., Belgrave-square, the lady of the Hon. W. E. Fitzmaurice, a daughter.

25. At the British Museum, Lady Madden, a daughter.

— At Fritwell House, Oxon., the lady of Thomas Tyrwhit Drake, esq., jun., a daughter.

26. At the Castle, Parsonstown, Ireland, the Countess of Rosse, a son.

— At Dyrham Park, Barnet, the Hon. Mrs. Trotter, a son.

27. At Wardour Castle, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord Arundell, a daughter.

BIRTHS.

— At Allandale House, Wimborne, Dorset, the lady of Capt. Douglas Curry, R.N., a daughter.

— At Donington Rectory, Salop, the Hon. Mrs. H. Howard, a still-born child.

28. In Eaton-square, the lady of Edward Divett, esq., M.P., a daughter.

— At Alverstoke Rectory, Hants, the lady of the Rev. Thomas Walpole, a son.

29. At Moulton Grange, the lady of H. O. Nethercote, esq., a daughter.

30. At Rankilleur, Fife, N.B., the Hon. Mrs. George William Hope, a son.

— In Lowndes-street, Belgrave-square, the lady of General Sewell, a daughter.

— At the Craig, Windermere, the lady of Captain Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley, a daughter.

— In Mansfield-street, the lady of the Hon. Frederic Petre, a daughter.

MAY.

1. In Hampstead-road, the lady of the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D., a daughter.

2. At the Hirsel, N.B., the Countess of Home, a son.

3. At Orton Longueville, Huntingdonshire, the Countess of Aboyne, a son.

4. In Devonshire-place, the lady of Sir John Anson, bart., a daughter.

— At Wolston Manor House, Warwickshire, the lady of W. Wilcox, esq., a daughter.

— At Castle Kelly, Galway, the lady of Capt. J. P. Hawkins, R.E., a daughter.

5. At Hollybrook, County Sligo, the lady of Sir Thomas Erskine, bart., of Camb, Fifeshire, a daughter.

— In Berkeley-square, the lady of Sidney Smirke, esq., a son.

— At Aurungabad, the lady of Capt. Hercules Skinner, Fourth Nizam's Cavalry, a son and heir.

5. At Brighton, Lady Parish, a son.

6. At Putney, the lady of Colonel Knollys, Scots Fusilier Guards, a daughter.

— In Curzon-street, Mayfair, the Lady Elizabeth Lascelles, a son.

— At Blenheim Palace, the Duchess of Marlborough, a daughter.

7. At Thirburn Castle, Oxon, the Lady Mary Parker, a daughter.

— In Chester-square, the lady of A. L. Goddard, esq., M.P., the Lawn, Swindon, a son.

— At Westover, Isle of Wight, the lady of the Hon. William A'Court Holmes, a son.

— At Tresillian House, Cornwall, the lady of Richard Gully Bennet, esq., a daughter.

9. At Gibraltar, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Savage, R.E., a daughter.

10. At Watford Court, Northamptonshire, the Lady Henley, a daughter.

— In Eaton-place, the lady of W. M. Milner, esq., a son and heir.

— In Berkeley-square, the Hon. Mrs. James Stuart Wortley, a daughter.

11. At Windsor, the lady of Captain L. Mackinnon, Coldstream Guards, a daughter.

12. In Belgrave-square, Lady Cecilia Des Voeux, a son.

— At Binfield, Berks, the lady of Capt. Wright, R.N., a daughter.

13. The lady of the Hon. Charles Napier, a son.

— In Bedford-square, the lady of John E. Frere, esq., Commander R.N., a daughter.

14. At Shide Hill, Isle of Wight, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel E. Napier, a daughter.

15. At Holgate Lodge, York, the lady of H. Constable Maxwell, esq., a daughter.

16. At Codicote Lodge, Lady Emily Cavendish, a daughter.

— At Taliaris, Carm., the lady of William Peel, esq., a son.

— In Belgrave-square, the Hon. Mrs. Fellowes, a son and heir.

17. At Dresden, the lady of Lewis Knight Bruce, esq., a daughter.

19. At Ryde, I. W., the lady of the Rev. Iltyd Nicholl, a daughter.

25. In Grosvenor-square, the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Duncombe, a son.

— The lady of Edward Masterman, esq., a son.

— At Leintwardine, Heref., the lady of Lieut.-Col. Colvin, C.B., a daughter.

26. In Berkeley-square, Lady Sarah Lindsay, a daughter.

— In Chesham-street, Belgrave-square, Lady Rose Lovell, a son.

27. At Frognal Lodge, Hampstead, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Saunders, of the Charterhouse, a daughter.

— At Cluny Castle, N.B., the lady of Cluny Macpherson, a daughter.

— The lady of Sir Henry Durrant, bart., of Scottow Hall, a daughter.

28. At the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, the lady of Dr. Neale, a son.

29. At Talacre, Flintshire, the Hon. Lady Mostyn, a son.

30. At Lismore Castle, Ireland, the lady of F. E. Currey, esq., a daughter.

BIRTHS.

31. In Moray-place, Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Dalrymple, a son.

— In Chesham-place, Belgrave-square, Lady Louisa Oswald, a son and heir.

— In Baker-street, the lady of Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Onslow, Scots Fusilier Guards, a son and heir.

JUNE.

3. At Hazlewood Castle, the Hon. Mrs Vavasour, a son.

4. At Cyfartha Castle, the lady of R. T. Crawshay, esq., a daughter.

— In Devonshire-place, the lady of Sir John Anson, bt., a daughter.

— In Devonshire-street, the lady of C. C. Crespigny, esq., a son.

— At Windsor, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Moncrieff, Scots Fusilier Guards, twin daughters.

8. At Hall Place, Berks, the lady of C. Morgan, esq., King's Dragoon Guards, a son.

9. At Blackheath Park, the lady of George Robert Stephenson, esq., a son.

10. At Broughty House, Forfarshire, Mrs. Donald Douglas, a daughter.

11. At Pitsford Rectory, Northamptonshire, the Hon. Mrs. Charles F. O. Spencer, a son.

12. At Muirtown House, Inverness-shire, the lady of Huntly Duff, esq., of Muirtown, a daughter.

13. In Charles-street, St. James's-square, at the residence of His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, the lady of George Dunbar, esq., a son and heir.

— At Government House, Newfoundland, the lady of his Excellency Sir John Gaspard le Marchant, a daughter.

14. At Lord Denman's, in Portland-place, the Hon. Mrs. John Beresford, a daughter.

— At Ipswich, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Sturt, a daughter.

15. At Blendworth Lodge, Lady Knighton, a still-born infant.

16. In Lowndes-street, Belgrave-square, Lady Brackenbury, a son.

17. In Audley-square, the Viscountess Curzon, a daughter.

18. At Lee Park, Blackheath, the widow of C. A. Lushington, esq., Bengal Civil Service, a daughter.

19. At Greenwich, Lady Pell, a daughter.

— At Holbrook House, Somersetshire, the lady of Charles Barton, esq., a daughter.

— At Castle Strathallan, Perthshire, the Hon. Mrs. Edmund Drummond, a daughter.

21. At Ham House, Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. Frederick Tollemache, a daughter.

— At Cushendeen, Antrim, the lady of Captain Edward Holland, R.N., a son.

22. At King's Newton Hall, Derbyshire, the lady of George Vandeleur, esq., a son.

— At North Bank, Regent's Park, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Kitchener, a daughter.

23. In Grosvenor-street, the Viscountess Holmesdale, a daughter.

— At East Sheen, the lady of F. Ommanney, esq., a son.

24. At Edinburgh, Lady Blantyre, a daughter.

28. At Bognor, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Hugh Mitchell, Grenadier Guards, a daughter.

30. At Trebartha Hall, Cornwall, the lady of Francis Rodd, esq., a son.

JULY.

1. At Kinnaird House, the Hon. Mrs. Drummond, a daughter.

2. At Madras, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Bowes Forster, a son.

4. At Hookfield Grove, Epsom, the lady of the Rev. Sir C. R. Lighton, bart., a son and heir.

5. The lady of the Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie, M.P., a son.

7. In Myddleton-square, the lady of Dr. Golding Bird, a son.

8. At Winchfield House, Hants, the lady of C. W. Beauclerk, esq., a daughter.

— In Eaton-terrace, Belgrave-square, the Hon. Mrs. Cunynghame, a son.

— In Eaton-place, the Hon. Mrs. Robert Daly, a daughter.

10. In Seamore-place, the Viscountess Lewisham, a daughter.

— The lady of Walter Hugo, esq., North End House, Ipplepen, a daughter.

12. At Kilbride Manor, county of Wicklow, the lady of Richard Moore, jun., esq., a son and heir.

13. At Pitfour Castle, Perthshire, the lady of Sir John S. Richardson, bart., a son.

— At Hayston Lodge, Pembrokeshire, the lady of Horton Rhys, esq., a son and heir.

— At Blackdown House, Sussex, the lady of James Henry, esq., a daughter.

BIRTHS.

— At Moat Hall, Yorkshire, the lady of H. S. Thompson, esq., a son.

15. The lady of the Rev. T. Pelham Dale, Rector of St. Vedast, Foster-lane, a son.

16. At Shrivenham House, the Hon. Mrs. Barrington, a daughter.

17. At Frant, the lady of Sir Henry Thompson, bart., a daughter.

— At Brickworth House, Wilts, Mrs. Eveleigh Wyndham, a son.

18. At Houndshill, Worcester, the lady of Evelyn Philip Shirley, esq., a daughter.

19. The Empress of Brazil, a son and heir.

20. At Holkham, the Countess of Leicester, a son and heir.

— At Sanquhar House, near Forres, the lady of Alexander Penrose Gordon Cumming, esq., of Altyre, a son.

21. In Ebury-street, Pimlico, the Hon. Mrs. Gerald Dillon, a daughter.

— In Wilton-crescent, the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Ponsonby, a son.

— At Strelitz, the Hereditary Grand-Duchess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz (daughter of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge), a son and heir.

— At Preston, Cirencester, the lady of H. W. Cripps, esq., a daughter.

23. At Butleigh Court, the lady of Ralph Neville, esq., a daughter.

— At Gopsall, the Countess Howe, a daughter.

— At Reading, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Lester, Bombay Artillery, a son.

24. At Ampthill House, the Hon. Mrs. Petre, a daughter.

— At Kemp Town, the lady of Walter Ricardo, esq., a daughter.

— At Mulgrave Castle, the Countess of Mulgrave, a daughter, still-born.

25. At Whittinghame House, N.B., Lady Blanche Balfour, a son and heir.

— At Dover, the lady of Major Smart, a daughter.

— At Ince, Blundell Hall, Mrs. Weld Blundell, a son.

— At Newtown House, Tipperary, the lady of Ralph B. Osborne, esq., M.P., a daughter.

26. At Beningbrough Hall, the Viscountess Downe, a son.

— In Wilton-place, the lady of Richard Westmacott, esq., a daughter.

27. The Countess Ashburnham, a son.

— At Rosstrevor, co. Down, the Hon. Mrs. Ross, of Bladensburgh, a son.

28. At the Grange House, Edinburgh, the lady of Sir John Dick Lauder, bart., of Fountainhall, a son.

29. In Hyde Park-square, the lady of the Right Hon. J. W. Fitzpatrick, M.P., a son.

30. In Bolton-row, Lady Louisa Alexander, a son.

31. At Easton, the lady of J. H. Gurney, esq., a son.

AUGUST.

5. In Upper Harley-street, the Hon. Mrs. Clifford, a daughter.

— At Bradnell House, Bucks, the lady of Joseph Baily, esq., a son.

6. At Louth Park, Lincolnshire, the lady of T. C. Oldham, esq., a daughter.

7. At the Dowager Lady Arundell's, Dover-street, the Hon. Lady Neave, a son.

8. At Broom Hall, Capel, the lady of J. Labouchere, esq., a daughter.

10. At Ockham Park, Surrey, the lady of Captain Robert Russell, R.N., a son.

11. In Curzon-street, Mayfair, the Lady Beaumont, a son and heir.

— At Holbrooke House, Suffolk, the lady of the Rev. Charles Darby Reade, a daughter.

12. At Newlands, Broadclist, near Exeter, the lady of Captain Chichester, a son.

— At Odsall House, Bradford, Yorkshire, the lady of Charles Hardy, esq., a son.

— In Chester-square, Mrs. Robert Stopford, a son.

13. In Devonshire-street, Mrs. Stafford H. Northcote, a daughter.

15. At Roehampton, the Hon. Mrs. Leslie Melville, a daughter.

— The lady of Cholmeley Dering, esq., a son.

17. At Sandling Park, the lady of William Deedes, esq., M.P., a daughter.

— The lady of Martin T. Smith, esq., M.P., a daughter.

— At Thornton Hall, Lincolnshire, the lady of P. M. Richardson, esq., a son and heir.

18. In Halkin-street West, the lady of Sir William Payne Gallwey, bart., a son and heir.

— At Westbourne-terrace, the lady of Richard Cobden, esq., M.P., a daughter.

19. At St. Petersburgh, the lady of Andrew Buchannan, esq., Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Russia, a son.

21. In Upper Grosvenor-street, the Lady Dorothy Nevill, a daughter.

BIRTHS.

22. At Weymouth, the lady of Commander W. S. Thomas, R.N., a son.

— In Upper Grosvenor-street, the lady of Philip P. Bouverie, esq., a son.

24. At Parbold Hall, Lancashire, Mrs. Francis Twining, a son.

26. At Lady Bateman's, Portman-square, the Hon. Mrs. Whyte Melville, a daughter.

— At Blackheath, the lady of Peter W. Barlow, esq., F.R.S., a daughter.

27. At Bitteswell Hall, Mrs. Robert Fellowes, a son.

— At Egham Park, the lady of Colonel Salwey, M.P., a son.

28. At Ardpatrick House, Argyleshire, the lady of Robert James Hebden, esq., a daughter.

29. At Crewe Hall, near Downham-market, the lady of J. R. Fryer, esq., a daughter.

SEPTEMBER.

1. At Hurworth Grange, the lady of Mark Ord, esq., a son.

— In Great Cumberland-place, the lady of Alfred Bowyer Smith, esq., a daughter.

— At Hengwrt, North Wales, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, a daughter.

2. At Polesden, the lady of Joseph Bonsor, esq., a son.

3. At Hampton Court, the lady of Captain Montgomery, R.N., a daughter.

— At Bletchley Cottage, Bucks, the lady of Richard William Selby Lowndes, esq., a son.

— At Holland House, Kingsgate, the lady of John Fenton, esq., a daughter.

4. In Wyndham-place, Bryanstone-square, the lady of B. B. Williams, esq., of Caversham House, Oxon, a daughter.

6. In Eaton-place, the lady of Sir Joseph Hawley, bart., a daughter.

7. At Liverpool, the lady of Adam Steuart Gladstone, esq., a daughter.

— At Fulham, Mrs. Charles Walpole, a son.

— At Grey Abbey, Down, the Lady Charlotte Montgomery, a son.

8. In Charles-street, Lady Dalmeny, a son.

— At Notton, Lady Awdry, a son.

— In Westbourne-terrace, the Hon. Mrs. Richard Denman, a daughter.

— The lady of Thomas Bateman, esq., of Middleton Hall, Derbyshire, a daughter.

10. At Spring Vale, Ryde, Isle of Wight, the Hon. Mrs. G. H. Holland, a son.

— At Wakefield Park, near Reading, the lady of Robert Allfrey, esq., a son.

11. At New Hailes, the Hon. Mrs. Coventry, a daughter.

12. At Down Ampney House, Gloucestershire, the lady of Captain Charles Talbot, R.N., twin daughters.

— At Clifton, the lady of Major-General Whish, a son.

— At Bower Hill Lodge, near Melksham, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Moule, Bengal Army, a daughter, still-born.

13. In Great George-street, Westminster, Mrs. Lefroy, a son.

15. At Brighton, the lady of the Hon. Charles Hanbury Tracy, a son.

— In Berkeley-square, Mrs. Humphrey St. John Mildmay, a daughter.

— In Eaton-place, the lady of Captain J. P. Bastard, a daughter.

— At Oldbury Hall, the lady of John Hardy, jun., esq., a son and heir.

16. At Dublin, the lady of Major Daubeney, C.B., 55th Foot, a daughter.

17. At Melchbourne Park, the Lady St. John, a son.

19. At Albyns, the lady of Thomas Neville Abdy, esq., M.P., a son.

— At the Moat, Britford, Wilts, the lady of F. J. E. Jervoise, esq., a son.

— At Edmonton, the lady of the Rev. John Campbell, Chaplain of Bermuda, a son.

20. At Peterley House, Missenden, the lady of Lieut.-Col. N. Alves, a daughter.

— At Denne Park, Horsham, Mrs. Charles Bethune, a son.

23. At Worton Hall, near Isleworth, the lady of Major Inigo Jones, Prince Albert's Hussars, a son.

24. At the Ranger's House, Blackheath, Lady Harriet B. Hamilton, a son.

— At Lee Park, Kent, the lady of the Rev. H. Dale, late Principal of the Bishop's College, Bristol, twin sons.

25. In Piccadilly, the Hon. Mrs. Henry Elliot, a daughter, still-born.

— At the College, Isle of Man, the lady of the Rev. R. Dixon, Principal, a daughter.

— At East Lodge, Needwood, the lady of Tonman Mosley, esq., a son and heir.

26. At Walmer, the lady of Captain C. H. Baker, R.N., a son.

27. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, the lady of Dr. T. Chambers, a daughter.

— At Stowlangtoft Hall, Suffolk, the lady of Henry Wilson, esq., a daughter.

BIRTHS.

28. At Whitmore Hall, Staffordshire, the lady of Captain Rowland Mainwaring, R.N., a son.

29. At Edinburgh, Lady Buchan Hepburn, a daughter.

— At Normanton Turville, the lady of Robert W. Arkwright, esq., a son.

— The lady of Captain Kuper, C.B., R.N., a son.

— In Grosvenor-square, Viscountess Ebrington, a daughter.

30. The Lady Agneta Bevan, a son.

OCTOBER.

1. In Moray-place, Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Ferrand, a son.

3. At Heden, Kent, Lady Albert Conyngham, a daughter.

— At Settrington House, Yorkshire, Mrs. Henry Willoughby, a son.

— At Haldon House, the seat of Sir Lawrence V. Palk, bart., the lady of Lawrence Palk, esq., a son.

— At Winton House, Leamington, the lady of S. B. Blyth, esq., a son.

4. At the Rectory, Barnes, Surrey, the lady of the Rev. R. E. Copleston, a daughter.

5. In Royal Crescent-terrace, Cheltenham, the lady of Lieut.-Col. William Wyllie, C.B., a son.

— At Straloch, Aberdeenshire, the lady of Captain Nares, R.N., a son.

— At Belle Vue, Teignmouth, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Osborne, Bengal Army, a son.

— At the Vicarage, Willen, Bucks, the lady of the Rev. George Phillimore, a son.

6. The lady of the Rev. M. Wilkinson, Master of Marlborough College, a daughter.

— At Northrepps Hall, Norfolk, the lady of Sir E. N. Buxton, bart., a daughter.

7. At Woburn Park, Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. Locke King, a son.

8. At Corran Brook, Laugharne, Carmarthenshire, Mrs. Walpole Willis, a daughter.

— In London, the lady of Captain W. B. Suckling, R.N., of Highwood, a daughter.

10. In Berkeley-square, the lady of H. H. H. Hungerford, esq., a daughter.

— At Bodmin, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Prideaux Brune, a son and heir.

— In Portland-place, the Viscountess Hereford, a son.

— In Westbourne-crescent, Hyde-park, the lady of Percy Ricardo, esq., a daughter.

13. At the Bury, Chesham, Buckinghamshire, the lady of William Lowndes, esq., a daughter.

— The Countess of Arran, a daughter.

— At Yately Hall, Hants, the lady of Henry Parker Collett, esq., a daughter, still-born.

14. At East Sheen, Lady Fanny Howard, a son.

15. At Warwick, the lady of E. G. Swinton, esq., King's Own Light Dragoons, a son.

— In Upper Wimpole-street, the lady of Sir William St. Lawrence Clarke, bart., a son.

16. At Rowdell House, Sussex, the lady of Charles Montagu Chester, esq., a son.

17. At Ryde, the Hon. Mrs. Frederick Holland, a daughter.

19. At Lochnaw Castle, N. B., the Lady Louisa Agnew, twin daughters.

20. At Frampton House, the lady of the Rev. John Tunnard, a daughter.

— At Tranmere, Cheshire, the Hon. Mrs. Lauriston Kneller, a son.

— At Lynmouth, North Devon, the lady of Eliot Warburton, esq., a son and heir.

21. In Gordon-square, Lady Romilly, a daughter.

— At Tunbridge, the lady of the Rev. Dr. Welldon, a daughter.

22. At Brussels, the lady of Captain Algernon Greville, a son.

26. The lady of Brent Spencer Follett, esq., of Cambridge-square, Hyde-park, a son.

27. At Sherburn House, Durham, the lady of Major Faber, a son.

— At the Elms, Chudleigh, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Lethbridge, a daughter.

— At Glencorse, near Edinburgh, the lady of Sir Charles M. Ochterlony, bart., a son.

29. In Hyde Park-square, Mrs. Edward Baldwin, twin sons.

30. At Ashley Park, Lady Fletcher, a son.

31. At Salisbury, Lady Roper, a daughter.

NOVEMBER.

1. In Hyde Park-gardens, the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird, a daughter.

6. At Lisbon, the lady of William

BIRTHS.

Robert Ward, esq., of Her Majesty's Legation, a daughter.

7. At Ickworth, Lady Alfred Hervey, a son.

8. In Cleveland-square, the Countess of Sandwich, a daughter.

— At Kentish Town, Mrs. William Rivington, a son.

— At Longford Castle, the Viscountess Folkestone, a daughter.

— At Gagie House, Forfarshire, Mrs. Guthrie, of Guthrie, a son, still-born.

9. At the Vicarage, Kenilworth, the lady of the Rev. E. R. Eardley Wilmot, a son.

10. At Winton House, Pencaitland, N. B., the lady of Captain Frederick Hutchinson, a daughter.

11. At Danesfield, Bucks, the Hon. Mrs. Scott Murray, a son.

— In Poet's-corner, Old Palace-yard, the lady of C. Eastland Michele, esq., a son.

— In Halkin-street West, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Vansittart, a daughter.

13. In Chesham-place, the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, a daughter.

— At the Rectory House, Marston Trussell, Northamptonshire, the lady of the Rev. William Law, a son.

— At Newburgh, Northumberland, the lady of Captain Gustavus H. Coulson, R.N., a son.

15. At Lord Sherborne's, in Gloucestershire, the lady of the Hon. Captain Plunkett, R.N., a son.

— At Henbury House, Dorset, the lady of Charles Joseph Parke, esq., a daughter.

— At Great Malvern, Mrs. Fountaine, of Narford Hall, Norfolk, a daughter.

— At Salhouse Hall, Norfolk, the lady of Richard Ward, esq., a son.

— At Lisbon, the lady of Sir Hamilton Seymour, G.C.B., Her Majesty's Minister in Portugal, a son.

16. At Marston House, Northamptonshire, the lady of J. J. Blencowe, esq., a son.

17. At Corwar House, the lady of Rigby Wason, esq., a son.

18. At East Hill, Wandsworth, Mrs. John Gough Nichols, a son.

20. In Hyde Park-gardens, the lady of William Vansittart, esq., a daughter.

22. At the Vicarage, Harborne, Staffordshire, the Hon. Mrs. William Law, a daughter.

— At Purley Park, Berks, the lady of A. H. Leyborne Popham, esq., a son and heir.

24. The lady of Edwin Lankester, M.D., of Old Burlington-street, twin daughters.

25. At Lower Cheam, Surrey, Mrs. Gilbert Frankland Lewis, a daughter.

26. At Thornbury House, Ryde, the lady of Captain Henry Sholto Douglas, a daughter.

— The lady of Colonel Kingscote, a son.

27. At Brighton, Lady Rosa Greville, a son.

— At Altyre, Lady Gordon Cumming, a daughter.

28. In Grosvenor-square, Lady Charles L. Fitzroy, a son.

— In Drummond-place, Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Grey, a daughter.

— At Frankfort-on-the-Maine, the lady of Colonel C. A. F. Bentinck, a son.

29. At Kelsey Park, Kent, the lady of the Rev. Henry Burney, twin daughters.

— At Bath, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Tronson, late 13th Light Infantry, a son.

30. In Carlton-terrace, the lady of Earnest Bunsen, esq., a daughter.

DECEMBER.

1. At Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, the Countess Ferrers, a daughter.

2. At Ickworth, the Lady Arthur Hervey, a daughter.

4. At Sunderlandwick, York, the lady of Edward Horner Reynard, esq., a son and heir.

6. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. William Maule, a daughter.

7. At Babworth, the Lady Frances Bridgeman Simpson, a son.

10. In Montagu-square, Lady Wodehouse, a son.

12. At Bagshot Park, Lady Emily Seymour, a daughter.

— In Whitehall-place, the lady of W. R. Seymour Fitzgerald, esq., a son.

— In Mansfield-street, the Hon. Mrs. Hall, a son.

— At Gorhambury, the Countess of Verulam, a daughter.

13. At Merton, near Cove, county of Cork, the lady of Godfrey T. Baker, esq., a daughter.

— At Great Grimsby, the lady of Captain Lewis Maitland, R.N., a son and heir.

— At Pinkney Park, Wilts, the lady of William Henry Cresswell, esq., a son.

14. At Richmond Lodge, Portobello, N. B., the lady of John Stirling, esq., of Kippendavel, a son.

— At Scruton Hall, the lady of Henry Coore, esq., a daughter.

15. At Stonehouse, Plymouth, the lady of Captain John Foote, jun., H.M.S. Rosamond, a son.

— At Brocton Hall, Staffordshire, the lady of Major Chetwynd, late of the 1st Life Guards, a daughter.

19. At Malta, the lady of Captain E. K. Hughes Hallett, R.N., a son.

21. The lady of George Tate, esq., of Bawtey Hall, a daughter.

— In Ainslie-place, Edinburgh, the lady of Sir G. Graham Montgomery, bart., of Stanhope, a daughter.

22. At Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, the lady of Commander W. H. Dobbie, R.N., a son.

23. In Lowndes-square, the lady of George Eyre, esq., a daughter.

— At South Willingham Rectory, Lincolnshire, the lady of the Rev. Andrew Corbett, a daughter.

24. At Withington Rectory, the Hon. Mrs. Gustavus Talbot, a son.

25. At Stoke Rochford, Lady Caroline Turnor, a son.

— At Cranley Rectory, Surrey, the Hon. Mrs. J. H. Sapte, a son.

26. At Gloucester Road, Hyde Park-gardens, the lady of Henry Mills, esq., a son.

29. At Leases, Yorkshire, the lady of Frederick Acclam Milbank, esq., a son and heir.

30. At Stackpole Court, Viscountess Emlyn, a son.

MARRIAGES.

1847.

JULY 31. At Wellington Church, New Zealand, the Rev. Henry Govett, B.A., Worcester College, Oxford, to Margaret, second daughter of the late George Hunter, esq.

AUG. 30. At Richmond, New South Wales, Walter Lamb, esq., eldest son of Captain Lamb, R.N., Member of the Legislative Council of the Colony, to Jane, fourth daughter of William Cox, esq., of Hobart Ville, near Richmond.

In OCT. last, at the Mauritius, Edwin R. J. Balfour, esq., Lieut. H.M.S. Brilliant, to Eleonore, daughter of his Excellency the Governor of Seychelles.

NOV. 16. At Baroda, Askness Remington, esq., Civil Service, to Madeline Laura, youngest daughter of Col. Soppitt, commanding at Baroda.

30. At the Cathedral, Madras, Charles F. Kirby, esq., of Bangalore, of the Mysore Commission, and Captain of the 14th Madras Army, to Caroline, second daughter of Henry Headley, esq., of Gloucester-place, Portman-square.

DEC. 7. At Plantation Church, St. Helena, W. Forbes Macbean, esq., St. Helena Regiment, to Mary Amelia, eldest daughter of the late Col. Archibald Ross.

28. Lord Montfort, to Ann, daughter of the late W. Burgham, esq., of Upton-Bishop, Herefordshire.

29. Captain Hugh Smith Baillie, Royal Horse Guards, to Eve Maria, widow of Viscount Glentworth.

1848.

JANUARY.

1. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Charles Hogg, Bombay Fusiliers, to Katherine Maria, daughter of the late Col. Moor.

— At St. Peter's, Euston-square, Edward Elderton, esq., to Charlotte, third daughter of Lieut.-Col. Cameron.

4. At Trinity Church, Marylebone, Benjamin Shaw, esq., to Caroline, fifth daughter of the late Richard Hall, esq., of Copped Hall, Totteridge.

— Charles Chad Turnour, esq., to Frances Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Master.

— At Walcot, Bath, Captain Edward Lionel Wolley, of 51st Regiment of Light Infantry, to Emily Georgina, youngest daughter of the late William Scott, esq.

6. At Tonbridge, the Rev. George Whitmore, to Sarah, third daughter of John Deacon, esq., Mabledon, Kent.

10. At Wymering, Hants, Peter Wells, esq., to Adora Julia, sixth daughter of John Hesketh Lethbridge, of Cosham Lodge, Hants.

11. At St. James's, Piccadilly, Eliot Warburton, esq., to Matilda Jane, second daughter of the late E. Grove, esq., of Shenstone Park.

— Henry Charles Scott, esq., to Julia Henrietta, and, at the same time, Josias Bracken Canning Alexander, esq., to Agnes Cecilia, daughters of the late Sir William Curtis, bart.

MARRIAGES.

— At Petersham Church, George Wade, esq., to the Lady Frances Kerr, sister to the late Marquis of Lothian.

12. At Wrockwardine, Salop, the Rev. William H. Pearson, to Martha, daughter of the late Osborne Markham, esq., and Lady Jervis.

— The Rev. B. L. Witts, M.A., to Maria Sophia, fourth daughter of the late R. L. Dickson, esq., 1st Life Guards.

— John Thomas Rossborough, esq., to Mary Grey Wentworth, only surviving child of the late Chief Justice Cæsar Colclough.

13. At Norwood, the Rev. Alexander Henry Bridges, second son of Sir Henry Bridges, of Beddington House, to Caroline Matilda, eldest daughter of Christopher Hodgson, esq., of Great Dean's-yard, Westminster.

18. At All Souls', Langham-place, John Shaw Kennedy, esq., to Eleanor, eldest daughter of J. G. Wilkinson, esq.

— At Preston, S. B. M. Skinner, esq., (9th East Norfolk Regiment,) to Mary, only child of Lewis Crow, esq., of Davington Hall, Kent.

19. At the Catholic Chapel, Rainhill, the Hon. Gilbert Stapleton, of the Grove, Richmond, Yorkshire, brother of the Lord Beaumont, to Mary, widow of the late William Gerard, esq.

— At Chester, the Rev. Canon Blomfield, brother of the Bishop of London, to Mary Anson, daughter of the Dean of Chester.

— At Cheltenham, Percy Lousada, esq., to Mary Eliza, second daughter of M. Gutteres, esq., of Sidmouth.

20. At St. James's, Captain H. D. Peers, to Louisa Mary, relict of Major C. M. Roberts, of Everton House, Hants.

— At St. Peter's, Thanet, Dr. Scott, M.D., to Euphemia, youngest daughter of the late Henry Wedderburn, esq.

25. Josiah Wilkinson, esq., of the Inner Temple, to Elizabeth, relict of Martin Atkinson, esq., of Kemnal Manor House.

27. At St. George's, Hanover-square, George William Freeman, esq., to Henrietta Matilda, daughter of H. Hulbert, esq., of Chester-square.

— At Fredericton, New Brunswick, P. W. Phillipps, esq., of the Royal Artillery, to Ellen, second daughter of Col. Shore.

— At Crick, Francis Arthur Trench, esq., of St. Catherine's Park, Kildare, to Emily, youngest daughter of the late George Littledale, esq.

29. At Colombo, Lieut. E. H. Power, 7th Madras Cavalry, youngest son of Major-General W. G. Power, C.B., K.H., to Isabel Boustead, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Braybrooke, commanding Ceylon Rifles.

FEBRUARY.

2. At All Souls' Church, Langham-place, Roundell Palmer, esq., M.P., to Laura, second daughter of Rear-Admiral Earl Waldegrave, C.B.

3. At Dilhone, Staffordshire, Thos. Sutton, esq., to Giulietta Romana, eldest daughter of E. Buller, esq., of Dilhone Hall.

— At Shalford Church, the Rev. John Henry Sapte, to the Hon. Caroline Gifford, third daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Lord Gifford.

5. At Whippingham Church, I. W., Fetherston Stonestreet, esq., LL.D., to the Baroness Maria von Hammerstein, late Lady in Waiting on her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

7. At Plymouth, Lieut. W. N. Lockyer, R.N., to Elizabeth Selina, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Bell, C.B.

— At St. Marylebone Church, Percy Robinson, esq., to Eliza Sarah, youngest daughter of Major-General Aylmer.

8. At St. James's, Lieut.-Col. Campbell, Scots Fusilier Guards, to Mary Frances, widow of the late Reginald Curteis, esq.

— At Tunbridge Wells, Sir Gordon Bremer, K.C.B., K.C.H., Commodore Superintendent of Woolwich Dockyard, to Jemima Mary Harriet, eldest daughter of the late Commodore Sir James Brisbane, C.B., K.W.

— At Ham, Surrey, the Rev. E. R. Eardley Wilmot, to Emma Hutchinson, third daughter of William Lambert, esq.

10. At Bath, David Robertson, esq., Comm. R.N., youngest son of the late Lieut.-Col. Robertson Macdonald, to Caroline, youngest daughter of J. Beck, esq.

— At Trinity Church, Marylebone, Montague David, second son of Sir David Scott, bart., K.H., to Margaret, only daughter of the late James Briggs, esq.

— At St. John's Chapel, Edinburgh, Captain Francis Ramsay, second son of Sir Alexander Ramsay, bart., of Balmain, to Georgina Hay Home, third daughter of William F. Home, esq., of Wedderburn and Paxton.

13. At Corfu, Lovell Stanhope Richard

Lovell, esq., to Matilda, daughter of George Hume Reade, esq., Staff Surgeon.

15. At Barton, Norfolk, the Rev. Vincent Edward Eyre, to Emilia, daughter of the late Sir Thomas Preston, bart.

16. At Alva House, N. B., Captain Lord Frederick C. P. Beauclerk, R.N., to Jemima Eleonora Johnstone, sixth daughter of the late James Johnstone, esq., of Alva.

17. At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, William Blucher Lumley Sleigh, esq., to Elizabeth, second daughter of the late Jas. Bensted, esq., of Cambridge.

22. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Atwell Lake, Madras Engineers, to Ann Augusta, daughter of the late Sir William Curtis, bart.

— At Belvoir Castle, the Rev. Frederick Norman, Rector of Bottesford, to the Lady Adeliza Elizabeth Gertrude Manners, daughter of his Grace the Duke of Rutland.

— At Umballa, Charles Russell Colt, esq., King's Own Light Dragoons, to Geraldine Adelaide Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Major-General Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, K.C.B.

— At Paddington, George Teed, esq., of Gray's-inn, to Ann Susan, widow of Major-General Bellasis.

24. At St. George's, Bloomsbury, the Rev. Edmund Tuberville Williams, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Edward Whitmore, esq.

— At North Muskam, the Rev. Salusbury Humphreys, of Weedon Lodge, Bucks, eldest son of the late Rear-Admiral Sir Salusbury B. Humphreys, C.B., K.C.H., to Maria, eldest daughter of John Handley, esq., of Muskham Grange, Notts.

— At Dean, Hants, Edward William St. John, esq., to Jane Martha, daughter of the late H. Beach, esq., of Williamstrip Park.

— At Morton, Andrew Fountain, esq., of Narford Hall, Norfolk, to Caroline, fourth daughter of T. Trench Berney, esq., of Morton Hall.

MARCH.

1. Robert Bird, esq., to Henrietta, third daughter of the late Pascoe Greenfell, esq.

— At Salisbury, Captain George Cubitt, of the 9th Regiment, to Julia Lucy, daughter of the late Rev. Mr. White.

— At Waltham Abbey, Essex, Pender Grant, esq., Deputy Ordnance Storekeeper, to Eliza, youngest daughter of James Wright, esq.

2. At Bedale, Yorkshire, Henry W. de la Poer Beresford, esq., to Henrietta Anne Theodosia, only daughter of the late Hon. and Rev. Thomas Monson.

— At Swallow, Lincoln, the Rev. Robert Carr Brackenbury, to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of the Rev. G. M. Holiwell.

— At St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, the Rev. Andrew Ramsay Campbell, to Mary Elphinstone Charlotte, fourth daughter of the late John Anstruther Thomson, esq., of Charlton.

3. At Clifton, the Rev. W. Marsh, D.D., to the Hon. Louisa H. Powys, youngest daughter of the first Lord Lilford.

7. At Norwood Green, Middlesex, Captain Keating, to Isabella Ann, daughter of the late Rev. R. Jones, D.D.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, George Pleydell Mansel, esq., late Sixtieth Rifles, to Jemima Henrietta, daughter of William Gambier, esq., and of the late Henrietta, Countess of Athlone.

— At St. Alphage, Greenwich, Bolton Corney, esq., M.R.S.L., to Henrietta Mary, daughter of Captain Richard Pridham, R.N.

11. At St. Botolph's, Aldgate, George Thomas Romilly, esq., to Margaret Philip, only daughter of John Mirriclees, esq.

13. At Brighton, Captain Fitzgerald, R.N., Governor of Western Australia, to Eleanor Caroline Arabella, daughter of H. C. Elwes, esq., of Kemp Town.

14. At Clifton, the Rev. John Gaskin, M.A., to Jane, eldest daughter of Major Calcott.

— At. St. Michael's, Chester Square, Stewart Kerr, esq., to Julia Seymour Buccleugh Campbell, widow of Peter L. Brooke, esq., of Maer Hall.

15. At Shirwell, Devon, the Rev. Richard John Bendon, Rector of Shirwell, to Charlotte Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Sir Arthur Chichester, bart.

16. At Latimer, Viscount Enfield, M.P., eldest son of the Earl of Strafford, to Harriet Elizabeth, second daughter of the Hon. Charles and Lady Catherine Cavendish.

22. In Moray-place, Edinburgh, Robert Handyside, esq., Sheriff of Stirlingshire, to Helen, eldest daughter of the late Alexander Bruce, esq., of Kennet.

23. The Hon. Hugh Cholmondeley, eldest son of Lord Delamere, to Lady

Sarah Hay, second daughter of the Earl of Kinnoull.

— Lewis Coker, Major of H.M. 29th Regiment, to Caroline Agnes, youngest daughter of the late J. Pitman, esq.

— At Camberwell, Lieut.-Col. Charles R. W. Lane, C.B., Bengal N. I., to Maria, daughter of the late Captain John Gibbs.

25. At St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, the Rev. Evan L. Davies, to Mary Margaretta, only daughter of the late T. T. Alkin, esq., of the Court Lodge, Hunton, Kent.

27. At Thirsk, Multon Lambarde, esq., of Beechmont, Sevenoaks, to Mariana Teresa Livesey, only daughter of Edmund Turton, esq., of Brasted Park, Kent, and of Kildale, Yorkshire.

28. In Edinburgh, James Haig, barrister-at-law, to Helen Jane, eldest daughter of the late M. E. Fell, esq.

— At St. Margaret's Church, C. J. MacCarthy, esq., Auditor-General of Ceylon, to Sophia Brunel, eldest daughter of B. Hawes, esq., M.P.

— At Ifield Church, Charles Edward Prime, esq., M.P., to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late James Donavan, esq., of Buckham Hill.

— At Hampstead Church, James Alexander Wedderburn, esq., to Marion, daughter of James Cosmo Melvill, esq., Secretary to the Hon. East India Company.

30. At St. Mary's Church, Pembroke, William Crofton, esq., R.N., to Frances Emilia, only daughter of Captain N. James C. Dunn, R.N.

— At Normanby, Thomas Wynn Hornby, esq., to Louisa, youngest daughter of Sir Robert Sheffield, bart.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Lieut.-Col. Chesney, R. A., to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Edward Fletcher, esq., of Park-street.

— At St. Andrews, Marylebone, Stephen Olding, jun., esq., to Julia Louisa, youngest daughter of the late J. J. Holtzapffel, esq.

— At Normanby, Thos. W. Hornby, esq., to Louisa, youngest daughter of Sir R. Sheffield, bart.

APRIL.

4. At Cairnhill House, Ayrshire, Andrew Gillon, esq., of Wallhouse, to Jane Lillias, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, and granddaughter of Viscount Gort.

11. At All Souls' Church, Langham-place, Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Willshire, bart., K.C.B., and G.C.D., to Annette Lætitia, eldest daughter of Captain Berkeley Maxwell, R.N., of Harley-street, and Tuppendener, Kent.

— At Plymouth, R. D. White, esq., Comm. R.N., to Rosalie, youngest daughter of W. Ady, esq.

— At Croydon Church, Captain the Hon. Robert French Handcock, R. A., to Isabella Louisa, only daughter of the late James Gordon, esq.

— At Trinity Church, Marylebone, Captain C. Fountaine, of the 52nd Regiment, to Rose Sarah, youngest daughter of the late J. G. Ravenshaw, esq.

— At St. Peter's, Pimlico, B. C. Brodie, esq., to Philothea Margaret, daughter of Mr. Sergeant Thompson.

13. At the British Embassy, Paris, Major-General Henry Hodgson, to Helen, eldest daughter of Admiral Honyman.

— At Lamphey, Pembr., Joshua Bird Allen, esq., to Margaretta Anne, only daughter of Lieut.-Col. W. Morrison.

— At Bridekirk, James Walker, esq., of Dabrey House, Mid-Lothian, to Ellen, third daughter of the late J. D. B. Dykes, esq., of Dovenby Hall, Cumberland.

15. At St. James's, Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, Lieut.-Governor of South Australia, to Augusta Sophia, eldest daughter of Charles Marryat, esq., of Parkfield, Potter's Bar.

— At Demerara, William Henry Holmes, esq., to Elizabeth Georgiana, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Light, K.C.B., Governor of British Guiana.

24. At Wrecclesham, Surrey, George Sackville Smyth, esq., to Maria, second daughter of N. Higinbotham, esq.

25. At Lydiard Treygooze, Wilts, the Rev. Thomas Masterman, to Margaret Mariana, daughter of A. M. Story Maskelyne, esq., of Basset Down House, Wilts.

26. At Chester-le-Street, Edward Lord Hawke, to Frances, eldest daughter of Walker Featherstonhaugh, esq., of the Hermitage, Chester-le-Street.

— In Stoke Church, the Rev. Robert Baker, B.A., to Emily De Courcy; and, at the same time, Henry, youngest son of George Baker, esq., to Charlotte Sophia, younger daughter of Captain Sir Henry Leeke, K.H.

27. At St. James's, Captain Charles Lennox Peel, to the Hon. Caroline Chichester, eldest daughter of the late Lord Templemore.

MARRIAGES.

— At Bath, Augustus Jockney, esq., to Catherine, eldest daughter of John Edridge, esq., of Pockeredge House, Corsham.

— At Clifton, Newton Byron Hanson, esq., to Sarah Frances, fourth daughter of the late Sir J. G. Cotterell, bart., of Garnons, Herefordshire.

— At Westonbirt, Major Hale, of the 3rd (or King's Own) Light Dragoons, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Rev. T. G. Clare.

— At St. Leonard's Church, near Exeter, the Rev. Guy Bryan, to Henrietta Margaretta Hay, eldest daughter of the late Sir John Theophilus Lee, of Lauriston Hall, Torquay.

— At Hampstead Church, Captain Fenwick, R. E., to Hester, daughter of James Cosmo Melvill, esq., Secretary to the Hon. East India Company.

29. At Trinity Church, Marylebone, the Rev. William Bryans, B. A., to Sophia Anna Lonsdale, youngest daughter of the Bishop of Lichfield.

— At St. Mary's, Woolwich, James E. T. Parratt, esq., Surgeon, R. A., to Sophia Barnes, only daughter of Sir John Webb, K. C. H., Woolwich.

MAY.

1. At Calcutta, Charles F. Montrésor, esq., of the E. I. C. S., to Catherine, second daughter of Welby B. Jackson, esq., Judge in the Sudder Dewannay Adawlut.

— E. F. Wingfield, esq., 2nd Life Guards, to Frances Emily, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. the Hon. George Rice Trevor, M. P., of Bromham Hall, Bedford.

2. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Viscount Nevill, to Caroline, daughter of Sir John V. B. Johnstone, bart., of Hackness Hall.

— At St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Robert Bruce, Grenadier Guards, to Katherine Mary, second daughter of the late Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, bart.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Robert Pollock, esq., second son of the Right Hon. Lord Chief Baron, to Julia, fifth daughter of the late Rev. J. C. Clements.

3. At St. George's, Hanover-square, James Townsend Oswald, esq., to Ellen Octavia, daughter of the late P. J. Miles, esq.

— At St. Margaret's, Westminster, Henry Minchin Pigou, esq., to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late W. H. Pigou, esq.

4. At St. Mary's, Ryde, Frederick Smith Dodsworth, esq., to Jane Rebecca, second daughter of the late John Young, esq., of Westridge, Isle of Wight.

— At the Church of the Holy Trinity, Exeter, G. C. Tugwell, esq., of Crowe Hall, near Bath, to Virginia Arnold, daughter of the late Major-Gen. Mackie, C.B.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, James Haggard, esq., of Bradenham Hall, to Caroline, youngest daughter of B. Doviton, esq.

— At Todmorden, Henry, second son of John Brocklehurst, esq., M. P., to Ann, second daughter of John Fielden, esq., late M. P. for Oldham.

— At Stoneleigh, the Hon. and Rev. Henry Pitt Cholmondeley, youngest son of Lord Delamere, to the Hon. Mary Leigh, daughter of Lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh Abbey.

8. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Robert Peel Dawson, esq., to the Hon. Mary Elizabeth Brownlow, eldest daughter of the late Lord Lurgan.

9. At the Catholic Chapel, Spanish-place, and afterwards at St. John's Church, Paddington, Edmund Sheridan Dillon Purcell, esq., to Jane, youngest daughter of Sir Francis Des Anges.

— At Brighton, Henry A. Story, esq., Comm. R.N., to Constantia Catherine Anne, only daughter of John Round, esq., late M. P. for Maldon.

— At Kingston Church, Hants, Commander Frederick Kemble, R.N., to Georgina Eliza, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir David Ximenes, K.C.H.

10. At St. Mary's, Islington, Bryan William Morris, esq., to Mary Whitting Lever, niece of William Whitting, esq., Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire.

— At St. Marylebone Church, Barff Tucker, esq., to the Hon. Frances Elizabeth Henley Ongley, daughter of the late Lord Ongley.

11. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. John Arbuthnot Keane, Rifle Brigade, to Mary Jane, youngest daughter of the late Sir Hugh Palliser Palliser, bart.

— At Newbold-upon-Avon, Charles Evelyn Rowley, Commander R.N., to Grace Anna, daughter of J. W. Broughton Leigh, esq.

— At the British Embassy, Paris, Count Edouard de Cossette, of the Châ-

MARRIAGES.

teau de Roquefort, in Normandy, to Anne Mary, third daughter of the late David Fell, esq., of Caversham Grove, Oxfordshire.

— At Quebec, Salwey Browne, esq., late Capt. 68th Light Infantry, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of W. Stevenson, esq.

13. At Rome, George William Victor Manley, esq., to Isabel, daughter of J. Watts Russell, esq., of Ilam Hall, Staffordshire.

16. At the Roman Catholic Chapel, Spanish-place, Edward Henry Mostyn, esq., to Anastasia Elizabeth, relict of Edward Joseph Smythe, esq., of Acton Burnell.

— At Tor Church, Devon, Albany B. Savile, esq., Holne Park, Ashburton, to Elizabeth Anna, eldest daughter of Sir Lawrence Vaughan Palk, bart.

17. At St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, Edmund Law, esq., of the Inner Temple, to Frederica, daughter of the Hon. Charles Ewan Law, M.P., Recorder of London.

18. At St. Martin's, Dorking, Henry Bethune, esq., of Brighton, to Caroline, third daughter of the Rev. James Joyce.

— At the Cathedral, Norwich, the Rev. Henry Symonds, Precentor, to Susanna, only surviving daughter of the Rev. Edward South Thurlow, Canon of Norwich, and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.

22. At St. John's, Hampstead, Andrew Kennedy Hutchison, esq., of Chester-square, to Lady Chetwode, relict of the late Sir John Chetwode.

23. At St. James's, Henrietta, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Delves Broughton, bart., of Broughton Hall, Staffordshire, to the Rev. William Grice, of Wroxall, Warwickshire.

— At St. Paul's Church, Auckland, New Zealand, J. H. Laye, esq., 58th Regt., to Emilia Maria Dean, second daughter of his Excellency Major-General Dean Pitt, K.H., Commanding the Forces in New Zealand.

— At Sutterton, Lincolnshire, John Bower, esq., of the Temple, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of the late Major-General Sir William Nott, G.C.B.

— At St. James's, London, the Rev. W. Grice, to Henrietta, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Delves Broughton, bart.

25. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry, youngest son of Joseph Bailey, esq., M.P., of Glanusk Park, to Mary Louisa, youngest daughter of Colonel Sir Richard Puleston, bart.

— At West Teignmouth Church, Commander Sidney Grenfell, R.N., to Sarah Matilda, only daughter of John Sweetland, esq., of Hermosa, Teignmouth.

30. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry Tuffnell, esq., M.P., to the Lady Anne Primrose, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Rosebery.

— At Christchurch, Hants, Martin Grove Mansel, esq., to Elizabetha Arundell, second daughter of the late Rev. G. C. Frome.

JUNE.

1. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Dottin Maycock, esq., 6th Dragoons, to Eleanor Frances Anna, elder daughter of the late Sir Willoughby W. Dixie, bart.

— At St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Henry J. Hodgson, esq., Barrister-at-Law, to Charlotte, eldest daughter of John S. Gregory, esq.

— At Wirksworth, Derbyshire, Edmund Wilmot, esq., to Anne, youngest daughter of Francis Hurt, esq., of Alderwasley.

— At Stonehouse, Lieut. Henry Bayley, R.N., to Anne, fifth daughter of Lieut. James Russell, late 3rd Royal V.B.

3. At St. James's, Piccadilly, the marriage having been previously performed in the Catholic Chapel, Count Pompeo Troili, Guardia Nobile of his Holiness Pius IX., to Maria, daughter of Captain Richard Hoare, R.N.

6. At Ardrahan, Robert W. C. Cope, esq., to Cecilia Philippa, eldest daughter of Captain Shawe Taylor.

— At St. George's, Bloomsbury, the Rev. W. Alfred Hill, M.A., to Mary Campbell, niece and sole heiress of the late Thomas Campbell, LL.D.

— At Port of Spain, Trinidad, John Scott Bushe, esq., to Martha Macnamara, eldest daughter of the Venerable Archdeacon Cummings.

— At Sydney, New South Wales, Lieut.-Col. Mundy, Deputy Adjutant-General, to Louisa, eldest daughter of the late Hon. and Very Rev. William Herbert, Dean of Manchester.

7. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Major-General Clarges, to Anna Maria, daughter of Sir T. B. Lethbridge, bart.

— At Trinity Church, Marylebone, William Malet Dansey, esq., to Julia, daughter of Edward Marjoribanks, esq.

MARRIAGES.

9. At Forglen House, Banffshire, W. Cosmo Gordon, esq., of Fyvie Castle, to Mary Grace, third daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby, bart.

10. At St. Luke's, Chelsea, Lionel Ames, esq., of The Hyde, Bedfordshire, to Augusta Percy, eldest daughter of Sir John Moryllion Wilson, C.B. and K.H.

— At Crosthwaite, James George Boucher, esq., to Charlotte, second daughter of the Rev. James Bush, of Dalehead Hall, Cumberland.

13. At Wotton, Surrey, the Rev. Lewis Francis Bagot, fourth son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Catherine, third daughter of the Hon. and Rev. John Evelyn Boscawen.

— At Milford Church, Francis Edward Guise, esq., to Henrietta, second daughter of the late Sir James Rivett Carnac, bart.

14. In the Chapel of the British Ambassador, at Paris, the Rev. Edward Seymour, to Elizabeth Anne, fourth daughter of Charles F. Darley, esq., of Dublin.

15. At Trinity Church, Bath, Captain Digbye St. Vincent Hamilton, Second Queen's Royals, to Mary Frances, daughter of the late Henry Sankey, esq., of Green Park, Bath.

— At St. John's Church, Clifton, Herbert Mascall Curteis, M.P., of Windmill Hill, and Peasmarsh Place, Sussex, to Paulina, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Sir John Godfrey Thomas, bart., of Bodiam.

— At Southsea, Comm. Alex. G. West, to Jane, only daughter of Professor Inman.

— At Edinburgh, Lieut.-Col. D. Ewart, to Ann, daughter of the late Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. John Ramsey.

19. At St. Vincent's, George Beresford, esq., A.D.C. to his Excellency Sir John Campbell, bart., to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Captain Donald Maclean, Queen's Royals.

20. Captain George Wodehouse, R.N., to Eleanor Charlotte, daughter of Andrew Mortimer and Lady Emily Drummond.

— At All Souls' Church, Langham-place, Edward Colston, esq., 15th King's Hussars, to Louisa Ruperta, eldest daughter of the Rev. E. Murray.

— At Frittenden Church, Kent, George Augustus Young, Royal Canadian Rifles, to Isabella Marianne, youngest daughter of the late Rev. George Moore.

— At Weybridge, the Rev. Francis Tate, M.A., to Emma, youngest daughter of the late Sir Ambrose Hardinge Giffard, Chief Justice of Ceylon.

21. At St. George's, Hanover-square, William Jones Loyd, esq., to Caroline Gertrude, second daughter of J. H. Vivian, esq., M.P., of Singleton, South Wales.

22. At St. George's, Bloomsbury, Sir Charles Fellows, of Montague-place, to Harriet, widow of the late William Knight, esq., of Oaklands, Herts.

— At St. Peter's, Eaton-square, George Grenfell Glyn, esq., to Georgiana Maria, eldest daughter of the Rev. George Tufnell.

— At St. Giles's, Reading, Lieut.-Gen. James Welsh, to Marianne, widow of R. H. Thomas, esq.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Rev. F. Howlett, to Frances Jane, second daughter of the late Sir William Rawson.

— At Leamington, W. F. Richards, esq., 9th Lancers, to Frances Jane, daughter of the late Joshua Nunn, esq.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Sir Percy Florence Shelley, bart., of Field Place, Sussex, only son of the late Percy Bysshe Shelley, to Jane, widow of the late Hon. Mr. St. John.

— At Walford, Captain R. H. Crofton, R.A., to Frances Mary, second daughter of Arthur C. Marsh, esq.

24. At St. James's, Westbourne-terrace, David T. Ansted, esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geology in King's College, London, &c., to Augusta Dorothea Hackett, youngest daughter of the late Alexander Baillie, esq.

— At Hove Church, Brighton, Lieut.-Col. Brookes, 24th Regiment, to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of the late Arthur Burdett, esq.

26. At Clifton, Captain Henry B. Saville, R.A., to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Cornelius O'Callaghan, esq.

27. At Draycot Cerne, Wilts, Charles John Newby, esq., of Ryde, Isle of Wight, to Emma, third daughter of the Rev. Henry Barry.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Lord A. Edwin Hill, to Mary Emily, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, bart.

— At Leeds, the Rev. George H. G. Anson, to Augusta Agnes, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds.

28. At Friern Barnet, James Louis St. Clair, esq., of the Madras Army, to Juliet, second daughter of George Crawshay, esq.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square,

MARRIAGES.

Major George Balfour, Madras Artillery, to Charlotte Isabella, third daughter of Joseph Hume, esq., M.P.

— At Clifton, the Rev. Charles Dashwood Goldie, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late Colonel James Nicol.

29. At Mortlake Church, the Rev. T. Nesbitt Irwin, to Emily Maria Waring, youngest daughter of the late Major-Gen. James Alexander.

— At Bath, Alfred A. Wallis, esq., to Gloriana Margaretta, only child of the late Captain J. Sandars, C.B., R.N.

— At St. John's Church, Paddington, James Spedding, esq., to Emily, youngest daughter of the late Hon. William Frederick Wyndham.

JULY.

1. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Hylton Jolliffe, Coldstream Guards, to Leila, eldest daughter of the late Sir Thomas John Tyrwhitt Jones, bart., of Stanley Hall, Bridgnorth.

4. At Hove Church, Brighton, William S. R. Norcott, Major in the Rifle Brigade, to Frances Marianne, eldest daughter of the late George S. E. Durant, esq., of Tong Castle, Shropshire.

— At Bishopsbourne Church, Kent, Samuel Lucas Lancaster, esq., of Wateringbury Place, to Mary Yelverton, second daughter of the Hon. and Rev. William Eden.

5. At Wauregwan, Port Philip, George B. Wrey, esq., E.I.S., to Sarah, second daughter of the late Colonel Cuninghame.

6. At Stoke, T. H. Gill, esq., to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James Cornish, esq.

8. At St. Marylebone Church, the Rev. Matthew T. Farrer, to Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of the late General Sir William Anson, bart., K.C.B.

11. At Kenilworth Church, George Augustus Cranley Onslow, esq., to Mary Harriet Anne, eldest daughter of Major-General Loftus.

— The Hon. Captain Charles R. W. Forester, brother to the present Lord Forester, to Lady Maria Jocelyn, youngest daughter of the Earl of Roden.

— At Teffont Church, Maurice Keatinge, esq., of Merrion-square, Dublin, to Ellen Flora, youngest daughter of the late John Thomas Mayne, esq.

— At Tor, William Clark, esq., of Oswalds, Torquay, to Mary, widow of the late Sir John Edward Honywood, bart.

— At All Saints' Church, Maidstone, the Rev. William Harvey, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, to Jane, only daughter of William Sibbald, esq., M.D.

12. At Warblington Church, Hants, Captain Arthur Lowe, R.N., to Katherina, youngest daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir John A. Ommanney, K.C.B.

13. At Hatfield, Herts, Monier Williams, esq., of the East India College, Haileybury, to Julia Grantham, youngest daughter of the Rev. F. J. Faithfull.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Godschall Frederick Johnson, esq., to Frances Beckford, second daughter of Major-General Yates.

15. At Farnham, John Bonham Carter, esq., M.P., of Buriton, Hants, to Laura Maria, youngest daughter of George Thomas Nicholson, esq., of Waverley Abbey, Surrey.

18. At the Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Marylebone, the Rev. Burwell Hayley, M.A., to Maria Georgina, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Andrew Pilkington, K.C.B.

— At Hambledon Church, Captain Henry Lavie, Bombay Army, to Fanny, only child of G. H. Jones, esq., M.D.

— At St. Mary's, Battersea, the Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, to Isabella, third daughter of the late Henry Thornton, esq., M.P.

— At Bathwick Church, Bath, the Rev. George Edward Murray, eldest son of the Lord Bishop of Rochester, to Penelope Frances Elizabeth Pemberton, youngest daughter of Brigadier-General Austin, K.C.T.S.

19. At Marylebone Church, Dr. R.G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S., to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of George Cottam, esq., Manor House, St. John's Wood.

20. At St. George's, Hanover-square, George Viscount Dupplin, eldest son of the Earl of Kinnoull, to Lady Emily Blanche Charlotte Somerset, third daughter of the Duke of Beaufort.

— At Woodbury Salterton, the Rev. John Thornycroft, of Thornycroft Hall, Cheshire, to Charlotte Blanche, of Greendale, third daughter of John Beaumont Swete, esq., of Oxton, Devon.

21. At Tor, William Clarke, esq., late 26th Regiment, to Mary, widow of Sir John Edward Honeywood, bart.

22. At St. John's, Paddington, Sir William White, of Elm Lodge, Finchley, to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Richard Johnson Lockett, esq.

— At Hordle Church, near Lyming-

ton, Thomas E. Symonds, Commander R.N., to Anna Frances, only child of the late J. G. Schweitzer, esq., of Southall, Middlesex, and widow of the Rev. Nicholas Tindal.

25. At Kingston Church, Portsea, Dr. Edward George Irving, Surgeon R.N., to Lucy Elizabeth Haynes, second daughter of Arthur Morrell, esq., Commander R.N.

— At Wolverhampton, Lieut. John Huskisson, R.M., to Julia, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Lovatt, esq.

26. At Charing, the Rev. John William Conant, to Frances Catherine, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Groves, of Boughton, Kent.

— At Colwall, Herefordshire, the Rev. George Henry Sumner, M.A., fourth son of the Bishop of Winchester, to Mary Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Thomas Heywood, esq., of Hope End.

— At Southampton, Lyndoch Douglas, esq., to Laura Susannah, youngest daughter of the late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arch. Campbell, bart., G.C.B.

27. At All Saints' Church, Southampton, Edward Pellew Hammet Ussher, esq., R.M., to Charlotte Maria, youngest daughter of the Rev. Edward Duke, of Lake House, Wilts.

28. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Sir Henry Chudleigh Oxenden, bart., of Broom Park, Canterbury, to Elizabeth Phœbe, daughter of Mr. King, late of Rupert-street.

AUGUST.

1. At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, Charles Francis Compton, esq., to Augusta Lawrell, only daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Quentin, C.B., K.C.H.

— At Trinity Church, Chester, Hugh Hope, esq., of Fludyer-street, Westminster, to Catherine, youngest daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Archibald Spens.

— At Castlemartin, Pembrokeshire, Richard Byrd Levett, esq., of Milford Hall, Staffordshire, to Elizabeth Mary Mirehouse, eldest daughter of the Common-Sergeant of London.

2. At Lyndhurst, the Rev. Stephen R. Cartwright, to Lady Fanny Hay, daughter of William, 15th Earl of Errol.

— At the Church of St. Pierre du Bois, Guernsey, the Rev. Carey Brock, to Frances Elizabeth Georgiana, second daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Henry Baynes, K.H., R.A.

3. At Trinity Church, St. Marylebone, Elliott Grasett, esq., of Chesham-street, to Georgiana, daughter of Edward Majoribanks, esq., of Wimpole-street.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. Ralph Heneage Dutton, third son of the Lord Sherborne, to Isabella, the youngest daughter of the late John Mansfield, esq.

— At the Chapel in Killerton Park, Devonshire, Arthur Mills, esq., of Hyde-park-gardens, to Agnes Lucy, second daughter of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, bart., of Killerton.

4. At Paris, Henry Champion de Crespigny, esq., to Charlotte, eldest daughter of John Pitter, esq.

8. At All Souls' Church, Langham-place, the Hon. Delaval Astley, second son of Lord Hastings, to the Hon. Frances Manners Sutton, daughter of the late Viscount Canterbury.

— At West Twyford, the Rev. Cunningham Boothby, to Jane, only daughter of the late Robert Tod, esq., of Heatheryhough, Dumfriesshire.

— At St. Mary's Church, Bryanstone-square, Hon. Joceline Percy, second son of the Earl of Beverley, to Lady Grant, relict of the late Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay.

— At Leghorn, William Henry Bellingham, M.D., of Pisa, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Robert Graham, M.D., Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh.

9. At Owston, Oliver W. Farrer, esq., barrister-at-law, to Emily, only daughter of the Rev. R. B. Cooke.

— At Swanage, Dorset, Henry Collett Toby, Lieut. R.N., to Emma Sophia, daughter of the late Captain Blissett, R.N.

10. At Kenn Church, near Exeter, Samuel Weare Gardiner, esq., of Coombe Lodge, Whitchurch, Oxon, to Isabella Mallet, second daughter of Sir Lawrence Vaughan Palk, bart.

— At Croydon, W. A. Purnell, esq., Physician-Gen. Bombay Army, to Emily, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Kelly, K.S.A., 1st Life Guards.

— At St. Michael's, Chester-square, W. Franklin, esq., only son of the late Sir W. Franklin, Chief Justice of Madras, to Fanny, second daughter of J. G. Murdoch, esq.

— At All Souls', Marylebone, Arthur Montague, esq., to Juliana Louisa, second daughter of Sir G. W. Denys, Bart.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square,

MARRIAGES.

Lord Charles Pelham Clinton, second son of the Duke of Newcastle, to Miss Grant, daughter of the late W. Grant, esq., of Congatton, N.B.

— At Wallingford, Berks, John Henry Ashhurst, esq., of Waterstock, Oxfordshire, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Duffield, esq., of the Priory, Wallingford, late M.P. for Abingdon.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, Thomas Ommanney Pisson, esq., to Margaret Augusta, third daughter of Henry Elwes, esq.

— At St. James's, Piccadilly, the Hon. Spencer Lyttleton, to Henrietta Cornewall, eldest daughter of the late Frederick Hamilton Cornewall, esq., of Delbury Hall, Shropshire.

— At Shaw-cum-Donnington, Nassau John Senior, esq., Barrister-at-Law, to Jane Elizabeth, only daughter of John Hughes, esq.

— At Chingford, Essex, Charles Mathew Whitehurst, esq., of St. John's Hill, Battersea-rise, to Fanny, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Sharpe Ainslie, bart.

11. At Wrexham, Alexander Charles M'Leod, esq., surgeon-gen., to Neilina Marrion, daughter of Admiral Mackillar.

— At Tettenhall, Charles Chandos Pole, esq., to Anne Constantia, daughter of Henry Hill, esq.

14. At the British Embassy, Paris, Henry Champion De Crespigny, esq., to Charlotte, eldest daughter of John Pitter, esq., of Westend, near Southampton.

— At Exeter, George C. Holroyd, esq., to Frances Hatton, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Edward Harington.

15. At Farnham, Francis Marx, esq., of Arle, Bury, to Anne Maria Selina, daughter of the late Wadham Locke, esq., M.P., of Rowdeford House, Wilts, and widow of the late George Purefoy Tervoise, esq.

— At Greenwich, Holmes Coote, esq., to Jessie Blanche, daughter of John Herbert Koe, esq., Q.C. and Judge of the County Courts.

17. At Killaloe Cathedral, Charles Edward Astell, esq., to Harriette Dare, second daughter of Francis Spaight, esq., of Derry Castle, Tipperary.

18. At Ladyland House, Ayrshire, Captain Robert Wylie Wilson, to Janet Glasgow, youngest daughter of the late William Cochrane, esq., of Ladyland.

22. At West Twyford, Edmund Burke Roche, esq., M.P., to Eliza Caroline, eldest daughter of J. B. Boothby, esq., of Twyford Abbey, Middlesex.

— At Lynton, North Devon, Arthur Kensington, esq., to Rebecca, daughter of Rear-Admiral Legeyt, C.B.

— At Loughall, James Whitshed De Butts, esq., to Anna Eliza, youngest daughter of the late Nathaniel Garland, esq.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. W. H. Leigh, eldest son of Lord Leigh, to Lady Caroline Amelia Grosvenor, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Westminster.

24. At St. John's Chapel, Edinburgh, William Latham Bailey, esq., to Frances Byne, youngest daughter of John M'Lean, esq.

— At Elston Church, Edward Andrew Noel, esq., 31st Regiment, to Sarah Gay, youngest daughter of the late W. B. Darwin, esq., of Elston Hall, Nottinghamshire.

— At Boldre Church, the Rev. Arthur Eden, to Alice Julia, daughter of Thomas Annesley Whitney, esq., of Merton, county Wexford.

30. At St. George-the-Martyr, Queen-square, Dr. Dawson, 54th Regiment, to Jane Marion, only daughter of Major and Lady Jane Tayler, Rothiemay House, Banffshire.

31. At Boldre Church, Hants, Edward Forbes, esq., F.R.S., Professor of Botany in King's College, London, to Emily Marianne, youngest daughter of the late Major-Gen. Sir Charles Ashworth, K.C.B., K.T.S.

— At the Grange House, Edinburgh, Captain W. J. Wilson, E.I.C.S., to Maddalena, sixth daughter of the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, bart., of Grange and Fountainhall.

— At Innistiogue, Charles E. Pollock, esq., of the Inner Temple, to Nicola Sophia, second daughter of the Rev. H. Herbert.

— At Scotter, Lincolnshire, John Langshaw, esq., to Jane, second daughter of the late Lieut-Col. Fletcher.

SEPTEMBER.

1. At Westow, Yorkshire, Edward Clough Taylor, esq., to Sophia Mary, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Thomas Harrison, of Firby.

5. At Marylebone Church, Richard Rogers Coxwell, esq., of Dowdeswell House, Gloucestershire, to Ellen, only child of Godfrey Hugh Massy Baker, esq.

— At Brighton, Thomas Williams, to Adelaide Sophia Chichehana, relict of T. H. Sympson, esq.

MARRIAGES.

— At St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, George W. J. Repton, esq., M.P., to Lady Jane Seymour Fitzgerald, only daughter of the Duke of Leinster.

— At Bexley, the Rev. George A. Langdale, M.A., to Elizabeth Buchanan, second daughter of H. J. Wollaston, esq.

6. At Leckhampton Church, Captain Edward Watts, to Maria, second daughter of Major-General Swiney, of the Bengal Artillery.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, Thomas George, eldest son of the Right Hon. Sir Francis Baring, bart., to Elizabeth Harriet, third daughter of Henry Charles Sturt, esq.

7. At Leamington, John Carnegie, esq., to Elizabeth Susan, daughter of the late Colonel Grey, of the Royal Scots Greys.

— At Great Yarmouth, Steward Johnson, esq., to Emma Lacon, youngest daughter of Edward Youell, esq.

— At St. Paul's Church, Malta, William Winthrop, esq., U. S. Consul, to Emma, daughter of the late Sir William Curtis, bart.

— At Battersea, Robert Harrison, esq., of Bonningholme Hall, Yorkshire, to Emily, youngest daughter of Sir William Struth, of Bognor.

— At St. Martin's, Stamford, Major Woodrooffe, of Hampstead, to Charlotte, daughter of Dr. Arnold.

— At St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, the Rev. John Manley Lowe, to Mary, eldest daughter of Thomas Salt, esq., of Shrewsbury.

— At Leamington, Robert Humphrey Haviland, esq., 62nd Regiment, to Charlotte Langstaff, eldest daughter of Joseph Langstaff, esq., of Cambridge-square.

9. At St. Peter's Church, Eaton-square, Captain T. White, 22nd Regiment, to Georgiana Isabella, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Moodle, late 104th Regiment.

12. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Frederic John Farr, M.D., to Julia Fanny, second daughter of K. Lewis, esq., of Stratford-place, Cavendish-square.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Alexander Clendinning Lambert, esq., of Cranmore Park, Mayo, to Emma Maria, daughter of the late Guy Lennox Prendergast, esq., of Grafton-street, and formerly M.P. for Lymington.

— At Corfu, Ben Hay Martindale, Lieut. Roy. Eng., to Mary Elizabeth, third daughter of the late P. Knocker, esq.

— At Glanmire, Lieut. F. C. Herbert, R.N., to Bassie Newenham, youngest daughter of the late Capt. Henry Stuart, 69th Regiment.

13. At Clevedon, Lieut.-Col. David Forbes, Bombay Army, to Angelina, daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke.

14. At St. Olave's, in Hart-street, George Moultrie Salt, esq., of Shrewsbury, to Elizabeth Amy, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Lett, M.A.

— At Clifton, Major Fitzherbert, of the Rifle Brigade, to Susan, second daughter of the late Michael Hinton Castle, esq.

— At Chiswick Church, Captain Smart, K.H., R.N., to Elizabeth Isabella, only daughter of the late Benjamin Sharpe, esq., of Fleet-street.

— At Brighton, the Rev. Robert Seymour Nash, to Elizabeth, second daughter of the Right Hon. William Yates Peel, of Baginton Hall, Warwickshire.

— At Wilmington, the Rev. Thomas Crick, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Public Orator of that University, to Frances Catherine, only daughter of the Rev. George Miles Casper, Vicar of Wilmington.

16. At Naples, Edward John Vesey Brown, esq., Capt. 88th Regiment, to Rose Augusta, daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, bart., G.C.B., Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

18. At Stillorgan Church, near Dublin, Charles Brent Wale, esq., of the Gord, Cambridgeshire, to Henrietta, third daughter of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

19. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Thomas Owen Knox, R.N., to Louisa Isabella, only daughter of the late Major-Gen. Darby Griffith, of Padworth House, Berks.

— At Petersham, Surrey, Frederick Friend, esq., to Fanny, eldest child of the late Frederick Tyrril, esq., of Chatham-place.

— At Walcot Church, George Ramsay Maitland, esq., brother of Sir Alexander Gibson Maitland, bart., of Clifton Hall, to Alice Anne, eldest daughter of the late Josiah Nisbet, esq., Madras Civil Service.

— At St. Peter's Church, Pimlico, R. Aulney Cartwright, esq., to Mary, eldest daughter of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Freemantle, of Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire.

20. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Bertie Williams Wynn, esq., son of the

MARRIAGES.

Right Hon. Sir H. W. W. Wynn, G.C.H., Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Copenhagen, to Marion, second daughter of the late Major-Gen. Sir James Limond, C.B.

— At Montreal, the Right Hon. the Earl of Erroll, to Eliza Amelia, eldest daughter of Major-General the Hon. Charles Gore.

21. At Essendon Church, the Rev. Henry Dawson, to Anne, second daughter of the Hon. Baron Dimsdale, of Carnfield-place, Herts.

23. At Greatham, Hants, S. Jukes Wambey, esq., to Louisa Jane, youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Holland.

28. At Newtownbrida, Matthew Blakiston, esq., eldest son of Major Blakiston, to Anne, daughter of R. B. B. Houston, esq.

— At Lyndhurst, New Forest, the Right Hon. Lord Manners, to Lydia Sophia, third daughter of Captain William Bateman Dashwood, R.N.

— At Nostell Priory, Robert M. Croft, esq., to Cecilia Isabella, eldest daughter of Charles Winn, esq.

— At Stourton, the Rev. William John Bucknell Estcourt, to Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Drake.

29. At Norwich Cathedral, the Hon. William Wells Addington, eldest son of the Right Hon. and Rev. Viscount Sidmouth, to Georgiana Susan, eldest daughter of the Hon. George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

OCTOBER.

3. At Torquay, Captain Aldridge, R.N., to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Major-General Pilkington, R.E.

— At Blaenporth, Cardiganshire, Lieut. E. W. Lang, R.N., to Lucy Ann, eldest daughter of the Rev. W. Lewis.

— At Lochnaw Castle, Wigtonshire, Frederick Lewis Maitland Heriot, esq., of Ramornie, Fife, to Martha, second daughter of Sir Andrew Agnew, bart., of Lochnaw.

5. At St. James's, Westminster, the Rev. Henry T. Glynn, Rector of Melbury Abbas, Dorset, to Mary Frederica, only daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Schrieber, of Melton, Suffolk.

— At St. Mary Abbott's, Kensington, Thomas Melladew, esq., to Frances Anne, widow of Adam Bromilow, esq., Barrister-at-law, and youngest daughter of the late Admiral Sir Ross Donnelly, K.C.B.

— At Invertrossack, Perthshire, Steuart Macnaghten, esq., to Agnes, widow of Captain Lewis Shedden, and only surviving child of the late James Eastmont, esq.

— At Ashdon, Essex, James Racke, esq., of King's College, to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Rev. C. J. Chapman, Minister of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich.

10. At Bradfield Church, near Sheffield, the Viscount Northland, M.P., eldest son of the Earl of Ranfurly, to Harriet, eldest daughter of the late James Rimington, esq., of Broomhead Hall, Yorkshire.

— At Hove, Arthur H. C. Sewell, esq., to Isabel Jane, eldest daughter of W. Woodward Sadleir, esq.

— At Subdeanery Church, Chichester, Harry Whieldon, esq., to Frances Jane, only daughter of Joseph M'Carogher, esq., M.D.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, the Rev. Robert Boothby Heathcote, to Elizabeth Bridges, eldest daughter of the late Captain and Lady Elizabeth Wells.

— At Walcot, Henry L. Bean, esq., to Emilia, eldest daughter of the late W. Blathwayt, esq.

11. At Woodstock, Upper Canada, Henry de Blanquiere, esq., to Margaret Lucretia, fourth daughter of Col. Light, late 25th Regiment.

12. At Octacamund, Jas. B. Miller, esq., 15th (King's) Hussars, to Sophia, only daughter of William Harrington, esq.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Francis Price Blackwood, R.N., to Jemima Sarah, second daughter of the late James Cranborne Strode, esq.

— At Gillingham, Kent, Arthur George Mildmay, esq., to Louisa Latham, eldest daughter of the late Henry Gough Ord, esq.

— At St. John's, Paddington, George Noble Taylor, esq., of the Madras Civil Service, to May Henrietta, daughter of William Scott, esq., Hall's Place, St. John's Wood.

— At Gerrans, Cornwall, J. G. St. Leger, esq., to Charlotte Anne, second daughter of W. S. Gully, esq.

14. At Christchurch, St. Marylebone, M. G. Thyots, esq., to Catherine, widow of the late Major Smith.

16. Captain George Henry Cavendish, 1st Life Guards, to Emily Victoria Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Sir William Rumbold.

17. At St. George's, Hanover-square,

MARRIAGES.

the Lord Burghley, eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, to the Lady Georgiana Pakenham, and sister of the Earl of Longford.

— At Mussoorie, Captain A. Talbot Strange, to Adelaide Davies, niece to Vice-Chancellor Bruce.

— At Croom, Philip J. Edward Miles, esq., eldest son of W. Miles, esq., M.P., to Elizabeth Frances, daughter of Sir David Roche, bart.

— At St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Forres, Edward Dunbar, esq., Captain 22nd Regiment, to Miss Dunbar, of Sea Park, youngest daughter of the late Duncan Dunbar, esq.

18. At Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, William Elias Taunton, esq., of Freeland Lodge, to Sarah Percival, youngest daughter of Percival Walse, esq., of Stanton Harcourt.

— At Cheltenham, Robert Hammond, esq., Lieut. R.N., to Sarah Bliss, only surviving child of the late Mr. W. Bliss Barrett.

— William H. S. Sharpe, esq., Royal Regiment, to Hannah Ida, youngest daughter of E. Kennedy, esq., of Bantis House, county of Tipperary.

— At the Crescent, Perth, Lieut.-Col. M. Lindsay, to Matilda, youngest daughter of the late Major-Gen. John Harris, R.A.

19. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, esq., to Isabella, eldest daughter of Sir James Weir Hogg, bart., M.P.

— At St. James's Church, Westminster, Captain William Dashwood Graham, Bombay Engineers, to Susan, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Downman, C.B. and K.C.H.

— At the British Embassy, Florence, Gerard Lake Brooks, esq., to Louisa, youngest daughter of Captain Pakenham, R.N.

21. At Dacca, William Joseph Allen, esq., second son of the late Bishop of Ely, to Caroline, only daughter of the Rev. H. B. Shepherd.

24. At St. George's, Hanover-square, J. R. Tomkin, esq., of Gray's Inn, to Georgiana Maria, widow of Dr. Glasspoole, of Brighton.

31. At Petworth, Richard Southwell Bourke, esq., M.P., to Blanche, third daughter of Colonel Wyndham, of Petworth.

NOVEMBER.

1. At Yealmpton, Devonshire, James Eman, esq., Captain 41st Regiment, to Anna Maria Bowes, second daughter of the late Major-General Bowes.

2. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain Kemeys Tynte, Grenadier Guards, to Mary Sophia, eldest daughter of the late Rev. G. Clutterbuck Frome, of Pucknoll, Dorset.

4. At Pittenween, the Earl of Norbury, to Stewart Lindsay, second daughter of Major-General Sir Henry Bethune, bart., of Kileonguhar House, Fifeshire.

7. At Witham, Essex, Commander William Robinson, R.N., to Eliza Ann, eldest daughter of the late Captain J. A. Wieburg.

— At St. Peter's Church, Dublin, Thomas Robert M'Coy, esq., 65th Regiment, to Teresa Matilda, youngest daughter of the late Major James Allen, 5th Dragoons.

8. At Bath, Sir Edward Dolman Scott, bart., of Barr Hall, Staffordshire, to Lydia, widow of the late Rev. Edmund Robinson.

9. At St. Paul's Cathedral, Alfred Lisle March Phillipps, esq., to Alicia Frances, second daughter of George Alexander Bushby, esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

13. In Guernsey, Edmund Yates Peel, esq., 85th King's Light Infantry, to Maria Frances Knighton, youngest daughter of the late Richard Chadwick, esq.

14. In Moray-place, Edinburgh, Robert Hely Hutchinson Keightley, esq., 76th Regiment, to Margaret Ogilvy, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Fairleigh, of the Holmes, Ayrshire.

18. At Martyr Worthy, Hants, Arthur Henry Freeling, esq., Captain Royal Engineers, to Charlotte Augusta, second daughter of Sir H. Rivers, bart.

— By special licence, in Merrion-square, Dublin, Francis R. Brooke, esq., to the Hon. Henrietta Monck, third daughter of Viscount Monck.

— At Martyr Worthy, near Winchester, Arthur Henry Freeling, esq., Captain R.E., to Charlotte Augusta, second daughter of Sir Henry Rivers, bart.

19. At Edinburgh, Charles G. Addison, esq., of the Inner Temple, to Frances Octavia Murray, youngest daughter of the late Lord Cringletie.

21. At Eaglescarnie, the Right Rev. George Tomlinson, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar, to Louisa, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Patrick Stuart, G.C.M.G.

MARRIAGES.

— At St. George's, Hanover-square, Richard Done, esq., of Tarporley, Cheshire, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir William Domville, bart., of Southfield Lodge, Eastbourne.

— At St. Peter's, Pimlico, the Hon. William Cowper, M.P., to Georgiana, youngest daughter of the late Admiral and Lady Elizabeth Tollemache.

— At Knaresborough, Joseph Weld, jun., esq., to Flora Macdonell, fourth daughter of Sir Joseph and Lady Radcliffe, of Rudding Park, Yorkshire.

— Henry, eldest son of Sir Henry Onslow, bart., of Hengar House, Cornwall, to Ellen Peter, niece of Deeble Peter Hoblyn, esq., of Colquite House, Cornwall.

23. At Newland, Gloucestershire, Adolphus Meetkerke, esq., of Julians, Herts, to Cecilia Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Captain the Hon. E. Gore, R.N.

— At Weimar, John Grant, esq., to Olga Matilda Alexandrina, Baroness de Wegner.

28. At St. John's Chapel, Edinburgh, John Archer Houblon, esq., of Hallingbury, Essex, to Georgina Anne, fifth daughter of the late General Sir John Oswald, G.C.B., of Dunnikier, Fife.

— At Minto, Frederick Romilly, esq., youngest son of the late Sir Samuel Romilly, to Lady Elizabeth Elliot, third daughter of the Earl of Minto.

29. At St. James's, Paddington, Captain George Pipon, late of the 16th Lancers, and 7th Dragoon Guards, to Louisa Anne, only child of John Savage, esq.

30. At Edinburgh, Major Rawdon Vassall, to Margaret Emily, daughter of the late Sir Alexander Boswell, bart., of Auchinleck.

— At Paris, Robert B. Kennedy, esq., to Allicea E. M. Crookshank, only daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Crookshank, K.H.

DECEMBER.

5. At Bath, W. H. Emerson, esq., 63rd Regiment, to Flora Brenda, youngest daughter of D. F. Haynes, esq.

— At Winslade Church, James Graham Domville, esq., to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Orde, Rector of Winslade, Hants.

— At Ancroft, John Walter Morrice, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, to Mary, second daughter of John Strangeways D. Selby, esq.

7. At St. Peter's, Pimlico, Robert Tower, esq., to Clara, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Verner, and niece of the Dowager Marchioness of Donegal.

9. At Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of Spain, to the Hon. Georgiana Charlotte Mary Wellesley, only child of the late Lord Cowley.

12. At St. Marylebone Church, John James Glossop, esq., to Harriet Eliza, only daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Martin, Grenadier Guards.

— At St. Peter's, Pimlico, Richard Brooke, esq., to Louisa Tollemache, second daughter of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Duff, G.C.H., of Delgaty Castle, Aberdeenshire.

13. In George-street, Edinburgh, Alfred T. Fawkes, esq., of Chester-square, to Graham, eldest daughter of Thomas Maitland, esq., of Dundrennan, M.P., Solicitor-General for Scotland.

14. At St. Peter's, Eaton-square, Philip Henry Pepys, esq., eldest son of the Bishop of Worcester, to Louisa Eleanor Anne, only daughter of Colonel and the Hon. Mrs. Disbrowe.

16. At Breckenham, W. R. Gilbert, Captain Royal Horse Artillery, to Marianne Charlotte Isabella, eldest daughter of W. Peters, esq.

18. At Bassaly Church, William Henry Marsham Style, esq., to Rosamond Marian, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Morgan, bart., of Tredegar Park, Monmouthshire.

19. At St. John's, Paddington, Sir Offley Wakeman, bart., of Perdiswell, Worcester, to Mary Smith, only daughter of the late Thomas Adlington, esq.

21. At All Souls' Church, Marylebone, Unwin Heathcote, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, to Frances Maria, third daughter of the Right Hon. Sir James Wigram, Vice-Chancellor.

23. At St. Peter's Church, Dublin, John Davy Brett, esq., Captain 17th Lancers, to Georgina, younger daughter of Colonel R. C. Mansel, Deputy-Quartermaster-General, Dublin.

27. At Middlewich, William Wood Blake, esq., of Winnington Bank, Northwich, to Margaret Alsager, younger daughter of Lieut.-Col. Pollock.

— At St. Mary's, Bryanstone-square, the Duke de Guiche, to Emma, only daughter of W. A. Mackinnon, esq., M.P.

— At Plymouth, Lieut. Thos. P. Wright, of H.M. 83rd Regiment, to

Mary Macaulay, eldest daughter of Dr. Hamilton.

DEATHS.

1847.

APRIL.

16. At Lea, in the parish of Witley, Surrey, aged 86, John Leech, esq., of that place and King's Arms House, Southwark, formerly M.P. for the western division of that county.

MAY.

12. At Kilburn Priory, Middlesex, in his 79th year, Rear-Admiral John Fordyce Maples, R.N., C.B. He entered the navy in 1782, as midshipman in the *Triumph*, 74, commanded by Capt. (afterwards Admiral) Philip Affleck, and afterwards served with the late king on board the *Hebe* frigate. After a long career of active service, he was lieutenant of the *Queen*, 98, bearing the flag of Sir Hyde Parker, at the battle of Copenhagen in 1801, where he served as a volunteer with Nelson's division. He was promoted to the rank of commander in 1810, and appointed to the *Ætna* bomb, employed in defence of the Isla de Leon. In 1813 he commanded the *Pelican* brig, in which, on the 18th August, he captured the American sloop *Argus*, and for that action he was promoted to post-rank on the 23rd of the same month. He was nominated a Companion of the Bath in October 1815, and promoted to the rank of a retired Rear-Admiral in November 1846.

NOVEMBER.

1. Aged 78, Sir Nathaniel Levett Peacocke, the second baronet, of Grange co., Limerick (1802).

6. At Brussels, aged 51, Captain John Grover, F.R.S.

19. In Assam, aged 25, George Peter Hebbert, First Lieut. Bengal Engineers, and Executive Engineer of Upper Assam. At the battle of Maharajpoor, Dec. 29, 1843, he served with the centre division of the army, and at the siege and capture of Gwalior; he also fought through the whole of the short but brilliant campaign of the Sutlej in 1845-6, being engaged in the several battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, at which latter place he was reported wounded, having been also honourably mentioned in the previous despatches of Sir Harry Smith for his conduct at Aliwal. He gained two medals and two clasps as decorations for his services; and in April, 1847, was appointed Executive Engineer of Upper Assam.

28. In Manor-place, Edinburgh, aged 75, David Erskine, esq., of Cardross.

DECEMBER.

1. In London, Patrick Murphy, esq., "the Weather Prophet." His lucky predictions, in respect to one or two remarkable changes of weather, raised his celebrity, as a Weather Prophet, to a great height.

3. At Paris, Samuel Duckworth, esq., M.A., one of the Masters in Chancery, and one of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law of Real Property. In 1837 he was returned to Parliament for Leicester, and vacated his seat by accepting a mastership in Chancery in 1839.

7. At his seat, Copgrove, Yorkshire, aged 78, Thomas Duncombe, esq., brother to the late Lord Feversham, and uncle to Lord Feversham.

— At Sydney, N.S.W., in her 57th year, Lady Mary Fitzroy, wife of his Excellency the Governor, and sister to the Duke of Richmond and Lennox. She was the eldest daughter of Charles 4th and late Duke, by Lady Charlotte Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander 4th Duke of Gordon; was married to Sir Chas. Fitzroy in 1820, and has left issue three sons and one daughter. Her ladyship's death was caused by the carriage in which she was riding, with his Excellency (who was driving) and Lieut. Masters, being violently carried against a tree. Lady Mary died in a few minutes; and Lieut. Masters, who was his Excellency's Aide-de-camp, on the same evening. Sir Charles escaped with trifling injuries. Her funeral at Sydney was attended by all the officers of the colony, and upwards of 5000 persons were present.

12. At Montreal, aged 54, Lieut.-Col. Charles Jasper Selwyn, Royal Engineers. He was at the attack of Guadaloupe in 1815, and served as commanding engineer

on the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope from 1834 to 1842, comprising the Caffir war of 1834 5.

13. In Grosvenor-place, Pimlico, aged 72, Thomas Orby Hunter, esq., son and heir of Charles Orby Hunter, esq., of Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire. Mr. Orby Hunter was a distinguished leader of fashionable circles in the last generation, and his name was prominent in the annals of the turf.

24. At Biddlesden Park, co. Buckingham, aged 54, George Morgan, esq., of that place, and of Abercothy, co. Carmarthen, a Deputy Lieutenant of the counties of Buckingham, Northampton, and Carmarthen, and a magistrate of those counties and of Oxfordshire. He served the office of Sheriff of Bucks in 1826.

25. Aged 65, Alexander Powell, esq., of Hurdcott, Wiltshire. Mr. Powell was formerly Sheriff of Wiltshire, and sat in Parliament for the borough of Downton from the year 1827 until the dissolution in 1830.

1848.

JANUARY.

1. In Gloucester-road, Regent's Park, Lieut.-Col. John Babington, late of the 14th Light Dragoons. He had served with that regiment throughout his whole career, at first as a private in the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon Bay, and the occupation of the Isle of Dieu, on the coast of La Vendée, in 1795. He was subsequently engaged for two years in St. Domingo, after its revolt from the French. He served in the Peninsula and South of France from 1809 to March 1814, including the different affairs with the enemy on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of March, 1809; the crossing of the Douro; the battle of Talavera; the affairs with the enemy's advanced posts on the 11th of July, 1810, in front of Ciudad Rodrigo; the passage of the Coa; and various actions in covering the retreat from Almeida to Torres Vedras; the battle of Busaco; and in all the actions with the enemy in their retreat from Santarem to the frontiers of Spain, the Pass of Maya, the Lines of Ainhoa, the passage of the Nive and Nivelle, Cambo, Hasparen, Hallette, Garris, Sauveterre, St. Gladi, and the battle of Orthes. He was wounded (horse killed) and taken prisoner on the 14th of March, 1814, in a cavalry outpost affair at Clarac, between Aire and Pau. At the peace he was sent to America; but on the sudden return of Napoleon from Elba, he was recalled, but did not reach Europe in time for the battle of Waterloo.

— At Bath, Mary Jane, widow of the Rev. Michael Marlow, D.D., President of St. John's College, Oxford.

— At his seat, Stoke Park, near Ipswich, from an attack of the influenza, aged 61, the Hon. Merrik Lindsey Peter Burrell, brother to Lord Willoughby de Eresby. Mr. Burrell was formerly Secretary of Legation at the Court of Dresden.

2. At Wateringbury Place, Kent, of influenza, aged 86, Matthias Prime Lucas, esq., Alderman of London. Mr. Lucas was a native of London, and served his time to his father as a lighterman; for many years he toiled as hard as any member of the class to which he belonged, and through his industrial habits and success in business he realised an immense fortune. When Napoleon projected the invasion of this country, he was very active in the raising a body of "River Fencibles," of which he was appointed commodore. Being intimately connected with Tower Ward by his shipping and mercantile transactions, upon the death of Sir William Curtis, in 1821, he was unanimously elected to the vacant aldermanic gown. He served the office of sheriff in 1822, and in 1827 became lord-mayor. During the year of his mayoralty the presidency of Bartholomew's Hospital became vacant, to which he succeeded. He was also Prime Warden of the Watermen's Company, and twice Master of the Worshipful Company of Vintners.

3. At Woolwich, Colonel Thomas Peebles, R.M. Col. Peebles had seen considerable service, having been in action with Spanish gun-boats in the Gut of Gibraltar in 1799, and in recapturing the *Lady Nelson* cutter by the boats of the *Queen Charlotte*. He was at the blockade of Malta in 1800, at the capture of Admiral Perrée's squadron, and on board the *Queen Charlotte* when that ship was burnt off Leghorn on the 17th March, 1800. He debarked in command of the marines of the *Santa Theresa* and *Mutine* in a successful attack on the town of Finale, and relief of the Austrian garrison; and was at the storming of the *Prima Galley* (on the night of the 20th of May), chained to the mole-head batteries of Genoa; he was on board the *Minotaur*, at the capture of *La Paz* and *Esmeralda*, Spanish ships, under the batteries of Bar-

celona, 1801; was wounded in the *Caroline's* boats, off Ivica, in action with a French xebeck and Spanish packet, but continued to serve at the blockade of Leghorn. He was with the blockading fleets of Brest, Rochfort, and Cadiz, and was frequently engaged in boat-actions on those coasts. In 1805, when on board the *Blanche*, in the West Indies, he was severely wounded in an action with a French squadron under Commodore Baudine. He served subsequently in the West Indies, in the Archipelago, and for several years in the staff as adjutant and deputy judge-advocate, and had the gratification of receiving a reward from the Patriotic Fund.

— At Bath, aged 90, the Right Hon. Elizabeth, dowager Lady Le Despencer.

— At his residence, Southernhay, Exeter, William Granger, esq., Vice-Admiral of the Red.

— In Jamaica, Major-General Samuel Lambert, Commander of Her Majesty's Forces in that island. This officer was one of a family which affords a rare instance of British gallantry. Of five brothers, the sons of Captain Robert Lambert, R.N., but one remains; yet all have earned their country's gratitude by a series of distinguished services. The eldest, Richard Lambert, died in 1836, after having attained the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Red. The second, Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Lambert, died a few months since. The third, Captain Henry Lambert, R.N., commanded the *Java* frigate in her engagement with the *Constitution*, Dec. 1812, during which he was mortally wounded. The fifth is Commodore George Robert Lambert, late second in the naval command on the Jamaica station. The gallant deceased entered the army in 1803, and served with distinction in the campaign under Sir John Moore in 1808 9, and in the expedition to Walcheren in the latter year. He was engaged in the defence of Cadiz in 1810 and 1811, and served throughout the Peninsular campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814. He was adjutant at Corunna and Barossa, having received that commission, Feb. 21, 1811, and was appointed to act as Major of Brigade to the 1st Brigade of Foot Guards, March 10, 1814.

4. In Chesterfield-street, Mayfair, aged 90, the Hon. Frances Cooke Grimston. She was grand-aunt to the present Earl of Verulam, and last surviving child of James, 2nd Viscount Grimston.

— At Southampton, aged 79, the Lady Frances Maria Stuart, relict of Sir Simeon Stuart, bart.

— At Bonned, aged 17, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburgh.

— At Blebo, his seat in Scotland, in his 77th year, Lieut.-General Alexander Bethune. This gallant officer entered the army in 1789, and served in the 49th Regiment in the expedition to Holland. Captain Bethune there received a severe wound in the lungs at the battle of Alkmaer, from which he had only partially recovered when the regiment embarked in 1801 for the Baltic, and in the attack off Copenhagen under Lord Nelson he received a wound from a cannon-shot, which lacerated his lower jaw. On the breaking out of hostilities in 1803 he was arrested with the British subjects in the French territories under the infamous decree of Napoleon, and remained a prisoner until 1814.

5. At St. Margaret's, Isleworth, of influenza, aged 76, the Right Hon. Margaret, dowager Marchioness of Ailsa. She was the youngest daughter of John Erskine, esq., of Dun, co. Forfar.

6. In Park-square, Margaret, wife of Alderman Sir Peter Laurie.

— At the Admiralty House, Cove, in the 69th year of his age, Sir Thomas Ussher, C.B., K.C.H., Rear-Admiral of the White, and Commander-in-Chief of the Irish station. Rear-Admiral Ussher was born near Dublin, and is said to have been a descendant of the celebrated Archbishop. He entered the naval service at an early age, and served in the *Invincible*, 74 guns, under the command of Captain the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, under whom he bore part in the battles of May 29th and June 21st, 1794. In the spring of 1795, Mr. Ussher followed Captain Pakenham into *Le Juste*, in the taking of which vessel, in the war of 1794, he had borne an active part. He subsequently served under Sir Hugh C. Christian, K.B., in the *Prince George*, 98, *Glory*, second-rate, and *Thunderer*, 74. He was next appointed Acting Lieutenant of the *Minotaur*, 74, and assisted Sir J. Laforey and Sir Ralph Abercromby in the siege of St. Lucia, and was appointed Acting Lieutenant of the *Pelican* brig, in which vessel Mr. Ussher was engaged in more than twenty boat attacks, which he conducted with the utmost zeal and bravery, and in one of which he received a severe wound. He was appointed in May, 1799, third Lieut. of the frigate

Trent, under the command of Captain R. W. Otway, and on several occasions received the marked thanks of his commanding officer for his remarkable gallantry. Lieut. Ussher's next appointment, after a severe illness, consequent on the many wounds received by him, was to the *Nox* cutter. His subsequent promotions were, in Oct. 1803, to the *Joseph* cutter, and in April, 1804, to the *Colpoys* brig. After several dashing exploits with the Spaniards and French, and assisting in the taking of the town and batteries of Hea, on the coast of Spain, he was again obliged, in consequence of his wounds, to resign his command and retire from active service. On his recovery he was appointed, in Oct. 1806, to the command of the *Redwing*, of 18 guns, and in May, 1808, was promoted to post rank. He was successively appointed to the *Leyden*, 64, the *America*, 74, and to the command of a small squadron on the coast of Grenada, the *Euryalus* frigate, the *Edinburgh*, 74, and the *Undaunted*, 48. During his command of this last vessel he captured seven French frigates, and his services were of such a nature as to call forth the repeated acknowledgments of the Admiralty. It was in this same vessel, under Captain Ussher's command, that Napoleon was conveyed, after his abdication, to the Island of Elba. On the 28th of April, 1814, at seven o'clock, P.M., the ex-Emperor quitted his hotel at Frejus, accompanied by Captain Ussher, and followed by the Russian and Prussian envoys to the beach, when, surrounded by a regiment of cavalry, he alighted from his carriage, and, having embraced his friends, he took the arm of Captain Ussher and stepped into the boat of the *Undaunted*. During the short voyage to and stay at Elba, Captain Ussher won the respect and esteem of the fallen Emperor. His next appointment was to the *Duncan*, 74 guns, in which he returned to England, at the breaking up of the war establishment on the Mediterranean station. He now retired from active service, and was nominated a Companion of the Bath, in 1815. In 1831 he was appointed Commissioner of Bermuda and Halifax dockyards; and he was subsequently commodore and second in command of the fleet in the West Indies. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order in 1831. He became a Rear-Admiral of the Blue, Nov. 9, 1846; was nominated Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Station in June, 1847, and was further promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the White on the 3rd Jan., three days previous to his death. Sir Thomas Ussher married a daughter of Thomas Foster, esq., of Grove, Buckinghamshire. He was in receipt of 250*l.* a-year pension for wounds, which were of a very severe character, received early in life. He had the further pension of 150*l.* for meritorious services.

7. At Brighton, aged 36, William, youngest son of the late Granville Penn, esq., of Stoke Park, Bucks.

— At his seat, Maxwelton House, Dumfriesshire, in his 84th year, Sir Robert Laurie, the 6th Baronet (1685), K.C.B., Admiral of the White. He was born May 25, 1764, the son of Sir Robert Laurie, a general officer in the army, Knight Marshal of Scotland, and M.P. for Dumfriesshire, whom he succeeded as 6th Baronet in 1804. He entered the Royal Navy in 1780, and served as lieutenant on board the *Queen*, 98, in the action of the 1st June, 1794, and received a wound on that glorious occasion. In June, 1795, he was promoted to the rank of Commander, and appointed to the *Zephyr* sloop, stationed in the North Sea. Towards the latter end of 1796 he received orders to proceed to the Leeward Islands, and on his passage he captured *La Refléche*, a privateer of 12 guns and 67 men. In Feb. 1797 he was present at the reduction of Trinidad; and on the 17th July following he was promoted to post rank. On the 16th Feb. 1805, when in command of the *Cleopatra*, 32, he very highly distinguished himself by chasing, and bringing to action, *La Ville de Milan*, a French frigate nearly double the size and force of the *Cleopatra*; and, though vanquished in the unequal contest, the French ship was so crippled as to be incapable, six days after, of offering the slightest resistance to the *Leander*, 50, which also recaptured the *Cleopatra*. On this occasion, in testimony of the approbation of his countrymen, Sir Robert Laurie received honorary and pecuniary rewards from the Patriotic Fund. In the latter end of 1811 he was appointed to the *Ajax*, 74, and soon after ordered to the Mediterranean, where he continued until towards the end of the war. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath in 1836. Sir Robert Laurie was unmarried, and there is no successor to the Baronetcy.

9. At Sittingbourne, Kent, Helen,

daughter of the late Sir Alexander Jardine, bart., of Applegarth, co. Dumfries.

— At Hanover, in her 98th year, Miss Caroline Lucretia Herschel, sister to the late Sir William Herschel, and aunt to Sir John William Herschel, bart. She was the fourth daughter of Isaac Herschel and Anna Ilse Moritzen, his wife, and sister to the celebrated astronomer of that name, as well as the constant companion and sole assistant of his astronomical labours, to the success of which her indefatigable zeal, diligence, and singular accuracy of calculation not a little contributed. She was born in Hanover on the 16th of March, 1750; where she resided under the parental roof till her twenty-second year—when she joined her brother, then actively engaged in the musical profession at Bath, in England, a country which was destined to be her home for half a century. There, from the first commencement of his astronomical pursuits, her attendance on both his daily labours and nightly watches was put in requisition; and was found so useful that on his removal to Datchet, and subsequently to Slough,—he being then occupied with his reviews of the heavens and other researches,—she performed the whole of the arduous and important duties of his astronomical assistant, not only reading the clocks and noting down all the observations from dictation as an amanuensis, but subsequently executing the whole of the extensive and laborious numerical calculations necessary to render them available to science, as well as a multitude of others relative to the various objects of theoretical and experimental inquiry in which during his long and active career he at any time engaged. For the performance of these duties his Majesty King George III. was graciously pleased to place her in the receipt of a salary sufficient for her singularly moderate wants and retired habits. Arduous, however, as these occupations must appear,—especially when it is considered that her brother's observations were always carried on (circumstances permitting) till daybreak, without regard to season, and indeed chiefly in the winter,—they proved insufficient to exhaust her activity. In their intervals she found time both for actual astronomical observations of her own, and for the execution of more than one scientific work of great extent and utility. The observations here alluded to were made with a small Newtonian sweeper constructed for her by her brother; with which, whenever his occasional absence or any interruption to the regular course of his observations permitted, she searched the heavens for comets,—and that so effectively as on no less than eight several occasions to be rewarded by their discovery (viz. on Aug. 1, 1786; Dec. 21, 1788; Jan. 9, 1790; April 17, 1790; Dec. 15, 1791; Oct. 7, 1793; Nov. 7, 1795; and Aug. 6, 1797). On five of these occasions (recorded in the pages of the "Philosophical Transactions" of London) her claim to the first discovery is admitted. These sweeps moreover proved productive of the detection of several remarkable nebulæ and clusters of stars previously unobserved; among which may be specially mentioned the superb Nebula, No. 1, Class V., of Sir William Herschel's catalogues—an object bearing much resemblance to the celebrated nebula in Andromeda discovered by Simon Inarius—as also the Nebula V., No. 18; the 12th and 27th clusters of Class VII.; and the 45th, 65th, 72nd, 77th, and 78th of Class VIII. of those catalogues. On her brother's death, in 1822, she returned to Hanover; which she never again quitted,—passing the last twenty-six years of her life in repose, enjoying the society and cherished by the regard of her remaining relatives and friends, gratified by the occasional visits of eminent astronomers, and honoured with many marks of favour and distinction on the part of the King of Hanover, the Crown Prince, and his amiable and illustrious consort. To within a very short period of her death her health continued uninterrupted, her faculties perfect, and her memory (especially of the scenes and circumstances of former days) remarkably clear and distinct. Her end was tranquil and free from suffering—a simple cessation of life. —*Extracted from the Athenæum.*

10. Suddenly, aged 52, Edward Harrison, esq., of Berkeley-street, Berkeley-square, and Bedford-row.

— At Aske, aged 81, Dame Maria Williamson, widow of Sir Hedworth Williamson, the sixth Baronet.

11. In Priory-road, Wandsworth-road, aged 41, Mary, relict of Mr. W. R. Devey, and eldest daughter of the late T. C. Hansard, esq.

12. In Park-street, aged 18 months, Francis Alexander, twin son of Lord Robert Grosvenor.

— At Darnaway Castle, Elginshire, in his 77th year, the Right Hon. Francis Stuart, tenth Earl of Moray (1561-2),

Lord Doune, of Doune in Menteith (1581), and Lord of St. Colme (1611), in the peerage of Scotland; third Baron Stuart of Castle Stuart, in the peerage of Great Britain (1796), K.T., and Lord Lieutenant of Elginshire. His lordship was born Feb. 2, 1771, the third but eldest surviving son of Francis, the ninth Earl, by the Hon. Jane Gray, eldest daughter of John, twelfth Lord Gray. During the early part of the war with France, he raised an independent company of foot, which was disbanded in Jan. 1791. He succeeded his father in the peerage, Aug. 28, 1810. In 1827 he was nominated a Knight of the Thistle. His lordship was twice married: first, Jan. 26, 1795, to Lucy, second daughter of General John Scott, M.P., of Balcomie, co. Fife, and sister to the Duchess of Portland and the late Viscountess Canning; and, secondly, Jan. 7, 1801, to his cousin Margaret Jane, second daughter of Sir Philip Ainslie, knight, of Pilton, co. Edinburgh, by the Hon. Elizabeth Gray, who died, and had issue by both marriages.

13. Aged 80, Lieut. George Sicker, who was appointed one of the Military Knights of Windsor in Feb. 1838. He had seen much service; was adjutant of the 11th Light Dragoons at the battle of Waterloo, and accompanied Lord Macartney in his embassy to China in 1792.

— At Kenilworth, aged 82, Mrs. Parr, widow of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parr, of Hatton.

14. At Wisbeach, aged 79, Spelman Swaine, esq., a retired Rear-Admiral of Her Majesty's Navy, and Chief Bailiff of the Isle of Ely. He was the second son of Spelman Swaine, esq., of Leverington, in Cambridgeshire. He entered the naval service as midshipman, in April, 1782, and in 1791 accompanied Vancouver on board the *Endeavour*, on his voyage of discovery, as first midshipman; he was actively engaged in the arduous boat-service during that expedition on the shores of North America, where his name is recorded, as appears by the charts of that celebrated circumnavigator; and, having completed the voyage round the world, returned to England in Sept. 1795. He then served as lieutenant successively on board the *Spitfire* and *Princess Charlotte*, and having been promoted to the rank of Commander in April, 1802, was appointed to the *Raven* sloop in the following July. In that vessel he proceeded to the Mediterranean, and in Oct. 1803, led Lord Nelson's fleet in the difficult passage through the straits of Bonifaccio, but was wrecked off the coast of Sicily in 1804. In 1814 he commanded the *Statira*, in which he had again the misfortune to be wrecked, on an unknown rock off Cuba. In 1846 he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral on the retired list. On the death of Col. Watson in 1834, Admiral Swaine was appointed by the Bishop of Ely to the ancient and honourable office of Chief Bailiff of the Isle of Ely, which he held to the time of his decease.

— At his house in Great Marlborough-street, aged 45, Mr. John William Wright, Secretary to the Old Society of Water-Colour Painters. This artist was born in London in 1802. The talent to which he was indebted for his reputation he may be said to have inherited from both his parents. His father was a miniature painter of great ability; and his mother painted very beautifully in the same department of art. The elder Mr. Wright was not only an artist, but a master of some eminence, intimate with Hoppner, Lawrence, and Owen, who frequently spoke in terms of high commendation of his drawings and sketches. Young Wright displayed an early talent for the art, and was placed under the late T. Phillips, R.A. His most successful pictures were historical compositions, chiefly selected with a view to introduce the details and effects of old English costume. He was a frequent contributor to the fashionable works of the present day; and some of the best heads in Heath's "Book of Beauty" and the "Female Characters of Shakspeare" were from his pencil. On the death of Mr. Hill, secretary of the Old Water-Colour Society, he was elected to fill his place.

15. At Peckham, aged 59, Lieut. Thomas Johnson Irvine, R.N. (1813). He was midshipman of the *Superb*, at San Domingo in 1806, and served at Copenhagen 1807, in the Walcheren expedition, and commanded a gun-boat at the siege of Cadiz in 1811.

— In Cadogan-place, Elizabeth, wife of Lieut.-Col. Verner, daughter of Sir Edward May, bart., and only sister of the dowager Marchioness of Donegal.

— At Brighton, aged 63, Mary, wife of the Right Hon. George Robert Dawson, of Castle Dawson, co. Londonderry, and sister to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, bart.

— At Southwell, Notts, aged 71, Col. Francis Sherlock, K.H., late of the 4th

Royal Irish Dragoon Guards, and a Justice of the Peace for the county of Nottingham. He entered the army in Aug. 1793. In April, 1794, he landed at Ostend, and joined the army of Gen. Clairfait, and was placed in the corps under Gen. Hammerstein, in which the 8th Light Dragoons served the whole of that campaign. On the 18th May, 1794, he was engaged in the attack of the village of Bourbeque, which was cleared of the enemy, although defended by several pieces of cannon; but this advantage was dearly purchased, as of the Hessian squadron but one officer and six men returned: of the 8th Light Dragoons, two officers, Lieut.-Col. Hart and Captain Sherlock, and twelve men, the rest being destroyed, except a few prisoners. Gen. Clairfait was pleased to direct his approbation of the conduct of Captain Sherlock to be expressed in orders on the 20th of May, 1794. During the brilliant but unsuccessful exertions made to raise the siege of Ypres, the 8th Light Dragoons had daily opportunities of manifesting their zeal; and in July, having marched as the advanced guard of the Marquess of Hasting's corps from Ostend, they were engaged in a severe rencontre with the French Dragoons at Alost, on the Scheldt, in which they again suffered a considerable loss of both officers and men. In Sept. 1794, when Sir R. Abercromby endeavoured to retake the position of Boxtel, Captain Sherlock was in the advance and rear guard, and had his charger killed under him. He served the winter campaign on the Waal and Rhine, and the retreat through Holland and Westphalia. In 1795 he was with the army under Sir David Dundas in the Duchy of Bremen. From 1796 to 1803 he served with honour at the Cape, on the evacuation of which in the latter year he returned to England, with a shattered constitution.

— At Barrie, Upper Canada, Captain John Moberly, R.N. He was senior Lieutenant in the *Little Belt*, in her memorable encounter with the U.S. ship *President* in 1811.

17. In Eaton-square, aged 22, the Lady Augusta Emily Julia Fielding, second daughter of the Earl of Denbigh.

— At Powis Castle, co. Montgomery, in his 63rd year, the Right Hon. Edward Herbert, second Earl of Powis, Viscount Clive of Ludlow, Baron Powis of Powis Castle, and Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1804), and Baron Clive of Walcot, co. Salop (1794), and third Baron Clive of Plassey, co. Clare (in the peerage of Ireland); K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire; LL.D. and D.C.L.; and President of the Roxburgh Club. His lordship was born on the 22nd March, 1785, the eldest son of Edward first Earl Clive, by Lady Henrietta Antonia Herbert, fourth but only surviving daughter of Henry Arthur first Earl of Powis, sister and heir to George Edward Henry Arthur the second Earl (of the creation of 1748), on whose death in 1801 that dignity became extinct. He took the surname and arms of Herbert only by royal licence, 9 March, 1807. He was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, where the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him in 1806, and that of LL.D. in 1835. On coming of age, he entered Parliament for the borough of Ludlow at the general election in 1806, and he continued one of the members of that borough in eleven successive parliaments, until his accession to the peerage in 1839. The whole course of his political conduct was marked by attachment to the Tory or Conservative interest, in which he was always consistent; and whilst a member of the Lower House he was most regular in his attendance on the business of Parliament. He was removed to the Peers by the death of his father, May 16, 1839, soon after which he took a leading part in annulling the proposed union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. The opposition to that union was principally in his hands; and his conduct of the case did credit to his judgment and his abilities, whilst his unflinching spirit and perseverance proved a tower of strength. The object that he had in view was at length practically accomplished, and the Principality of Wales retained its former complement of bishops. His labours were not forgotten, and he continued to enjoy great popularity with the clergy; and a subscription was entered upon to raise some testimonial in gratitude for his services, which speedily reached the amount of 5000*l*. The death of the Duke of Northumberland created a vacancy in the dignified office of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and without agreement or communication two candidates were at once selected; of these one was the noble Earl just deceased, and the other no less a personage than the Consort of the Queen. The election terminated in favour of his Royal Highness, but 837 members of the Senate voted for Lord Powis. There was no discredit in a defeat under

such circumstances, and he retired from the contest unsuccessful, but not unhonoured, for a subscription was immediately set on foot to present him with a testimonial commemorative of the event, and expressive of the high esteem in which he was held by those members of the University who had recorded their votes in his favour. Earl Powis was also President of the Royal Cambrian Literary Institution, and of the Welsh School, Gray's Inn-road. His lordship married, Feb. 9, 1818, Lady Lucy Graham, third daughter of James third Duke of Montrose, and has left issue. The remains of the late Earl were interred, Jan. 29, in the parish church of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, attended by a numerous train of relatives and friends. His death caused the greatest regret in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence. It was mainly occasioned by an accidental shot in his leg from a gun, whilst enjoying the sport of pheasant shooting, in the preserves adjacent to his mansion, on Friday, the 7th of January. The noble sufferer was reported for some days afterwards as progressing favourably, but on the eighth day a change for the worse was perceptible, and mortification subsequently ensuing, terminated the useful and valuable life of this truly liberal, enlightened, and highly esteemed nobleman, whose loss to the immediate neighbourhood of his residence and the adjoining counties has been sensibly felt as a public calamity,—for it is probable that scarcely any nobleman ever received more sincere respect from all with whom he was connected and surrounded than his late lordship; living as he did in the hearts of his neighbours, having gained their affections by honest intentions, and therefore deserved and secured their gratitude for kindnesses numerous and serviceable, and by courteous manners, both by habit and principle, —at once noble, free, and condescending.

— In Halkin-terrace, Belgrave-square, aged 60, Sir Henry Carew St. John Mildmay, the 4th Baronet of Farley, co. Southampton (1772), a Deputy-Lieutenant of Essex. Sir Henry Mildmay was the representative of the families of St. John, Carew, and Mildmay, and the owner of their extensive estates. He succeeded his father Nov. 11, 1808. He married first, Aug. 7, 1809, Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Hon. Bartholomew Bouverie, (uncle to the Earl of Radnor,) who died on the 5th of August in the following year. Subsequently, in 1815, he married at Stuttgardt, by the special permission of the King of Wirtemburg, Henrietta, (late Countess of Rosebery,) the next sister of his deceased wife. Sir Henry destroyed himself in a fit of insanity. (See CHRONICLE.)

— Suddenly, aged 27, on board ship off Palermo, Anna, wife of John Church Backhouse, of Blackwell, near Darlington, and only daughter of the late Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham, near Norwich.

18. At Hom House, Much Marcle, Herefordshire, aged 72, the Rev. William Money Kyrle, M.A. of that place, Whetham, co. Wilts, and Pitsford, co. Northampton, a magistrate for the counties of Hereford and Wilts.

19. At Ewenny Abbey, Richard Turberville Turberville, esq., a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the co. of Glamorgan, and nephew to the gallant General Sir Thomas Picton.

— At Montreal, Canada, aged 79, the Hon. James Reid, late Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

— At Bradenham House, Buckinghamshire, aged 82, Isaac D'Israeli, esq., D.C.L. Mr. D'Israeli was born at Enfield, near London, in the month of May, 1766, and was the only child of Benjamin D'Israeli, a Venetian merchant, who had been for many years settled in this country. He received some instruction at a school near the place of his nativity: but a considerable portion of his boyhood was spent in Amsterdam and Leyden, where he acquired a knowledge of several modern languages, and applied himself to classical studies with some attention, but with no very extraordinary success. He afterwards made a tour in France and Italy, and came back with a valuable collection of books, and a confirmed taste for French literature. At a very early period of life Mr. D'Israeli exhibited a decided taste for literature, and was the author of many excellent, but unpretending productions, chiefly poetical, which appeared in the fugitive publications of the day; and also of some minor novels, chiefly oriental, but distinguished by a propriety of costume and accessories at that time unknown and unexpected in that species of literature. It was in another and an almost new field in which Mr. D'Israeli acquired his fame—that of literary history and criticism. This was a pursuit in which D'Israeli was eminently successful, and of which public favour

encouraged the production in a nearly continuous stream for more than forty years. In 1791 he published the first volume of his "Curiosities of Literature; consisting of Anecdotes, Characters, Sketches, and Observations, Literary, Critical, and Historical." He added a second volume in 1793, in which year he also published a new essay, entitled "A Dissertation on Anecdotes." The "Curiosities" were gradually increased to three volumes; and a Second Series was published in three volumes, 1823. They were remodelled and improved in various editions, and reached their twelfth impression in the year 1841. In 1795 Mr. D'Israeli published his "Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character;" in 1796, "Miscellanies, or Literary Recreations;" in 1812 and 1813, his "Calamities of Authors; including some inquiries respecting their Moral and Literary Characters," in two volumes; in 1814, "Quarrels of Authors; or, some Memoirs for our Literary History; including Specimens of Controversy, to the reign of Elizabeth," 3 vols. In 1816 appeared his "Inquiry into the Literary and Political Character of King James the First." On these works, and more particularly "The Curiosities of Literature," will rest Mr. D'Israeli's most enduring reputation; but for a while he derived a noisier fame from his "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I." For this production the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L., as a testimony of their respect—to use the language of their public orator—*optimi regis optimo defensori*. From this discursion into political controversy he returned with renewed zest to his literary history, and, relying on his strong constitution, united with habits of unbroken study, he was sanguine enough, at the age of threescore and ten, to entertain a hope of completing a comprehensive review of this subject, which he had laid down on a scale of six volumes; but in the year 1839 he was stricken with blindness, and, although he submitted to the operation of couching, he could obtain no relief from a calamity most grievous to an historical author. Nevertheless he soon took heart, and with the aid of his daughter, whose services he has eloquently referred to in his preface, he gave the world some notices of the earlier period of our literary history, (which he had collected for the larger work,) under the title of "Amenities of Literature." Mr. D'Israeli was a contributor to the early numbers of the "Quarterly Review." His review of Spence's Anecdotes, in 1820, and a vindication both of the moral and poetical character of Pope, produced the famous Pope controversy, in which Mr. Bowles, Lord Byron, and others took part. He also contributed many essays and letters upon current subjects to various publications; and was frequently the kind promoter of obscure literary merit. Mr. D'Israeli married, Feb. 10, 1802, Miss Basevi, sister to George Basevi, esq., of Brighton, and aunt to the late Mr. George Basevi, the architect. By this lady he has left one daughter and three sons, the eldest of whom is now member for Buckinghamshire, and is well known both in his literary and his political character.

20. At Westleigh, near Bideford, aged 88, Lieut.-General William Thomas, Governor of Tynemouth Castle and Cliff Fort. This gallant officer entered the army so far back as March, 1776. He served in the first American war, and was present at the several landings on Staten, Long, and York Islands; at the battle of the 27th of August, 1777, on Long Island; the capture of Forts Lee and Washington, and the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, at which last he received two balls in his head. He proceeded to the West Indies in 1778, and was present at the capture of St. Lucia and the battle of Vigie; served on board the *Cornwall*, in the action off Grenada, between Admiral Byron and the Comte d'Estaignes, on the 6th July, 1779; and was also on board the *Conqueror* in the action between Admiral Parker and La Motte Picquet, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, on the 19th Dec. 1779; and in the successive actions between Rear-Admiral Rowley with the Comte de Guichen, off Martinique, on the 17th of April following. He was present at the capture of Port-au-Prince on the 4th of June, 1794; and served also in Ireland during the rebellion in 1798.

— At Farnborough Hill, aged 74, Harriet, widow of Sir Charles Thomas Palmer, bart., of Wanlip Hall, Leicestershire, who died in 1827.

— At Copenhagen, in his 62nd year, His Majesty Christian Frederick VIII., King of Denmark, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenberg, Sovereign of the Order of the Elephant, &c., &c. He was proclaimed King of Norway, May 19, 1814, but abdicated that throne on

the 15th August in the same year. He succeeded to the throne of Denmark, Dec. 3, 1839, on the death of his cousin, King Frederick VI. Christian ascended the throne with a high character. He had stood up for the independence of Norway against Sweden, had granted that country a constitution, and flung himself among its people, and been elected by them their monarch. Though he submitted to the desires of the Congress of Vienna, he still had given proofs of merit and hardihood. To this the king joined marked taste for literature and the fine arts. The mixed nationality of the provinces under his rule, and the jealousies arising therefrom, caused much dissension and discontent, and no small trouble to the sovereign. These disputes the king managed with much tact and good sense, and retained the love and respect of the people to the last. One of these questions, however, which caused the king much anxiety, is of more importance, since on his death it has given rise to an European quarrel, viz., the right of succession. As the throne of Denmark passed to female heirs, and as Holstein was a male fief, the question was, how should the succession be regulated, both with respect to Schleswig and to Holstein? At length the king came forward in 1846, and by letters patent made the singularly modest declaration that Schleswig must remain indubitably attached to the Danish monarchy, but that, as to Holstein, the right of succession was doubtful. This very humble and almost unkingly concession, instead of being met with respect by the Holsteiners, excited their utmost indignation. They did not wish to have their fates separated from that of Schleswig, and their remonstrances were loud; so much so, that King Christian was disgusted with forming projects for preserving intact the present kingdom of Denmark. To this policy his successor, Frederick VII., is considered to be peculiarly attached. Christian married first, June 11, 1806, his cousin, the Princess Charlotte Frederica, daughter of Frederick Francis, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who died in 1812; secondly, May 22, 1815, the Princess Caroline Amelia, daughter of the late Duke Frederick Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg. The queen survives him. By the former marriage he had issue, his son and successor, Frederick Charles Christian, born in 1808, now Frederick VII.

— At Saumarez, the Hon. Martha Harriet Saumarez, only surviving daughter of the late Lord de Saumarez.

21. At Kensington, aged 70, the Rev. George Clark, A.M., Chaplain to the R. M. Asylum, Chelsea. Mr. Clark was born 14th September, 1777, surviving son of Joseph Clark, esq., of Northampton, by Sarah Rudsdell, and grandson of Samuel Clark, of St. Albans, D.D., the friend of Watts and Neal, and the guardian and friend of Doddridge. Mr. Clark was educated at Rugby, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated A.B., 1799. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Madan, at Peterborough, 1800. In 1801 he held the curacy of Kingsthorpe, near Northampton; and in 1804 he was appointed Chaplain to the Military Asylum then founded, which, without other preferment, he held till his death. Paternally he was the representative of a race of puritan divines bearing the Christian name of Samuel, and eminent through many generations for their writings on religious subjects, several of which bear introductions from Howe, Owen, Baxter, Watts, and Doddridge, and one of which, "Commentaries on the Bible," was edited by Whitfield. Mr. Clark also represented an elder coheir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, and sister to Elizabeth of Shrewsbury, who built Hardwick Hall and Chatsworth. Mr. Clark was well suited to his congregation. His voice was harmonious, its enunciation very distinct; his sermons were clear, concise, very practical, and very short. He confined himself to the great saving doctrines of Christianity, as best suited to the age and circumstances of his flock, and most consonant to his own feelings. He was very cheerful, a lover and maker of peace, careful in his speech, kind and charitable in his words and actions, a loyal subject, in public an eloquent speaker, in conversation often witty, and retaining to the last much of the vivacity of youth. He was a man of much prayer, living always as before God; death and heaven were always much in his contemplation, and latterly ever on his tongue. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Luke's, Chelsea, and was attended to his grave by the children and inmates of the Asylum. Mr. Clark married, 23rd Sept., 1806, Clara, only daughter of Thomas Dicey, of Claybrook Hall, in the county of Leicester, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

— At Weymouth, Elizabeth Lucretia,

wife of Sir W. L. George Thomas, bart. She was the daughter of Richard Welch, esq., and had issue three sons and three daughters.

— At Coleshill, Warwickshire, aged 72, the Rev. William Digby, Canon of Worcester, Vicar of Coleshill, and Perpetual Curate of Offenham.

— In Pall Mall, aged 83, General John Vincent, Colonel of the 69th Regiment. This officer served in the West Indies, and was at the taking of St. Domingo. On his way home he was captured by a French frigate, and detained a prisoner about a year. He served in the expedition to the Helder, and subsequently in the expedition to Copenhagen under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker; after which he went to Canada, and served there for several years.

— At Ibstock, Leicestershire, aged 78, the Rev. Charles Goddard, D.D., Sub-Dean of Lincoln, and Rector of Ibstock. Dr. Goddard was a protégé of the family of Grenville, and commenced life as a clerk in one of the offices of Government. The office of Collector and Transmitter of State Papers in the Secretary of State's office for the Foreign Department was conferred upon him by patent, with a salary of 500*l.*, and he afterwards received a further pension of 850*l.* per annum. Having taken holy orders, he was collated to the prebend of Luda or Louth, in the cathedral church of Lincoln, by Bishop Pretyman in 1814, and appointed Archdeacon of Lincoln by the same prelate in 1817.

22. In Keppell-street, Middlesex, aged 51, the Rev. John Henry Hume, Vicar of Hillmorton and of Figheldean, Wiltshire. He was grandson of the Right Rev. John Hume, Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

— At Brisbane House, Ayrshire, Captain John William Douglas Brisbane, R.N., only surviving son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Brisbane, K.C.B.

24. At Freemantle Park, near Southampton, aged 86, Dame Julia Hewett, relict of the Right Hon. Gen. Sir George Hewett, bart., G.C.B.

— At Mamhead, Devonshire, aged 71, Sir Robert William Newman, bart., a deputy-lieutenant of that county, and formerly M.P. for Exeter. He was the eldest son of Thomas Newman, esq., of Dartmouth, by a daughter of John Page, esq., of London. He was first returned to Parliament at the general election of 1812 as one of the members for Bletchingley. At that of 1818 he was returned for the city of Exeter, and again in 1820. At the general election of 1826, Mr. Newman retired from the representation of Exeter; and in 1827 he served the office of high sheriff of the county of Devon. In 1836 he was created a baronet. He married Sept. 21, 1813, Mary Jane, third daughter of Richard Denne, esq., of Winchilsea.

— At Brighton, Mr. Thomas Welsh, the eminent composer and vocal teacher. He was a native of the city of Wells, where at the age of six he was a chorister in the cathedral, to which his excellent singing attracted the lovers of music from Bath, Bristol, Bridgewater, and still more distant towns. The reputation of so young a singer soon reached the ears of Mr. Sheridan, who sent to Wells and engaged the lad for the oratorios, then conducted by Linley, at the Opera-house in the Haymarket. On his first performance the boy founded a reputation, which, until that period, it had never been the fate of any child to enjoy; and an engagement followed for the stage, during which he performed in many operas. Through the liberal feelings of Mr. Kemble, who bestowed great pains on him, he was also brought into notice as an actor. The works produced by Welsh, when about twenty-three years of age, were the farces of "The Green-eyed Monster," and "Twenty Years ago," at the Lyceum Theatre, and a full opera at Covent-garden entitled "Kamskatka," which, although not successful as a drama, gave the composer of the music great scope, and placed Welsh high in his profession, for taste and song-writing, and ability in the arrangement of the orchestra. He was afterwards chiefly engaged in the education of pupils for the stage. He brought forward the following eminent vocalists:—Miss Stephens, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. C. Horn, Miss Merry, Miss Wilson (whom he married), and Miss Shirreff. He composed several dramatic pieces, songs, glees, &c.

25. Aged 34, Sir George King Adlercron Molyneux, the sixth bart. of Castle Dillon, co. Armagh (1730).

27. At Herne Bay, Frances Isabella, youngest surviving daughter of the late Sir S. Egerton Brydges, bart., of Denton Court, near Canterbury.

— At Tonbridge Wells, in his 85th year, General Frederick Maitland, Colonel of the 58th Regiment. He was born 3rd Sept. 1763, and was the youngest son of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Maitland,

bart., by Penelope, daughter of Colonel Martin Madan, who was grand-niece of Lord Chancellor Cowper—cousin to the poet, and sister of the eminent Dr. Madan, Bishop of Peterborough. Of his brothers, the eldest, Sir Alexander Gibson, survived him but a few days (see Feb. 7). The second, Augustus, was killed while in command of the first battalion of Foot Guards, at Egmont-op-Zee, in 1799. And the third, William, a midshipman, was drowned in attempting to save the lives of two ladies in the wreck of the *Dartmouth* East Indiaman in the Bay of Bengal in 1781. This veteran officer entered the army in the 14th Regiment in 1779, and first served as a marine on board H.M. ship *Union*, belonging to the Channel fleet, and at the siege of Gibraltar in 1781. He served during the earlier part of the war in various parts of Europe, and then was ordered to the West Indies, where he was engaged in the capture of the several colonies in 1793-94 and 95, and was on the staff of the Quartermaster-General under General Cuyler. He was sent home with despatches after the capture of Tobago, and got the brevet rank of Major. He was also aide-de-camp to General Sir Charles Grey (grandfather to the present Earl Grey), with whom he was also at the relief of Nieuport, on the coast of Holland, in 1793. He was engaged in two naval actions; first, in 1793, on board H.M. sloop *Fairy*, 18 guns, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Laforey, with a French 32-gun frigate, which was beaten off and escaped after a chase, in which action Captain Maitland commanded the Marines; and, secondly, in 1797, on board H.M. ship *Arethusa*, Captain Woolley, with a French corvette, *La Gaiété*, 18 guns, which was taken; in which action Colonel Maitland commanded the cabin guns. In 1796, he was appointed Secretary to Gen. Sir Ralph Abercromby, and returned with him to the West Indies, and he was his confidential secretary until 1800, being with him at the capture of the French, Dutch, and Danish West India islands in 1796 and 1797; also in Ireland during the Rebellion in 1798, in Scotland, and with the expedition to the Helder in 1799. In 1800, having attained the rank of Colonel, he returned to the West Indies as Quartermaster-General; was appointed Brigadier-General, and Commandant at Fort Royal. In 1801 he commanded a brigade at the capture of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Martin, and Santa Cruz, under Sir Thomas Trigge, with whom also he was second in command at the taking of Surinam in 1804. In 1805 he was appointed Governor of Grenada, by the express command of his Majesty George III. to Lord Camden, and Major-General on the Staff, which government he held until 1811. In 1807 he was second in command under Lieut.-Gen. Bowyer at the second capture of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which had been restored at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and received the surrender of St. Thomas from the same Dutch governor, Van Schogen, on the same spot he had met him on the same errand six years previously, in 1801. In 1809 he commanded under General Beckwith a division at the capture of Martinique, for which he received a gold medal and the thanks of Parliament; he also commanded an expedition against the Saintes, which were taken immediately after. In 1811 he was appointed second in command of the army in Sicily under Lord William Bentinck. In 1812 he was sent in command of 6550 men, half foreigners, detached from the Anglo-Sicilian army, to make a diversion in favour of the Duke of Wellington on the eastern coast of Spain, where Marshal Suchet held the fortresses of Barcelona, Tarragona, Figueras, Valencia, Gerona, and a disposable force of 28,000 men; he landed at Alicant, but under the arduousness of the task his health, impaired by a long West Indian service, failed him, and he returned to England. He was then granted the Lieut.-Governorship of Dominica by the King, as an express reward for his services. In 1810 he was appointed Colonel of the Ceylon Rifles, and in 1833 was removed to the 58th Regiment. He attained the full rank of General in May 1825. General Maitland's civil services were of a very high class. His excellent administration of the governments committed to his charge entitle him to be ranked very high among the civil servants of the Crown. His attention to the details of the military service have entitled him to be called the soldiers' friend. His private character was most exemplary; he was upright, just, and disinterested. He married in Barbadoes, in November 1790, Catharine, daughter of John Prettijohn, esq., of that island.

— Aged 82, Mr. Arthur Biggs, F.L.S., late and for many years curator of the Botanic Garden of Cambridge.

28. At Herbier House, Penzance, aged

24, Miss Bruen, daughter of Col. H. Bruen, M.P. for co. Carlow.

29. At Edinburgh, Pringle Stoddart, esq., Rear-Admiral of the White. This veteran sailor commenced his career in 1782, in the service of the East India Company, and entered the Royal Navy in 1783, on board the *Exeter*, 64, forming one of the squadron under Sir E. Hughes, on the Indian station. In this ship he was present in the action with the French fleet off Cuddalore, and returned home in the *Africa*, 64. Having served until 1786 in the *Venus* frigate, on that ship being paid off, he entered the Russian navy as a Lieutenant, and bore a part in the several battles which took place during the war between Catharine and Gustavus. In 1791, when a rupture took place between Russia and this country, Mr. Stoddart was received on board the *Formidable* as a midshipman, and subsequently returned to the East India Company's service as a mate, in which situation he remained until 1793, when he again joined the Royal Navy, and after serving in the *Andromache*, *Valiant*, and *Queen Charlotte*, until 1796, he was made Lieutenant in March that year, and appointed to the *Trident*, 64. In that rank he served in several ships with much credit and distinction, particularly in the *Kent*, 74, where he obtained the unequivocal praise of Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir Sidney Smith, for his zealous and gallant conduct in the battles of the 8th, 13th, and 24th of March, when he was attached to the seamen's division serving on shore; and he was subsequently honoured with a gold medal from the Turkish Government. In Jan. 1806 he was made Commander, and appointed to the *Cruiser*, in which vessel he captured two privateers; and, being attached to Lord Gambier's fleet during the siege of Copenhagen, and stationed with the flotilla in-shore, he was several times warmly engaged. He was made post, Oct. 13, 1807; and, being appointed to the *Pallas* frigate for a short time on the coast of Norway, he there captured two Danish privateers. He was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral Nov. 23, 1841.

— Colonel William Sorell, late Governor of Van Diemen's Land. Colonel Sorell was the eldest son of Lieut.-Gen. William Alexander Sorell, of the Coldstream Guards, and Colonel of the 48th Regiment. He entered the army August 18, 1790, and proceeded on service to the West Indies, in 1793, and in that and subsequent years served in the army, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, at the captures of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, the siege of Fort Bourbon, the night attack on the Vigie, and the assault of Morne Fortunée, where he was severely wounded. In 1797 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Pulteney. He served in the expedition to North Holland, in 1799, and was present at the action of August 27, on the landing near the Helder, as also those of Sept. 10 and Oct. 2 and 6 of the same year. As military secretary, he accompanied the army to Ferrol and the coast of Spain in 1800. Having returned to England, he continued to serve with the army on the south coast until appointed Major in the 43rd Regiment, Aug. 11, 1804; the 2nd battalion of which he commanded during the organisation and training of the light brigade under Sir John Moore. On the 17th April, 1807, he was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, and appointed Deputy Adjutant-General at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1816 Colonel Sorell proceeded to Van Diemen's Land as Governor, and during the period of years in which he conducted the affairs of that rising colony he secured the full approbation of the Government at home.

30. At Malta, Harriet, wife of Rear-Admiral Christian.

31. In Portman-square, aged 66, the Right Hon. Louisa Harcourt, Countess of Beverley.

— At Bayswater, Margaret, relict of the Right Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ely.

— Lieut.-General Sir John Maclean, K.C.B., K.T.S., and K.C., Colonel of the 27th Foot. Sir John Maclean was a younger son of a Highland family. He entered the army in 1794, and on the following day was promoted to a Lieutenancy in the 100th or Gordon Highlanders, now the 92nd Regiment, with which he served at Gibraltar and Corsica. In June 1797, he was promoted to the rank of Captain, and served for one year during the rebellion in Ireland. He went with his regiment to Holland in 1799, and was present at the battle of the 27th August, the taking of the Helder, and the actions of the 10th and 19th Sept., and 2nd Oct., near Alkmaar, where he was severely wounded in two places. In May 1800, he joined Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to the Mediterranean; and in March 1801 he was placed on the Quartermaster's staff for the expedition to Egypt. He was

present at the landing at Aboukir Bay, 8th March; at the battle of Alexandria, 21st March; and at every action which took place in Egypt during that campaign. His services were acknowledged by his receiving the order of the Crescent, although then a very young officer. For some years he was employed on the staff, and was on the Quartermaster-General's staff in the expedition to Sweden under Sir John Moore. In Aug. 1808 he took the command of the 3rd battalion of the 27th Regiment in Ireland, and embarked with it for the Peninsula; and, although a young battalion, being chiefly composed of recruits, his unremitting attention to the discipline and interior arrangements soon made his corps not inferior to any in the army. He was present at the battle of Busaco, in Sept. 1810; in the action near Redinha on the 12th March, 1811; at the siege of Olivenca in April, and at the siege of Badajos in May, where he was severely wounded; in the action near Canizal, on the 18th July, 1812, when his battalion, with the 40th Regiment, attacked a column of the enemy double their number, and put it to flight; he was also present at the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and near Pampeluna, on the 26th July, 1813, where he was again wounded, when covering the retreat of the 4th division, from Roncesvalles, in the Pyrenees. He was present at the battles of the Nivelle, Bayonne, Orthes, and at Toulouse, on the 10th April, 1814, where he received a fifth and severe wound; he had also one horse killed under him, and another wounded, at this battle. On the 4th June, 1814, he received the brevet of Colonel; in 1815, on the extension of the Order of the Bath, he was appointed a Knight Commander; and he subsequently received the Order of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. He had also the honour of wearing a cross and two clasps for the battles of the Peninsula. On the return of Napoleon he was ordered to join the Duke of Wellington's army, and remained in France with the corps until Feb. 1816, when it was sent home to be disembodied. Sir John Maclean married, Jan. 26, 1819, Sarah, only child of Benjamin Price, esq., of Highgate, co. Middlesex, and had issue an only son, who died in infancy.

FEBRUARY.

1. At Hurdsfield House, Macclesfield, aged 50, Mary, wife of John Brocklehurst, esq., M.P.

— At Naples, the Right Hon. Beaujeaulois Harriet Charlotte, Countess of Charleville. She was third daughter of Lady Charlotte Bury, by her first marriage with the late Colonel John Campbell, was sister of Lady Arthur Lennox and Mrs. Langford Brook, and cousin of the Duke of Argyll.

2. At Brighton, Colonel Gustavus Rochfort.

— At Palermo, William Archibald Home, youngest son of the late Sir Everard Home, bart.

3. In Regent-street, in his 62nd year, Major-General Carlo Joseph Doyle. He entered the Coldstream Guards as an Ensign in July 1803, and accompanied the expedition under Lord Cathcart to Hanover and Bremen. In 1808 he was appointed a Military Commissioner to the Guerillas in the North of Spain, and attached to Gen. Leith's mission. He served with the Marquis de la Romana's army; was appointed corresponding officer from the Spanish head-quarters, by Sir John Moore; was cut off while on a reconnoissance, but joined the British army during the action at Corunna. Having returned to England in 1809, he joined the 87th regiment in Portugal, where he was appointed Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster-General, and attached to the advance. He assisted in the affairs of the 10th and 11th May, the passage of the Douro, taking of Oporto, the battle of Talavera, &c. In 1810 he served with Gen. Fane's cavalry division in Beira-baxa, and afterwards in covering the retreat of Gen. Hill's corps to the lines near Lisbon, and was engaged in the cavalry affair at Campo Maior. In 1811, he was engaged on the 4th and 5th May at Fuentes d'Onor, and accompanied Lieut.-Gen. Sir Brent Spencer's column to Elvas. In January 1812, he was promoted to the rank of Major, and ordered to assume the command of the 4th garrison battalion at Guernsey. In 1813 he was appointed Military Secretary to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, where, in 1814 and 1815, he served in the field in the Western Provinces; and in 1817 and 1818, with the grand army during the Pindaree and Mahratta War.

4. At the house of her uncle, Rear-Admiral Beaufort, aged 48, Frances Maria, wife of Lestock Peach Wilson, esq., and daughter of the late Richard Lovell Edgeworth, esq., of Edgeworthstown, Ireland.

6. At Tofts, Essex, in his 86th year, Major-General William Goodday Strutt, Governor of Quebec. This veteran officer was uncle to Lord Rayleigh, being the third son of John Strutt, esq., of Terling, Essex, formerly M.P. for Maldon. He served at the defence of St. Lucie. In 1782 he served at the siege of Gibraltar. Having succeeded to a Lieut.-Colonelcy in the 54th, he proceeded with the army of Lord Moira to Flanders, where he commanded a brigade, and on the attack of the French army, near Tiel, in 1794, bore a distinguished part, nobly maintaining his post, and again and again repulsing his assailants, till he received orders to evacuate the town, which he did without loss, and joined the army at Rhenen. Colonel Strutt performed good service on the retreat of the army into Westphalia; and he was appointed to the command of the outpost at Northove, where he was assailed by the enemy five times his number; and, being deserted by an entire foreign regiment, the outposts were driven in, but were soon re-occupied. On the infantry returning to England, Colonel Strutt and the 54th were sent to St. Vincent's, where he obtained the rank of Brigadier-General. Here he greatly annoyed the enemy, by whom part of the island was occupied; and in January 1796 he attacked, with his regiment, a force of 1200 with scarcely 200 men, and was himself wounded in three places, being afterwards carried twenty miles before amputation of his right leg could be performed. On his return to England, in the following May, he was received with much favour by the Sovereign, and was appointed Deputy-Governor of Stirling Castle. Afterwards he was employed upon the staff in Ireland; and, in 1800, having been raised to the rank of Major-General in 1798, he was appointed Governor of Quebec. After serving his country thus honourably, he eventually retired, suffering much from the effects of wounds and active service, and has descended to the grave "full of age and honours."

7. At Homestead, Lymington, aged 68, Lieut.-Col. Joseph D'Arcy, late of the Royal Art., K. L. S. In 1818 he received permission to accept the second class of the order of the Lion and Sun, conferred for his conduct when in the actual service of the Shah of Persia.

— At Edinburgh, in his 93rd year, Sir Alexander Charles Maitland Gibson, the second bart., of Clifton Hall, in the county of Edinburgh, and Kersie, in Stirlingshire (1818), an ordinary Director and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of Scotland. He was the second but eldest surviving son of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Maitland, bart., and was a Captain in his father's regiment, the 49th Foot, and served in America at the battles of Bunker's Hill, 17th June, 1775; Long Island, 27th August, 1776; and Brandywine, 11th September, 1777; but retired from the army in 1786.

9. At Huntingfield, Suffolk, in his 90th year, the Rev. Henry Uhthoff, Rector of Huntingfield with Cookley, and of Aldham, in the same county.

— At Mitcham, aged 68, Mary, relict of Edward Walmsley, esq.

10. At Avisford, near Arundel, Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Reynell, the 6th bart. of the kingdom of Ireland, 1678, K. C. B. and K. C. H., Colonel of the 71st Regiment Highland Light Infantry. He was the third son of Thomas Reynell, esq., an officer in the army, killed at Saratoga in the American War. He served in the campaign in Flanders, and in the retreat from Holland to the Weser. In 1796 he was present, with his regiment, at the capture of Friesland, and next year was promoted to a company in the 2nd West India Regiment, which he joined at Granada. In 1798 he was appointed Adjutant-General to the forces in St. Domingo, where he remained until it was evacuated by the British troops. In 1799 he served with the 40th Regiment in North Holland, Minorca, Malta, and Egypt. He subsequently served as aide-de-camp to Sir John Cradock and to the Marquess Cornwallis, in India, and was with the latter at the time of his death, at Ghazepore. He was afterwards appointed Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and Deputy Quartermaster-General to the king's troops in India, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the army. With the 71st Regiment he served in Portugal, and was present at the action of Sobrale. During Massena's retreat, he was Assistant Adjutant-General to the 4th division, under Sir Lowry Cole. In 1811 he accompanied Lieut.-General Sir John Cradock, as Military Secretary, to the Cape of Good Hope. He commanded the 71st Regiment, and was wounded at

Waterloo; he afterwards succeeded to the command of the light brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 2nd battalion 95th, and entered Paris with it. He succeeded as 6th baronet, upon the decease of his brother, Sir Richard Littleton Reynell, Sept. 4, 1829. Sir Thomas—in addition to the Commandership of the Bath, to which he was raised Dec. 26, 1826, for his services in command of a division at the siege of Bhurtpore, as well as honoured with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament—was decorated with the insignia of a knight of the Austrian military order of Maria Theresa, and of the 4th class of the Russian order of St. George, conferred upon him immediately after the battle of Waterloo. He also wore the Turkish medal for his services in the Egyptian campaign of 1801. Sir Thomas Reynell married, Feb. 12, 1831, Lady Elizabeth Pack, daughter of George, 1st Marquess of Waterford, and widow of Major-Gen. Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B.

11. At Lambeth Palace, within one day of completing his 83rd year, the Most Rev. William Howley, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, a Privy Councillor and Lord of Trade and Plantations, a Commissioner for Building Churches, an Official Trustee of the British Museum, a Governor of the Charter House, and Visitor of All Souls', Baliol, and Merton Colleges, Oxford, and of King's College, London, F.R.S. and F.S.A. Dr. Howley was born at Ropley, near Alresford, in Hampshire, on the 12th February, 1765, and was the only son of the Rev. William Howley, D.D., Vicar of Bishop's Sutton and Ropley. He was educated at Winchester School. In 1783 he proceeded as a scholar to New College, Oxford, where, in 1785, he was elected Fellow. He graduated as B.A. in 1787, and M.A. in 1791. In 1794 he was elected a Fellow of Winchester College; and in 1804 he was appointed a Canon of Christ Church. In 1805 he proceeded to the degrees of B. and D.D. In 1809 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, on the promotion of Dr. Hall to the deanery of Christ Church. Dr. Howley was tutor at Oxford to the Prince of Orange, now King of Holland, and to the present Marquess of Abercorn. In 1813 he was nominated Bishop of London, and consecrated at Lambeth Palace on the 10th of October. Fifteen years of successful administration in the see of London having attested at once the prudence and piety, the mild firmness and regulated energy, of Bishop Howley, on the death of Archbishop Manners Sutton he was translated to the primacy, in the year 1828. The Duke of Wellington was then prime minister, and the independence of political considerations with which the Archbishop had received his promotion was fully proved by the part which he shortly after took against the grand measure of that administration, the concession of the claims of the Roman Catholics. When the second reading of the Relief Bill of 1829 was proposed in the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury moved the amendment that it should be read a second time that day six months. Archbishop Howley considered, in 1829, and again in 1831, that the Church and Constitution were in imminent danger, and he struggled first against emancipation, and secondly against parliamentary reform. Though he never remained silent in the House of Peers when it really formed any part of his duty to make known his sentiments, yet he was neither a frequent nor an effective speaker; but he uniformly brought to bear upon every debate in which he took part a competent acquaintance with the subject under discussion, an impartial spirit, and a flow of genuine good feeling, which rarely failed to make an impression on his auditory. Neither in the House of Lords nor elsewhere, however, was it considered that the art of speech-making could be reckoned among his accomplishments; yet his sermons and charges often surprised those who too hastily judged of his talents from the extempore addresses which he occasionally delivered. Residing in the vicinity of the Court since the year 1813, a man of his character necessarily acquired considerable influence with the Royal Family. That they should have often consulted him, and that many members of that illustrious house who have quitted this world during the last 40 years should have sought from him counsel and consolation in their dying moments, form incidents in his life well known to the public. But the offices which he administered to the sovereign, and the immediate relatives of the monarch, were not confined to death-bed scenes; he assisted at all those marriages of the royal family which followed close upon the death of the Princess Charlotte, the baptisms of the several issue of those unions, the funeral of George III., and the coronation as well as the funeral of George IV.,

a monarch into whose good opinion he had ingratiated himself as successfully as into that of his father. But, though a man of remarkably mild and unassuming manners, he was by no means deficient in moral courage, nor likely to be deterred by courtiers from discharging a duty due to his Sovereign, or to the Church of which that Sovereign is the head; and this duty he is said to have performed, upon some occasions, with firmness and success. The late Archbishop was a most excellent Greek and Latin scholar. His chaplain, the late Mr. Hugh Rose, used to say he was the best scholar he had ever met with; and the judgment of Mr. Rose on such points as these is not to be disputed. It has been mentioned that Dr. Howley was tutor to Lord Abercorn. It was at Stanmore Priory that the late Hon. Mr. Spencer met Dr., then the Rev. Mr. Howley, a man whose society was delightful to him, and of whose abilities he always spoke with singular admiration, as being such as would enable him to excel in any line in which they had been directed. His position at Stanmore he thus describes:—"When Howley first came there, his shy and reserved manner prevented his extraordinary merits from being fully appreciated; but, when I went there soon after, I found all the women in love with him, and all the men envious of him." He sometimes expressed his surprise that Howley through life had remained satisfied with enjoying the highest reputation for scholarship, without having been tempted to come before the public as an author; and he said that, knowing as he did his extraordinary abilities, and that whatever he undertook he did excellently well, he could only account for this by supposing that the very consciousness of possessing vast powers of mind disposed him to judge his own performances with too much severity ever to feel satisfied with them. The latter years of the deceased prelate were not much distinguished from the general tenor of his life. Even within a year of his decease he appeared in public almost as frequently as usual, though, of course, he gradually ceased to preach, and very rarely, during the last four or five years, addressed the House of Lords. At length the infirmities attendant upon extreme old age became every day more apparent; a severe attack of the prevailing epidemic shattered his enfeebled constitution. His malady, however, yielded to careful and able medical treatment, and he once more ventured to take carriage exercise; but the remnant of his strength seemed to have quite departed, and, after a short time, he sank into a condition of irrecoverable debility. The remains of the late Lord Primate were interred on the 19th of February, in a vault of the parish church of Addington, near Croydon.

12. In Russell-square, Amelia, wife of William Tooke, esq., F.R.S., formerly M.P. for Truro.

14. At his residence, Angley, Cranbrook, Kent, in his 65th year, the Hon. James William King, Rear-Admiral of the Red, uncle to the Earl of Kingston, and younger brother to Lord Viscount Lorton. He was the seventh son of Robert, second Earl of Kingston, by Caroline, only daughter of Richard Fitz-Gerald, esq., of Mount Ophaly, co. Kildare. He entered the navy in 1797, and passed the earlier part of his professional life in active service. He commanded the *Jason*, 32, which had the honour of bearing the flag of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, on escorting Louis XVIII. to France in April 1814. He subsequently conveyed the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Duchess of Oldenburg to Calais, on their return from England; conveyed Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to Cuxhaven; attended the Prince Regent off Brighton; and was otherwise employed in the Channel and on the Cork station. The Admiral married, Nov. 28, 1815, Caroline, second daughter of the most Rev. Euseby Cleaver, Lord Archbishop of Dublin.

14. At Bromley, Henrietta Emily, youngest daughter of the Right Rev. Dr. O'Beirne, late Lord Bishop of Meath.

15. At Paris, Harriet, widow of William Ogle Wallace, esq, of Cawsey Park, Northumberland.

16. At Hastings, in her 88th year, the widow of the Rev. William Beloe, B.D., Rector of Allhallows, London Wall, Prebendary of Pancras in St. Paul's Cathedral and of Lincoln.

— At Leamington, aged 73, Mary, relict of Sacheverell Chandos Pole, esq., of Radborne, Derbyshire.

17. In Brooke-street, Holborn, aged 71, Mr. John Johnson, printer, author of the "Typographia, or the Printer's Instructor; including an Account of the Origin of Printing, with Biographical Notices of the Printers of England, from Caxton to the close of the Sixteenth Century."

19. At Swaffham House, Cambridgeshire, in his 63rd year, John Peter Alix,

esq., a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate, and late M.P. for that county.

20. At Plymouth, aged 86, Peregrine Daniel Fellowes, esq., late Major commanding the 1st Veteran Battalion. He was a lieutenant at, and supposed to be the last survivor of the gallant band who defended Minorca in 1782.

21. At Hammersmith, aged 79, Henry John Hinchliffe, esq., eldest son of the late Bishop Hinchliffe.

— At his residence in Montague-square, aged 75, Robert Coates, esq., formerly of Antigua, who some thirty years ago was well known as "the amateur of fashion," and a great star as an actor, in his own opinion, and generally known as "Romeo Coates," that being one of the favourite parts he acted. He was a West Indian by birth, and was at one time possessed of considerable property. His dress and his equipage were always extraordinary, both in his hey-day in London, and afterwards at Boulogne. His carriage was like a large kettle-drum, and across the bar of his curricle was a large brazen cock, his motto being, "Whilst I live I crow." It appeared, upon the Coroner's inquest, that the deceased was knocked down and run over by a cab, on his return from Drury-lane Theatre, which was the cause of his death; and the jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against some person or persons unknown."

22. In Buckland-court, aged 77, Judith Ann, widow of John Pollexfen Bastard, esq., of Kitley, many years M.P. for Devon.

— At Gotha, in her 77th year, her Serene Highness the dowager Duchess of Saxe Gotha and Altenburg, the maternal grandmother of his Royal Highness Prince Albert. Her Royal Highness was sister of the late Elector of Hesse, and grandchild of the sister of George II.

23. At his residence, Clarges-street, aged 56, the Right Hon. Lord Granville Charles Henry Somerset, a Privy Councillor, and M.P. for Monmouthshire, next brother to the Duke of Beaufort. He was born on the 27th December, 1792, the second son of Henry Charles, 6th Duke of Beaufort, K.G., by Lady Charlotte Sophia Leveson Gower, 5th daughter of Granville, first Marquess of Stafford. In 1818, on the interest of his father, he was returned for the county of Monmouth, which he continued to represent up to his death. Almost from the moment of his first entry into Parliament, Lord Granville was an active politician. In March 1819, he was appointed by the Earl of Liverpool, then Premier, a Lord of the Treasury, and subsequently filled other offices, always acting with the Conservative party. During the brief Conservative administration of 1834-35 he filled the office of Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and on the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power, in 1841, he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, an office which he filled up to the accession of the present Government to office. On Sir Robert Peel proposing the repeal of the corn laws, in 1846, Lord Granville dissented from the Right Hon. Baronet, but subsequently adopted his views, and voted for the abolition bill. Lord Granville married, in 1822, the Hon. Emily Smith, tenth daughter of the late, and sister to the present, Lord Carrington. By this lady he had issue.

— In Eaton-square, in her 31st year, Augusta Anne, wife of Sir John Pakington, bart., M.P., daughter of the Bishop of Rochester and Lady Sarah Murray.

— At Deer Park, near Honiton, Catherine Stewarta, daughter of William Meade Smythe, esq., and niece to the Earl of Wicklow.

— At Anglesea, aged 72, Lieut.-Gen. Montagu Burrows.

— At Washington, in his 82nd year, John Quincy Adams, formerly President of the United States of America. Mr. Adams was the son of John Adams, the first Vice-President and second President of the United States, one who was described, in the words of Jefferson, as "the colossus of Congress, the pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and defender." The son, cradled in the revolution, at nine years of age heard the Declaration of Independence first read from the Old State House in Boston, and imbibed all its principles. In February 1778, he embarked in the small frigate *Boston*, with his father, then appointed commissioner to France. John Q. Adams embraced the opportunities of a good education presented by his father's residence in Europe. He went to St. Petersburg, when only 14 years of age, as private secretary to the then American minister there, and, after remaining abroad some years, he returned home, entered Harvard University, and graduated with honour in 1787, after which he became a law student with the distinguished Theophilus Parsons, of Newburyport, afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts. Having com-

menced the practice of the law in Boston, he wrote several papers in the *Boston Centinel*, under the signature of "Publicola," vindicating the course of Washington and the proclamation of neutrality. In 1794 he was appointed by Washington minister of the United States at the Hague, and in 1796 he went in the same capacity to Berlin. In 1801, at the defeat of his father and the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, he resigned his office as minister in Prussia, though urged by Mr. Jefferson to retain his post. But a sensitive delicacy would not suffer it. He again returned to Boston, and resumed his profession. He was soon, however, elected to the senate of Massachusetts, and in 1806 became Boylston professor of rhetoric and oratory in the Harvard University at Cambridge, where he was very popular. He also, for five years, represented Massachusetts in the United States' Senate, giving a conscientious support to some of the measures of Mr. Jefferson, although the successful opponent of his father. The legislature of his State having thought fit to pass resolutions implying a disapprobation of his course, with the same instinctive delicacy with which he had resigned his mission to Berlin, he relinquished his seat in the United States' Senate. In 1809, however, he was summoned by President Madison to represent the nation at the Court of St. Petersburg, where he obtained the utmost distinction and influence, from which resulted the intervention of Russia and the commission to Ghent, of which he was the head, and which terminated in the treaty of peace with Great Britain. After the peace, he was appointed ambassador to the Court of St. James's; and from the duties of this mission he was recalled to act as secretary of state, which office he held during the whole administration of Mr. Munroe. Whilst in Russia, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, but he declined the post.

In 1825 the House of Representatives of the United States, on the failure of an election by the people, chose Mr. Adams President of the United States. His administration of the Presidency is agreed to have been a perfect illustration of the principles of the constitution, and of a republic purely and faithfully governed. If Mr. Adams had been less a patriot and more a partisan, he would have been re-elected for a second term; but on that score he was uncompromising and inflexible. To a person representing to him that prominent officers of the federal government were using the influence of their stations *against* him, he replied, "I only ask, Are they faithful officers? If they do their duty to their country, and fulfil the obligations of their office, I seek to inquire no further—and, *if I cannot conduct my administration on these principles, I am content to go back to Quincy.*" He *did* go back to Quincy, and with a conscience void of offence — with patriotism unsullied by corruption—and the people have since had *partisans* for their Presidents. After again returning to private life, he was elected for eight or nine successive terms as representative in Congress for his district, taking his seat in 1831, only two years after he left the presidential chair. But for his independence and want of subserviency, the Senate of the United States would have been again honoured by his presence, and the State of Massachusetts would have enrolled his name on the list of her Governors. "Mr. Adams sinks behind the horizon of life with all eyes turned towards his setting. What a glorious reputation does he leave behind him! Among all the men in Washington, of whatever shade of opinion, not one is to be found who will refuse to accord to him entire purity of character and perfect integrity of purpose. He is universally believed to have performed every public act of his long life with a conscientious regard to his convictions of duty, unswerved by public clamour and unswayed by party zeal. His private life is free from every taint of suspicion. No excesses of youth, no vices of manhood, no frailties of age, are even imputed to him. He has passed every ordeal, and comes out at the last unsuspected of any act inconsistent with the character of an honest and conscientious man. And not only is Mr. Adams regarded as one of the purest, but as the most learned and the ablest, of modern statesmen. He is considered as great as he is pure." His habits were pure, simple, and unostentatious, even to awkwardness. He always arose before day, and, when in health, made his own fire. He used great exercise, and was peculiarly fond of bathing and swimming. No one ever was more industrious, or sacrificed less of his time. His knowledge was most comprehensive, his memory tenacious, his elocution forcible and finished; and, under a cold exterior, his nature was so earnest as to lend the greatest animation to his

reasoning, and, at times, almost fierceness to his invective. Mr. Adams married, in England, in 1797, the daughter of Colonel Joshua Johnson, then consul at London, and the niece of Governor Johnson, of Maryland, a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The eldest son of Mr. Adams predeceased him, leaving children; his youngest son, Charles, is living.

24. At Cheltenham, aged 75, Mary, wife of Lieut.-General Edward Vaughan Worsley, R.A., and sister of the Right Hon. Sir George Arthur, bart.

— At Bombay, Samuel Hood Inglefield, esq., C.B., Rear-Admiral of the White, Commander-in-chief at that station. He served as fourth lieutenant of the *Theseus*, 74, at the defence of St. Jean d'Acre, in 1799, and was in consequence presented with a gold medal by order of the Grand Seignior. He was made Commander Jan. 7, 1802. Whilst commanding the *Hunter* sloop of war, Captain Inglefield captured a French armed schooner and five privateers, three of which were Spanish. In the *Bacchante* he assisted at the capture of another privateer, intercepted a Spanish armed vessel, and took *Le Griffon* French national brig, of 16 guns and 105 men, after an action of thirty minutes, near Cape Antonio, in the island of Cuba. Having obtained post rank, Oct. 6, 1807, he joined, in the *Dædalus*, the squadron under Captain Charles Dashwood, employed in the capture of Samana, and of two French privateers lying in that harbour, Nov. 11, 1808. His next appointment was, Oct. 28, 1811, to the *Malta*, 80, in which ship, bearing the flag of his brother-in-law, Rear-Admiral Hallowell, he was employed on the Mediterranean station during the remainder of the war. He subsequently commanded the *Ganges*, 84, flag-ship of Sir Robert Waller Otway, K.C.B., on the South American station. He was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, Nov. 23, 1841. Rear-Admiral Inglefield married, Oct. 21, 1816, the eldest daughter of Vice-Admiral William Albany Otway. He was nominated a Companion of the Bath, April 18, 1839, and enjoyed, when Captain, a good-service pension of 150*l*.

25. At Weymouth, Sophia, eldest daughter of Sir W. L. George Thomas, bart.

— At Bottisham Hall, Cambridgeshire, in his 85th year, the Rev. George Leonard Jenyns, M.A., Canon of Ely, and vicar of Swaffham Prior; a magistrate of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, and for many years Chairman of the Bedford Level Corporation.

26. In Dorset-square, Lieut.-General William Douglas Cleiland, of the Hon. E. India Company's Bombay Service.

— At Camberwell, aged 83, William Lees, esq., late of the Ordnance Office, Tower.

— At Baledmund House, Perthshire, aged 24, Lennox Bolton, second son of the late Bolton Peel, esq.

— At the house of his son-in-law William Page Wood, esq., in Great George-street, Westminster, aged 77, Edward Moor, esq., of Great Bealings, Suffolk, a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate of that county, F.R.S., F.S.A., and F.R.As.S., and formerly a Major in the service of the Hon. East India Company. Major Moor went as a cadet to India in 1782, and, on the breaking out of war, in 1790, served with the Mahratta army at the siege of Darwar, and was in the storming party on the assault of the fort, Feb. 7, 1791. Again, in an assault of the hill fort Doridroog, near Bangalore, on the 13th of June following, he commanded the leading company, and was shot through the right shoulder. On recovering, he rejoined his corps, and was present at the siege, and was with the storming party, at the capture of Hooly Honore, Dec. 21, 1791, and on the 29th led the two flank companies of the 9th battalion at the battle of Gadjmoor, where he received a wound in his right knee, and a musket-ball through his left elbow. The result of this affair was the total rout and dispersion of the enemy's army of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, though the British engaged were under 1000. Lieut. Moor received the thanks of the General for his heroic conduct in this engagement. On account of the severity of the wound in his elbow, which wholly destroyed the joint, Lieutenant Moor was compelled to quit the army, and eventually India, for the re-establishment of his health. Lieut. Moor became the historian of the campaign in a "Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's detachment, and of the Mahratta army, commanded by Purseram Bhow, against Tippoo Sultaun, 1794." After a visit to England he again embarked for India in April 1796, with the brevet rank of Captain, and was employed in important services. In July 1799, Captain Moor was appointed to an office, then first esta-

blished, under the designation of Garrison Storekeeper, afterwards called Commissary General. This he held until February 1805, the date of his final departure from India. In 1800, at the request of Governor Duncan, Capt. Moor made a compilation or digest of the Military Orders and Regulations of the Bombay Army, which was printed at the expense of the government. Having obtained leave to vacate his office, he returned to England on furlough. He was soon after promoted to a majority; and finding, before the expiration of his furlough, that the state of his health did not warrant his return to India, he applied to the Court of Directors to retire on full pay. This, notwithstanding his long services, the regulations of the Company did not allow, as he had not actually served the prescribed term of two-and-twenty years on the territory of India. He was, however, in addition to his half-pay, presented with a pension, not large in amount, but acceptable from the flattering mode in which it was conferred. Major Moor published, in 1810, "The Hindu Pantheon," royal 4to.; in 1811, a volume on Hindu Infanticide, 4to.; and other works. He was likewise a contributor to Rees's Cyclopædia, on Indian Mythology.

28. At Singleton, near Swansea, Mrs. Hussey Vivian, wife of John Hussey Vivian, esq., eldest son of J. H. Vivian, esq., M.P. for Swansea.

— At Dundee, William Thom, the Inverury poet.

29. At Bath, Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Gough, of Llandogo Priory, Monmouthshire, widow of John Gough, esq., of Perry Hall, Staffordshire.

— At Church Pulverbatch, co. Salop, aged 91, the Rev. William Gilpin, M.A., Rector of that parish. Mr. Gilpin was a lineal descendant of that pious Reformer, the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, commonly called "The Northern Apostle."

MARCH.

3. In Conduit-street, Major-Gen. Johnston Napier, of the Hon. E. I. Co.'s Madras Service.

— At Gaddesby, Leicestershire, aged 70, Colonel Edward Cheney, C.B., formerly of the Scotch Greys. Colonel Cheney served with the 2nd Dragoons in Flanders, Holland, and other parts of the Continent, to the end of the war in 1815. Towards the close of the day of the 17th of June, in the cavalry action, when the British army was retiring to take up its position at Waterloo, the command of his regiment devolved upon him; and in this combat he had no less than five horses shot under him. Colonel Cheney married, July 8, 1811, Eliza, youngest daughter of Richard Ayre, esq., of Gaddesby, Leicestershire, and had issue a son and a daughter.

4. At Lewisham, Colonel Peter Dumas, Lieut.-Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort. He served Ensign in the 30th regiment during the disturbances of 1798 in Ireland; in 1799 at Messina, under Lieut.-Gen. Sir C. Stuart; at the siege of Malta, under Brig.-Gen. Graham, and La Valetta. In 1801, he was lieutenant of the 20th regiment in Egypt, and served at the affair of the Green Hills, and afterwards on the west side of Alexandria. A regiment of Sicilians being raised at Malta, he was appointed Captain, and embarked shortly after with his company for Calabria, under Sir John Stuart, and was at the battle of Maida. He again served in Egypt in 1806, under the orders of Major-Gen. M'Kenzie Fraser. His subsequent services were in Canada, Madeira, and the West Indies. He was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, July 23, 1832.

— At Breadsall Priory, aged 56, Maria Mary, wife of Joseph Webster, esq., of Penns, Warwickshire, and eldest daughter of the late Sir Peter Payne, bart., of Blunham House, Bedfordshire.

6. At Clifton-place, Hyde-park, the residence of her daughter the dowager Viscountess Glentworth, Charity, relict of William Beauman, esq., of Dublin, and previously of Tennison Edwards, esq., of Old Court, co. Wicklow, and daughter of John Barrington, esq.

7. At his residence, Longford-terrace, Dublin, aged 53, the Hon. John Massy, Lieut.-Colonel on half-pay; uncle to Lord Massy. He entered the army in 1814, and in the following year took part in the Waterloo campaign.

8. At Lambeth Palace, age 14 months, George Gordon Howley, youngest son of William Kingsmill, esq., of Sydmonton, Hants, and grandson of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

— At Twickenham, aged 76, the Right Hon. Isabella Caroline, dowager Lady Cawdor, eldest daughter of Frederick, 5th Earl of Carlisle, by Lady Margaret Caroline Leveson Gower, 2nd daughter of the 1st Marquess of Stafford.

9. At Liverpool, aged 71, Major-Gen.

Thomas Thornbury Woolridge, K.H., late of the Royal Fusileers.

10. At Horningsham, Wilts, aged 73, the Rev. Francis Skurray, B.D., Perpetual Curate of that place, Rector of Winterbourne-cum-Steepleton, Dorset, and of Lullington, Somerset. In 1808 Mr. Skurray published his "Bidcombe Hill, and other Rural Poems;" a volume of miscellaneous Poetry, called "The Shepherd's Garland;" a metrical version of the Book of Psalms, 1827; and in 1845 "Sonnets composed on various subjects and occasions."

— At Cheltenham, aged 17, Thomas Smyth Upton, esq., nephew and heir to Sir John Smyth, bart., of Ashton Court.

— At Cheltenham, Lady Coghill, wife of Rear-Adm. Sir Josiah Coghill Coghill, bart., and eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. Charles Kendal Bushe, Chief Justice of Ireland.

— At Brighton, aged 84, the Right Hon. Lord George Seymour, great-uncle to the Marquess of Hertford. His Lordship was born on the 21st of July, 1763, the seventh son and thirteenth and youngest child of Francis, first Marquess of Hertford, K.G., by Lady Isabella Fitz Roy, youngest daughter of Charles, second Duke of Grafton, K.G. Thus he was only fourth in descent from King Charles the Second, his maternal grandfather having been that monarch's grandson. In early life he served in the army, and was member for the family borough of Orford, in the parliament of 1784–90, and in 1796 he was returned for Totness. In 1801 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Excise, and was chairman of that board for many years. He was also Deputy Craner and Wharfinger on the Irish establishment. Lord George Seymour married, July 20, 1795, Isabella, ninth daughter of the Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, uncle to the first Marquess of Hertford, and has left issue.

— In Westbourne-crescent, aged 74, Lieut.-Colonel Sir William Young, of Bailieborough Castle, co. Cavan, bart. He entered the service of the Hon. East India Company as a Cadet on the Bombay establishment, and retired with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, Jan. 5, 1813. In the early part of his military career, he served with the army before Seringapatam, in the reduction of the Dutch settlements in Malabar, at the capture of Columbo, and also throughout the course of the Cingalese war. In a later period of his service, he had the merit of suggesting and organising a most efficient plan for recruiting the army,—a plan adopted by the government, and acted upon with extensive and important results. He was subsequently engaged, during the arduous war in the Deccan, in collecting and forwarding supplies for the army under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and received an expression of the high satisfaction of that illustrious commander. He was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom, Aug. 28, 1821. In 1829 he was elected a Director of the East India Company.

— In Harrington-square, Hampstead-road, William Mudford, esq. Mr. Mudford was born Jan. 8, 1782, in London. In 1800 he acted as assistant secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, and in 1802 he accompanied his Royal Highness to Gibraltar. On his return in the following year he entered upon his career of literary labour, and produced many volumes of memoirs, translations, and novels. He was appointed editor of the *Courier*, which he conducted with consummate ability during a most trying period of our history. For the last fifteen years he conducted *The Kentish Observer* and the *Canterbury Journal*, and latterly was the editor of the *John Bull*, which he conducted with distinguished ability and success.

12. At Chester, aged 65, Edward Hogg, esq., M.D., author of a "Visit to Alexandria, Damascus, and Jerusalem, during the successful campaign of Ibrahim Pasha," 1835.

14. At Temple Sowerby, Lieut.-Col. John Procter, late of the 30th Regiment. He served in the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807, and also in America, in the Peninsula during the Corunna campaign, and also from 1812 to 1814.

16. At Barkham, Berks, aged 70, Henry Clive, esq., barrister-at-law, formerly M.P. for Ludlow and Montgomery. Mr. Clive was the third son of George Clive, esq., of Arlington-street, Piccadilly, and brother to the late Edward Bolton Clive, esq., M.P. for Hereford. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 1, 1802. In 1807 Mr. Clive entered Parliament as Member for Ludlow, and he continued to represent that borough until 1818, when he became Member for Montgomery, which latter seat he occupied until the passing of the Reform Bill. In the spring of 1818, at the period of the resignation and death of Mr. Hiley Addington, Mr. Clive accepted the office of

Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, which he filled until the year 1822, when he gave up the appointment in consequence of the resignation of Lord Sidmouth. In 1839 he contested Ludlow against Mr. Alcock, but was defeated by a small majority of votes. After that period he retired into private life, but continued to attend diligently to all county business.

18. At Cardiff Castle, Glamorganshire, in his 55th year, the Most Noble John Crichton Stuart, second Marquess of Bute, Earl of Windsor, co. Berks, and Viscount Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight (1796), third Baron Mountstuart of Wortley, co. York (1761), and second Baron Cardiffe of Cardiffe Castle, co. Glamorgan (1776), in the peerage of Great Britain; sixth Earl of Dumfries and Lord Crichton and Cumnock (1633), Viscount of Ayr (1622), and twelfth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar (1487-8), fifth Earl of Bute, Viscount of Kingarth, Lord Mountstuart, Cumra, and Inchmarnock (1703), in the peerage of Scotland; a Baronet of Nova Scotia (1627), K.T. Keeper of Rothsay Castle, Lord Lieutenant and Heritable Coroner of the county of Bute, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Glamorgan, Colonel of the Glamorganshire Militia, High Steward of Banbury, a Governor of King's College, London, a Director of the British Institution, Vice-President of the Royal Cambrian Institution; D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., and F.R.A.S. His Lordship was born on the 10th of August, 1793, and was the elder son of John, Lord Mountstuart (eldest son of John, first Marquess of Bute), by Lady Elizabeth Penelope Crichton, only daughter and heir of Patrick, fifth Earl of Dumfries. On the death of his maternal grandfather, April 7, 1803, he succeeded to the Earldom of Dumfries, and the other dignities of peerage belonging to the family of Crichton; and on the 26th of August, 1835, he received the royal licence to assume the surname of Crichton before that of Stuart, and bear the arms of Crichton quarterly with the arms of Stuart, pursuant to the proviso and condition expressed in a deed of tailzie of his great-uncle William, some time Earl of Dumfries and Stair. The Earl of Dumfries was educated at Eton, and at Christ's College, Cambridge, where the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him in the year 1812. On the 26th Nov. 1814, by the death of his paternal grandfather, the first Marquess of Bute, he inherited that dignity. In 18 . . he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Glamorganshire, and in 1843 he was nominated a Knight of the Thistle. From April 1842, until the retirement of Sir Robert Peel from the head of the Government, the Marquess of Bute was annually appointed to officiate as Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland. The Marquess married, first, Lady Maria North, eldest daughter and coheir of George Augustus, third Earl of Guildford, who died without issue, Sept. 10, 1841. The Marquess married, 2ndly, Lady Sophia Frederica Christina Hastings, second daughter of Francis, first Marquess of Hastings. An only son is the offspring of this marriage, and is now the third Marquess of Bute, and seventh Earl of Dumfries. In political opinions the Marquess of Bute was a Conservative; he seldom spoke in Parliament. In private life there never existed any nobleman or country gentleman more honoured for upright motives and judicious conduct, or more justly beloved for kind intentions and benevolence of heart. His Lordship died at his seat at Cardiff, a town not only enriched but almost created by his munificence, in the erection of docks, upon which he had expended upwards of 400,000*l.* His Lordship had been entertaining a party of friends at dinner at the Castle. At ten o'clock the party broke up, when the Marquess retired to his chamber. The Marchioness, who was in an adjoining room, having called to him and received no answer, proceeded to the apartment, where she found his Lordship lying lifeless on his bed. A disease of the heart had proved suddenly fatal.

— At Beningbrough Hall, aged 74, the Right Hon. Lydia, Dowager Viscountess Downe. She was the only daughter of John Heatchcote, esq., of Connington Castle, co. Huntingdon.

— At Pisa, the Hon. Hester, wife of Sir George W. Crawfurd, bart., and sister to the Earl of Lovelace.

19. At his residence, Cavendish-road, St. John's Wood, of apoplexy, aged 77, Richard Matson, esq., Admiral of the Blue. He was mate of the *Britannia*, and served ashore during the occupation of Toulon in 1793, when he was publicly thanked by Sir Sydney Smith for his conduct at the destruction of the arsenal and fleet, and his name in connection with this service appeared in the *London Gazette;* he served also at the siege of St. Fiorenzo and Bastia in 1794. He was

Lieutenant of the *Bedford* in Hotham's action, commanded the *Cyane*, under the orders of his uncle, the late Sir Henry Harvey, in the West Indies, and was present at the capture of Surinam in 1799.

22. At his seat, East Court, Cosham, near Portsmouth, aged 72, Frederick Warren, esq., Vice-Admiral of the Red. Admiral Warren was a son of Dr. Richard Warren, physician to King George III. He entered the royal navy in 1789, and in 1792 was appointed to the *Lion*, Capt. Sir E. Gower, and proceeded in her to China with the celebrated embassy of Earl Macartney. Having during this service been appointed acting lieutenant, this promotion was confirmed on his return. From this period his career was a series of active services, in which he was highly distinguished, and not less by his firmness during the mutiny of 1797, when in command of the *Latona*. In 1806, in the *Dædalus* frigate, he proceeded to the Jamaica station, where, in April 1808, he removed to the *Meleager* frigate, which in July following, having been actively employed against the enemy in successful cruises off St. Domingo, was unfortunately wrecked on Barebush Key, near Port Royal; but the court-martial fully acquitted Capt. Warren of all blame, and complimented him upon his exertions subsequent to the wreck. He was on shore a few months only; for in April 1809 he was appointed to the *Melpomene*, 38, and proceeded in her to cruise in the Baltic, under the orders of Rear-Adm. Sir Manley Dixon. The service on which Capt. Warren was despatched was one of great importance. During the early portion of his cruise he was day by day engaged with the Russian gun-boats, several of which he captured, and in cutting out, capturing, and destroying the rich merchantmen of the strongly fortified seaport of Revel, and in scouring the whole coast of Finland; but subsequently in the *Great Belt*, on the 29th of May, 1809, he fought a most gallant and determined action in the night with no less than 18 powerful gun-boats, in which the *Melpomene* sustained a loss of 5 men killed and 29 wounded. This action and its successful results called forth the warmest encomiums from the gallant and distinguished flag-officers in command. Captain Warren continued his active services until the peace. Having been promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral in July 1830, he hoisted his flag for about six weeks in the *Talavera*, 74, on "particular service," and on the 5th of August, 1831, was appointed commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and West Coast of Africa Station for three years. It was during this period that the disturbances at the Mauritius took place, when British interests were so ably protected by the judicious arrangements of the Admiral and Captain Harvey. In Jan. 1837, Rear.-Adm. Warren was once more selected for service, and was appointed Superintendent of Devonport Dockyard, which office he retained until his promotion to the rank of Vice-Admiral, in Nov. 1841.

23. At Henwick, George Farley, esq., banker of Worcester.

24. At Plymouth, aged 60, Sir William George Parker, the second bart. (1797), Captain R.N. He was born August 19, 1787, the only son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, who was created a baronet in 1797, and succeeded to the title at the death of his father, Dec. 31, 1802. He was made lieutenant Feb. 2, 1803, and, when serving under the command of Sir Thomas Livingstone, bart., assisted in the capture of the Spanish national brig of 18 guns, on the Mediterranean station, April 4, 1806, and on the 4th of the following month commanded the boats of the *Renommée* and *Nautilus* in the capture of the Spanish schooner *Giganta* of 9 guns. In the following October he also commanded the boats which captured in the harbour of Colon, in Majorca, a Spanish tartan of 4 guns, and a settee of 2 guns. He subsequently served as flag-lieutenant to Sir John T. Duckworth, Commander-in-chief at Newfoundland. He was advanced to the rank of Commander Nov. 29, 1810, and appointed to the *Rinaldo* brig of 10 guns, Feb. 1, 1812. On the 4th of May following, he assisted at the recapture of the *Apelles* brig, which had been driven on shore near Boulogne. His next appointment was May 21, 1813, to the *Fly*, 16, in which he continued until his advancement to post rank, June 6, 1814.

26. At sea, on board the Bellerophon, on his passage from Corfu to Gibraltar, in command of the 34th regiment, aged 47, Lieut.-Col. Henry Deedes, third son of the late William Deedes, esq., of Sandling Park, Kent.

— At Rempstone Hall, Nottinghamshire, in his 75th year, John Smith Wright, esq., a magistrate of that county, and sheriff in 1818.

27. At Charlton-grove, Kent, aged 66, Major-General Sir William Gosset, knt.,

K.C.H., K.St.F., and C.B., the Serjeant-at-Arms attendant on the House of Commons. He was a native of Jersey, and, having obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers, served in the expedition to Holland in 1799, and afterwards in the island of Ceylon during the Kandyan war. In 1813 he was Secretary to the Legation, under Lord Heytesbury, to the Barbary States; and having, when so employed, made himself acquainted with the plan and strength of the fortifications of Algiers, he was appointed, in July 1816, to accompany the expedition of Lord Exmouth against that town, the result of which was so successful in humiliating that maritime tyrant. For his services on this occasion he was nominated a Companion of the Bath, and was permitted to accept the Neapolitan order of St. Ferdinand and Merit. In 1828 he was appointed to the post of Secretary to the Master-General of the Ordnance. He was afterwards selected, in 1829, to fill the office of Private Secretary to the Marquess of Anglesey, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from whom he received the honour of knighthood in the year 1830, after being appointed Under-Secretary of State. From that office he was removed, on the vacancy occurring, to that of Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons. In 1831 he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order. Sir William Gosset married, in 1808, Gertrude, daughter of Ralph Allen Daniell, esq., of Trelesick, Cornwall, M.P. for West Looe.

— At Aix-la-Chapelle, aged 61, John Burke, esq., late of Gower-street, Bedford-square. Mr. Burke was well known as the compiler of a "Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom;" the "Commoners of Great Britain;" "A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland," 2 vols. 1846; "A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England," 1838, 8vo.; "A General Armoury of England, Scotland, and Ireland," 1842, 8vo. (republished under the title of "Burke's Encyclopædia of Heraldry"); "Heraldic Illustrations, comprising the Armorial Bearings of all the Principal Families of the Empire, with Pedigrees and Annotations," imp. 8vo, 1843; another volume, 1847, "The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales (and the families descended from them)."

28. At Sparresater, in Sweden, aged 75, the Chevalier Carl Johan Schonherr, a celebrated entomologist, member of the Royal Society of Stockholm, the Entomological Society of London, &c.

29. In Edgware-road, James Briggs, esq., Member of Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Senior Surgeon of the Lock Hospital.

30. At Paris, aged 73, Admiral Rosamel, former Minister of Marine. He was born in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and in 1792 was appointed midshipman on board a ship of the Republic, and was present at the engagements fought between Villaret Joyeuse and Admiral Howe, on the 29th of May and the 1st and 2nd of June, 1794. He was taken prisoner in October 1798, in the action between the fleets of Bompard and Admiral Warren. He commanded the *Pomone* in 1811, when the French division to which he belonged was attacked in the Adriatic by an English force, and bravely defended his ship for three hours; and it was only after he had lost 57 men, when his masts were overboard, and himself dangerously wounded, and with five feet of water in the hold, that he struck his flag. He was made Captain of the Imperial Navy in 1814, and occupied, during two years, the post of Major-General of the Navy at Cherbourg. He subsequently made several cruises in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, and was promoted in 1823 to the rank of Rear-Admiral, with the command of the South American station. In 1828 he took the command of the Levant squadron, in the absence of Admiral de Rigny; and in 1830, after assisting at the expedition to Algiers, he was sent to Tripoli to demand satisfaction from the Bey, which he obtained in 48 hours. He was appointed in Nov. 1830 Maritime Prefect at Toulon; Vice-Admiral on the 1st of March, 1831; and Minister of Marine on the 6th Sept. 1836, a post which he filled until the 30th of March, 1838.

31. At Brompton, aged 83, Madame Guizot, the venerable mother of the great French author and statesman. She had no pretensions to extraordinary intellectual cultivation or subtlety of talent; but she was unsurpassed in strength of character and intensity of will. Her piety and attachment to the faith of the Protestant Church of France were the strongest principles of her mind; and, whilst the creed of a Puritan had moulded the stern simplicity of her life, the graces of

Christian affection poured with inexhaustible abundance from her heart.

31. At Richmnod-hill, Lady Katharine Halkett, daughter of Dunbar, fourth Earl of Selkirk.

APRIL.

1. At Bath, aged 94, Lady Francis Trail, and relict of the Rev. William Trail, LL.D., Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Connor. She was the fourth daughter of Francis, fifth Earl of Wemyss.

— At Dinan, in France, aged 50, the Hon. Arthur Cæsar Tollemache, brother of the Earl of Dysart.

2. At Edinburgh, aged 67, the Right Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D, D.C.L., Oxon., Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. Bishop Russell was an able and extensive writer. His earliest publication, "A View of the System of Education at present pursued in the Schools and Universities of Scotland," which appeared in 1813, excited much attention. For twenty-five years he was a regular contributor to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana. The "History of the Church in Scotland," in Rivington's Theological Library, "Sermons on Doctrinal Subjects," and many minor works written for the Cabinet Library, and other serial publications, as well as many articles of great research and sound judgment, which appeared in the British Critic, with which he was connected for twenty years, during its earlier career, attest the learning, taste, and elegance of mind for which he was distinguished. His chief work, however, and that which gained for him the reputation of a learned and accurate writer, both in England and on the continent, was the "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," which was published in 1827 and 1837. In testimony to his high merits the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of D.C.L. by *diploma*—an honour which had never before been bestowed on a Scotchman not educated at Oxford.

— At Cheltenham, aged 71, the Hon. Andrew Ramsay. He was the fifth son of George, eighth Earl of Dalhousie.

— At Goodrich Court, Herefordshire, in his 65th year, Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, knt., K.H., LL.D., F.S.A., a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for that county. Sir Samuel Meyrick was descended from the Meyricks of Bôdorgan, in Anglesea. His father was John Meyrick, esq., of Great George-street, Westminster, and Peterborough House, Fulham. Sir Samuel graduated at Oxford, being a member of Queen's College, Oxford. By an early marriage, in the year 1803, he offended his father, who, in consequence, so arranged the inheritance of his property that it should in great measure pass over his son, and go to the next generation. From the early death of his only son, in the year 1837, Sir Samuel survived this disposition. Having adopted the profession of the law in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts, Dr. Meyrick practised for many years as an advocate; but his real study and pursuit was that of Antiquities and Archæology, and in his residence he gradually accumulated a very large collection of armour, which not only filled the garrets, the staircase, and the back drawing-room, but even encroached upon the bed-rooms. In 1810 he published "The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan." Having been engaged in collecting materials for the early history of Britain, in 1814 he joined Captain Charles Hamilton Smith in the production of a work on the Costume of the original Inhabitants of the British Islands, which was published in quarto, with coloured plates. His great work on Arms and Armour was formed on the same plan. This was published in three quarto volumes, 1824, under this title:—"A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour, as it existed in Europe, but particularly in England, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II.; with a Glossary of Military Terms of the Middle Ages." About 1825 Dr. Meyrick contributed assistance to Mr. Fosbroke's "Encyclopædia of Antiquities," on the subject of ancient armour. He subsequently promoted the publication of Mr. Joseph Skelton, F.S.A., who undertook the production of a series of engravings of the Meyrick collection of arms and armour. The descriptions were all written by Dr. Meyrick himself, and the work is consequently one of equal authority with his former book. It was completed in two volumes quarto (on large paper, folio) in 1830. These works are of great beauty, and were published only at a vast expense. About the year 1827 Dr. Meyrick, having vainly endeavoured to purchase the ruins of Goodrich Castle, on the banks of the Wye, was induced to buy the opposite hill, and to erect thereon a new mansion, which he styled Goodrich Court. His architect was Mr. Blore, and the first stone was laid on St. George's Day, 1828.

The "show" part of the house was arranged purposely with the view of displaying to advantage his collection of armour, the whole concluding with a grand tournament scene in the "hastilude chamber." In 1826 he was consulted by the authorities at the Tower of London as to the arrangement of the national collection of arms and armour; and in 1828, at the command of King George the Fourth, he performed the like service with regard to the collection at Windsor Castle. In January 1832, it was announced that the King (William IV.) had conferred the Hanoverian order upon Dr. Meyrick for these and his other literary services, and he was dubbed a knight bachelor on the 22nd February following. In 1834 he served the office of High Sheriff of Herefordshire, and made his year conspicuous by a revival of the ancient display of the javelin-men, duly harnessed, and other pageantry. Sir Samuel Meyrick's last important work was "Lewis Dwnn's Heraldic Visitation of Wales," which he undertook in 1840 for the Welsh MSS. Society, and completed in 1846. As may be imagined, so enthusiastic a lover of the antique was a constant writer upon such subjects as occurred from day to day, and the publications devoted to the subject contain many memoirs from his pen. He was a constant correspondent of the antiquarian societies. By his marriage with Mary, daughter and co-heir of James Parry, esq., of Llwyn Hywel, co. Cardigan, Sir Samuel had an only son, Llewelyn Meyrick, esq., born in 1804, who died unmarried, Feb. 14, 1837. His property devolves to the deceased's second cousin and heir male, Colonel Meyrick, who married Lady Laura Vane, sister of the present Duke of Cleveland.

3. At Lisnegar, co. Cork, aged 73, the Right Hon. William Tonson, second Lord Riversdale, of Rathcormac (1783), Colonel of the South Cork Militia. His lordship was the eldest surviving son of William first Lord Riversdale, by Rose, eldest daughter of James Bernard, esq., of Castle Bernard, sister to the first Earl of Bandon. He succeeded his father on the 4th Dec., 1787. He married, Oct. 21, 1799, the Hon. Charlotte Theodosia St. Leger, sixth daughter of St. Leger, first Viscount Doneraile, but had no issue.

— At Stratton Park, near Winchester, aged 75, Sir Thomas Baring, the second bart. of Larkbear, co. Devon (1793), a deputy lieutenant of Hampshire. Sir Thomas Baring was the eldest son of Sir Francis Baring, a Devonshire gentleman, who founded the London branch of the family. He was the eldest of five brothers, three of whom have died within a few weeks of each other, viz. Sir Thomas, on the 3rd April; Henry, on the 13th April; and Lord Ashburton, on the 13th May. Sir Thomas Baring succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, Sept. 12, 1810. He never entered much into political affairs. He sat in Parliament for Wycombe in the parliaments of 1830 and 1831, but resigned his seat in the latter, before its dissolution in 1832, to Colonel the Hon. Sir C. Grey. He was best known for his fine taste in art, and his magnificent collection of pictures. Sir Thomas Baring married, at Calcutta, in 1794, Mary Ursula, eldest daughter of Charles Sealey, esq., of Calcutta, barrister-at-law; and by that lady, who died on the 26th July, 1846, he had issue four sons and three daughters.

5. In Norfolk-crescent, Hyde-park, Mary Frances, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Matson, Royal Engineers.

— The Right Hon. Isabella, dowager Viscountess Powerscourt.

— At Dublin, aged 52, Lady M'Mahon, widow of Sir William M'Mahon.

— At the Castle, Ryde, aged 63, Sir Thomas Cotton Sheppard, the second bart. (1809), of Crakemarsh Hall, Staffordshire, and Thornton Hall, Bucks, a deputy lieutenant of both those counties. He was the second but only surviving son of Sir Thomas Sheppard, the first baronet, by his first wife Elizabeth, only child of William Cotton, LL.D., of Crakemarsh, co. Stafford. On coming of age, in 1806, he assumed the surname of Cotton before Sheppard by royal sign-manual; and he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, Nov. 21, 1821. Leaving no issue, the baronetcy is extinct.

8. At Montreal, Capt. Phipps John Hornby, of the Royal Engineers, eldest son of Admiral Phipps Hornby, Commander-in-chief in the Pacific.

9. At York, aged 40, Richard Baron Howard, M.D., of Manchester.

10. At Turin, aged 59, the Hon. Lady Murray, relict of Lieut.-General Sir John Murray, bart.

11. At Dagnam Park, Essex, aged 86, Sir Thomas Neave, the second baronet (1795), of that place, a deputy lieutenant of the county, and a commissioner of the lieutenancy of London, F.R.S. and F.S.A.

13. In Upper Brook-street, Harriet, last surviving daughter of Richard Myddelton, esq., of Chirk Castle, Denbighshire.

— In St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, aged 72, Mrs. Elizabeth Scott, widow of Thomas Scott, Captain in the 70th Regiment, and brother of the late Sir Walter Scott, of Abbotsford.

— Henry Baring, esq., of Cromer Hall, Norfolk. He was the third son of Sir Francis Baring, bart., and brother to the late Sir Thomas Baring, whom he survived only ten days, and to the late Lord Ashburton. He married, first, in June 1802, Maria, second daughter of William Bingham, esq., of Philadelphia, and sister to Lady Ashburton. By this lady he had issue two sons and two daughters. Having been divorced from his first wife, Mr. Henry Baring married, secondly, July 9, 1825, Cecilia Anne, eldest daughter of the late Vice-Admiral William Wyndham, of Cromer Hall, Norfolk.

15. In London, aged 59, George Henry Elliott, esq., of Binfield Park and Hurst Lodge, Berkshire, Lieut.-Colonel of the Berkshire Militia, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate of that county. He was the eldest son of the Rev. George Henry Glasse, M.A., Rector of Hanwell, and assumed the surname and arms of Elliott, in lieu of Glasse, in the year 1811, by royal licence.

16. In Burton Crescent, after a few days' illness, Mrs. Britton, wife of John Britton, esq., F.S.A.

— At Bishop's Stortford, after a few days' illness, Mrs. Gaskell, wife of Daniel Gaskell, esq., of Lupset Hall, near Wakefield.

18. Aged 58, the Right Hon. Anne Lucy, Lady Nugent. She was second daughter of the Hon. Gen. Vere Poulett, brother of the late Earl Poulett, and married, Sept. 6, 1813, Lord Nugent, by whom she does not leave any issue.

19. At Turnham Green, Sophia, relict of Thomas Crafer, esq.

— In Eaton-place, aged 45, Lady Katharine Isabella Jermyn, wife of Earl Jermyn, and third surviving daughter of the Duke of Rutland.

22. At Bute House, Petersham, Surrey, aged 57, John Jones, esq., of Llanarth Court, Treowen, and Penllwyn House, co. of Monmouth. Mr. Jones was descended in the direct male line from the chivalrous house of Herbert, of which family Peter Fitzherbert married Alice, daughter and heir of Blethin Broadspere, Lord of Llanllowell, near Uske in Monmouthshire; and thus the family became seated in Monmouthshire, where they have remained to the present time, acquiring fresh estates in the county by marriage. The descendants of this worthy adopting the Welsh mode of designation, acquired the name of Jones, by which this branch of the Herberts have been ever since designated; Treowen near Monmouth was long the chief seat of the family; but, in the time of the Commonwealth, the then possessor of the property, Sir Philip Jones, taking part with the Marquess of Worcester, was in Ragland Castle when it was destroyed by Fairfax, and, Treowen being greatly damaged by Cromwell's army, the family preferred repairing the old court house at Llanarth, which has since continued the chief seat. Several members of this family married heiresses, with whom large possessions were acquired, and in this manner became related to Arabella Fermor, wife of Francis Perkins, esq., the "Belinda" of Pope's "Rape of the Lock," a portrait of whom is amongst the family pictures at Llanarth Court. Mr. Jones married, in 1817, the Lady Harriet Plunkett, only daughter of Arthur James, eighth Earl of Fingall, K.P., who survives him, and by whom he has had issue John Arthur Jones, esq., who succeeds to the family estates.

23. At Bath, Ann, relict of the Rev. Frodsham Hodson, D.D., Principal of Brasenose College, Canon of Christchurch, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

24. In James-street, Westminster, aged 64, Jane, wife of Thos. Amyot, esq., V.P.S.A., and daughter of the late Edw. Colman, esq., formerly of Norwich.

— At Edinburgh, Major-General Robert Dalyell, son of the late Sir Robert Dalyell, bart., of Binns. He served with the 43rd at the battle of Kioge and surrender of Copenhagen, in 1807; the Corunna campaign in 1808–9; returned to the Peninsula with the regiment in 1809, where he served until the end of that war in 1814, and was severely wounded at Sabugal. He also served in the campaign of 1815, and was present at the capture of Paris.

25. At Cheltenham, aged 74, General Alexander John Goldie, formerly of the 6th Dragoon Guards.

— At Brighton, aged 51, the Lady Jane Elizabeth Pym, wife of Francis Pym, esq., of the Hasells, Bedfordshire, and sister to the Earl of Leven and Melville.

28. At Camberwell, George Rowe,

esq., late of Fleet-street. This worthy gentleman was many years in business as a stationer in Fleet-street, first as partner with Richard Marsh, esq., brother of the late Bishop of Peterborough, and afterwards with Fredk. Waller, esq. (who died June 4, 1846), but had retired from business for some years.

29. Emily Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, bart., of Knebworth Park.

30. At Knightsbridge Barracks, aged 21, Wm. Hamilton Greville, esq., Lieut. 2nd Life Guards, only son of the Hon. R. Fulke Greville, and grandson of Louisa, Countess of Mansfield. His death was caused by a broken leg, which he received on his horse falling with him in Piccadilly, on the 6th of April.

MAY.

1. At St. John's Wood, aged 41, Mrs. Anderson, the vocalist. She was one of the daughters of the engraver Bartolozzi, and sister of Madame Vestris.

2. Aged 23, Louisa Jane Temple, second daughter of the Rev. Temple Frere, Preb. of Westminster.

— In Old Palace-yard, Ellen, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose.

— In Manchester-square, aged 85, Sir Hugh Munro, of Fowlis, co. Ross, bart., (1634).

3. At Beverley, aged 82, Charlotte, wife of Sir William Henry Pennyman, bart., of that place, and of Ormesby Hall, in Cleveland.

— At Southampton, Thomas Glanville Taylor, esq., a gentleman well known in the astronomical and scientific world.

7. Aged 84, John Portal, esq., of Freefolk Priors, Hampshire, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for that county.

8. At the Regent's Park Barracks, aged 29, Sir Charles William Egleton Kent, the third bart. (1782) of Fornham St. Genevieve, Suffolk, Lieutenant in the 1st Life Guards. Having died unmarried, his baronetcy has become extinct.

— At Shoreham Vicarage, aged 37, Georgiana, eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward Repton, Prebendary of Westminster, and widow of James Kerr Ewart, esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

11. In Merrion-square, Dublin, aged 78, the Right Rev. Samuel Kyle, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cork, Ross, and Cloyne. Dr. Kyle was the son of Samuel Kyle, esq., of Dungiven Castle, co. Londonderry. At the University of Dublin he distinguished himself as an elegant and accurate classical scholar, and was elected to a scholarship in the year 1791. In 1798 he was chosen to a fellowship. In October, 1820, Dr. Kyle was nominated Provost of Trinity College, and in 1831 he was promoted to the united bishoprics of Cork and Ross. In 1835, he was translated under the provisions of an act of parliament to the see of Cloyne, holding *in commendam*, without emolument, the spiritual jurisdiction and title of his former sees. In 1836, on the death of Bishop Butson, the see of Killaloe was offered to Bishop Kyle, but was declined; and he continued to discharge the duties of his bishopric to the love and veneration of his diocese to the latest hour of his life. The Church has lost in him an active and watchful prelate, ever anxious to protect the best interests of the clergy and people, and to dispense the large patronage entrusted to him with the sincerest desire to promote the welfare of true religion. Dr. Kyle married, in 1801, the eldest daughter of William Duke Moore, esq., of Dublin, and had a numerous family.

— In St. James's-place, Westminster, aged 43, William Cripps, esq., M.A., barrister-at-law, M.P. for Cirencester, and a deputy lieutenant of Gloucestershire. He was the son and heir of the late Joseph Cripps, esq., M.P. for Cirencester from 1807 to 1841. Mr. William Cripps was a member of Trinity College, Oxford, and was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple, in 1829. He was returned to Parliament for Cirencester on the retirement of his father at the general election in 1841.

— At his residence, Southtown, near Great Yarmouth, aged 72, Comm. John Ellis, R.N., one of the old war officers, who served as Lieut. of the *Goliath*, in the action with the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, in 1797.

12. Henry Galgacus Redhead Yorke, esq., M.P. for the city of York. Mr. Yorke was the son of Mr. Henry Redhead, a political writer. Though he left his family as little fortune as usually befalls the man of letters, his son married in 1837 the Hon. Elizabeth Cecilia Crosbie, only daughter and heiress of William, fourth and last Lord Brandon, of the kingdom of Ireland, and grand-daughter

of Lady Cecilia Latouche, daughter of the first Earl of Milltown. Mr. Yorke was returned to Parliament for the city of York at the general election in 1841, and was re-chosen at the last election in 1847. In his politics he was a moderate reformer. This gentleman died by his own hand, having for some time previous shown symptoms of mental derangement.

13. At Longleat, the seat of his grandson the Marquess of Bath, aged 73, the Right Hon. Alexander Baring, Baron Ashburton, of Ashburton, co. Devon, a Privy Councillor, a Trustee of the British Museum and of the National Gallery, and D C.L., Oxon. Lord Ashburton was a younger son of Sir Francis Baring, a most eminent merchant, and, being destined to mercantile pursuits, was placed at an early age in his father's counting-house. During many years of his early life he was constantly and actively engaged in the service of his "house" in the United States and the Canadas, where he acquired all that special information and general knowledge of business which he afterwards turned to account in the structure and consolidation of his fortune, and ultimately in the political service of his country. In 1810, by the death of his father, who was styled by Lord Erskine "the first merchant in the world," Mr. Alexander Baring became the head of the great house of London merchants, Baring Brothers and Co. It was not until the year 1812 that he entered Parliament, when he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Taunton. He continued to represent that place until 1820; after which he sat for Callington, in successive parliaments, until 1831. In the second parliament of the latter year he sat for Thetford, but in 1832 he was returned for North Essex. Lord Ashburton commenced life as a Liberal, and from 1812 to 1831 he earnestly acted with that party for the purpose of procuring the removal of those restrictions on commerce which he conceived to be injurious, not merely to the class with which he was identified, but also to the whole community. But when the Whigs, for the purpose of obtaining a perpetuity of power, introduced a measure of reform more sweeping than any but comparatively a few of their own supporters had contemplated, the instincts of Mr. Baring, as a man of property, and one whose commercial prosperity depended on the stability of institutions, took alarm at the crisis, and led him to apprehend danger. But Mr. Baring was, in one respect, always a Conservative, even when taking the most active part on the side of the opponents of Tory Governments. Whatever might have been his abstract opinion on mere theories of government, he was prepared to insist that there must be in the Executive a power not merely to preserve public order, but also to indicate that amount of prospective legislation which would give security and regularity to the operations of commerce. He was a decided opponent of unnecessary commercial restrictions, and it was more in this respect that he was a supporter of the Whigs before the Reform Bill than that he was generally identified with their policy. Mr. Baring spoke frequently on all subjects connected directly or remotely with commerce when they came before Parliament, and his position procured him a deferential hearing even from those who were least disposed to agree with him in his views. On Sir Robert Peel's return to power, in Dec. 1834, Mr. Baring was placed in the new cabinet as President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint; and, a few days before the retirement of his friends from office, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Ashburton, by patent dated April 1835. This title was chosen from its having been borne by the celebrated lawyer, John Dunning, a native of Ashburton, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Baring, esq., of Larkbear, co. Devon, and aunt to the subject of this memoir. In the House of Peers Lord Ashburton continued to support the policy of Sir Robert Peel, until the final measure of free trade, to which he was wholly opposed. Yet he had previously opposed the measure which the Bill of 1846 was introduced to repeal. It may be imagined that during the interval he had ceased to be a mere commercial man, and had begun to regard with more concern his position as a peer and a landowner. In the year 1842, Lord Ashburton was nominated by Sir Robert Peel a special commissioner to settle the disputes which then threatened to involve us in a war with America. This was the fitting reward of a long life of commercial integrity. A more brilliant compliment could not have been paid to the person selected, nor could a selection have been made more advantageous to his country. It is almost needless to say that his mission—owing chiefly to his personal influence—was eminently successful, and resulted in the Treaty of

Washington. Lord Ashburton was a Trustee of the National Gallery as well as of the British Museum. During a long life devoted to activity, both mercantile and senatorial, he found leisure to cultivate the fine arts, and was one of their best patrons. Besides the encouragement he gave to modern art, he formed a collection of ancient pictures unsurpassed for the judgment displayed in their acquirement, or the princely liberality with which he obtained them. Lord Ashburton married, in 1798, Anne Louisa, eldest daughter of William Bingham, esq., of Philadelphia, a member of the Senate of the United States, and by that lady he had issue five sons and four daughters.

— At Swindon, from injuries received by a railway accident, aged 22, Arthur Augustus Lee, esq., B.A., of Wadham College, Oxford. He took a double second class at the Public Examination in June last.

— At Brighton, aged 79, Woodbine Parish, esq., many years Chairman of the Board of Excise, N.B.

15. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, aged 55, William Thomas Grant, esq., son of the late Charles Grant, esq., M.P. for Invernesshire, and brother to Lord Glenelg and the late Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. Mr. Grant was Private Secretary to Lord Glenelg when Secretary of State for the Colonies, and when President of the Board of Control.

17. At Brixton, aged 73, Thomas Warrand, esq., Captain R.N. (1825). He obtained the rank of Lieutenant in Feb. 1800, and assisted at the capture of two Spanish corvettes, in Barcelona road, by the boats of the *Minotaur*, 74, and *Niger* troop-ship, under the directions of Captain James Hillyar, on the 3rd of Sept. following. He afterwards received the Turkish gold medal for his services on the coast of Egypt. Mr. Warrand served as signal-lieutenant to Sir Robert Calder at the capture of two Spanish line-of-battle ships, July 22, 1805, and subsequently commanded the *Bloodhound* gun-brig, on the Downs station, where he captured a small French privateer, Aug. 6th, 1810. Some time after this, he was appointed to the *Sealark* schooner, of ten 12-pounder carronades and 50 men, in which he captured, after a long and severe action, *La Ville de Caen*, privateer, of sixteen long 4-pounders and 75 men, on the Plymouth station, July 21st, 1812. This gallant action procured Lieut. Warrand immediate promotion to the rank of Commander, and on the 15th of the following month he was reappointed to the *Sealark*, then rated a sloop of war, and he obtained a pension for his wounds.

— At Richmond, aged 73, Charles Buller, esq.

— At sea, on his passage homeward, aged 74, Sir John Peter Grant, knight, of Rothiemurchus, co. Perth, late one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 1, 1802. In 1827 he was appointed one of the judges at Bombay, and received the honour of knighthood on the 30th of June. He was afterwards removed to Calcutta.

18. At Plumstead, Captain Frederick William Burgoyne, R.N., second son of Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Burgoyne, bart., of Sutton Park, Beds.

23. At the Hague, Baron Dedel, Minister of the first Chamber of the States General of the Netherlands.

25. At Melbury House, aged 31, the Right Hon. Stephen, Viscount Stavordale, only surviving son of the Earl of Ilchester.

— In the Royal Marine Barracks, Woolwich, aged 58, Lieut.-Col. Robert Ford. This gentleman was present, as midshipman of the *Henry Addington*, at the gallant repulse of Admiral Linois' squadron in the China seas, in 1804. In November of the same year he obtained a commission in the Royal Marines. He served in the Channel fleet blockading the French ports; in Canada, under Sir Alexander Cochrane; in the West Indies in 1805 to 1808; and in pursuit of Jerome Bonaparte's squadron, with whom his ship exchanged shots. He disembarked in Portugal with a battalion, which secured a landing for the Duke of Wellington's army, and subsequently served in the expedition to Walcheren. He was made acting Captain of the *Ramilies*, by Sir A. Cochrane, on the coast of America, having commanded the Marines of the squadron at the taking of Moose Island and the bombardment of Stonytown, in 1813; was engaged at the capture of Washington and action before Baltimore, where he succeeded, through casualties, to the command of his battalion; assisted at New Orleans in storming the batteries on the right bank of the Mississippi; volunteered under General Nicholls, with the Creek Indians, in the Floridas, till the peace; was also engaged in various boat attacks on the coast of America and in

the West Indies, and was three times slightly wounded.

26. Aged 88, William Zouche Lucas Ward, esq., of Guilsborough Hall, Northamptonshire, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate of that county. He was the son and heir of John Lucas, esq., by Anne, daughter of John Ward, esq., of Guilsborough, and in 1783 assumed the additional name of Ward in compliance with the will of his uncle, Sir Thomas Ward, of Guilsborough, knight, who died in 1778. He served the office of sheriff for the county of Northampton, in 1785.

— At Sidney, New South Wales, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell, knight, K.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in that colony, and Colonel of the 80th Foot. This officer, after serving with the rank of Captain in the emigrant army under the Duke of Brunswick in the campaign of 1792, entered the British army sent to the Continent, on the breaking out of the war in 1793. He served some years in the West Indies, and in 1804 was ordered with his regiment to Dominica. He commanded the light company at Roseau, when an attack was made on that capital, 22nd Feb. 1805, by a French force commanded by Gen. La Grange and Admiral Missiessy, and successfully resisted, during the whole day, repeated attacks made by very superior numbers of the enemy on the posts he occupied with the remains of the 46th Regiment, his own company, and some colonial militia. He received the thanks of the House of Assembly of Dominica in 1805, and was presented by that body with a sword, value 100 guineas, for his services in the colony. He also received a sword, value 50*l.*, and a piece of plate, value 100*l.*, from the committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's. In 1809 he attained the rank of Lieut.-Col., and was appointed Lieut.-Governor of New South Wales, where he continued until April 1814. In 1815 he marched in command of a division of the army, under Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Brownrigg, into the territories of the King of Candy, the conquest of which was achieved in forty days, and crowned by the capture of the reigning monarch, who was deposed and brought a prisoner to Columbo. The 12th Aug. 1819, he received the brevet of Colonel; in 1841 he attained the rank of Lieut.-General. He received the honour of knighthood in 1835, and was appointed Colonel of the 80th Foot in 1844.

27. In Claremont-square, Pentonville, aged 56, William Henry Rosser, esq., F.S.A., a gentleman well known for his antiquarian pursuits.

— At her residence, near Kensington Church, in her 71st year, Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, aunt to Her Majesty the Queen. This Princess was the fifth daughter and twelfth child of their Majesties King George III. and Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz. Her Royal Highness always enjoyed the highest respect from the amiability of her character and her benevolence to her dependants and the poor. In consequence of her bad state of health, she had for some years lived in great retirement. In moving the customary address of condolence to Her Majesty, in the House of Lords, the Marquess of Lansdowne bore testimony to Her Royal Highness having passed "a long life of virtue, charity, and excellence, in every position, public and private, in which she was placed." The body of Her Royal Highness was interred on the 5th of June at the cemetery, Kensal Green, which already contained the mortal remains of her brother, the late Duke of Sussex.

29. At his residence, the Grange, near Edinburgh, aged 64, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, the seventh Baronet, of Fountain Hall, co. Haddington (1688), a deputy lieutenant of the counties of Haddington and Elgin, and F.R.S. Ed. He was the only son of Sir Andrew, the sixth Baronet, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Broun, esq., of Johnstonburn, and succeeded to the baronetcy in 1830. Sir Thomas was distinguished by his literary talents, which early acquired for him a high place in the literature of Scotland. The freedom and felicity of his style approach nearer to that of Sir Walter Scott than any contemporary instance that can be adduced. To Blackwood and the other periodicals of his early days Sir Thomas contributed numerous fugitive pieces, equally acceptable and equally excellent. He was greatly signalised by an excellent paper on "The Parallel Roads of Glenroy," which at an early period he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and which may be regarded as the foundation of his literary fame. In early life he also published his two novels, "Lochindhu," a romance, and "The Wolf of Badenoch." His other chief works are, "The Floods in Moray, in 1829;" "Highland Rambles, with Long Tales to Shorten the Way;" editions of "Gilpin's Forest Scenery" and

Sir Uvedale Price "On the Picturesque;" "Tour round the Coasts of Scotland;" and "The Queen's Visit to Scotland in 1842." Sir Thomas married in 1808 Charles Anne, only child and heir of George Cumin, esq., of Relugas, and had issue.

30. In John-street, Bedford-row, aged 27, John William Bittleston, esq., of the Middle Temple.

— At Worthing, in his 62nd year, Thomas Carvick, esq., of Moat Mount, Highwood Hill, Middlesex, and of Wyke, co. York, a deputy lieutenant of the former county, a justice of the peace for the counties of York, Hertford, and Middlesex, and a Major in the Militia.

31. At Windsor, aged 76, Sir William Hotham, G.C.B., Admiral of the Red. Sir William Hotham was the second son of General Hotham, a younger brother of Admiral William, the first Lord Hotham. Having entered the Royal Navy at an early age, he was Lieutenant of the *Victory* under Nelson, and served on shore at the siege of Bastia in 1795. He obtained the rank of Post Captain in the *Cyclops*, in 1794. He returned to England in 1796, and in the same year obtained the command of the *Adamant*, a 50-gun ship employed in the North Sea. The *Adamant* was the only two-decked ship that remained with Admiral Duncan off the Texel, during the alarming mutiny of 1797. In the same year he served at the memorable battle of Camperdown, for which he received a medal. Some time after he was ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, on which station he continued upwards of three years, and assisted at the destruction of *La Preneuse* French frigate. On the renewal of hostilities in 1803, Captain Hotham was appointed to the *Raisonable*, of 64 guns, and again employed in the North Sea; but, the fatiguing service in that quarter causing extreme indisposition, he was obliged to retire from active service. He subsequently commanded, in succession, the Sea Fencibles at Liverpool, and the *Royal Sovereign* yacht; the latter of which he retained until his advancement to the rank of Rear-Admiral, Dec. 4, 1813. He was nominated a K.C.B. Jan. 2, 1815; became a Vice-Admiral, July 19, 1821; and Admiral of the Blue in 1837; and was advanced to the rank of Grand Cross of the Bath in 1840. He was also in the receipt of an Admiral's good-service pension.

JUNE.

1. In Grosvenor-square, Charlotte, wife of Sir Charles Taylor, bart., of Hollycombe, Sussex. She was the second daughter of J. B. Poulett Thompson, esq.

— At the house of his father-in-law, Thomas Tindal, esq., Aylesbury, aged 49, Sir John De Veulle, Bailiff of the Isle of Jersey. He was appointed bailiff or chief magistrate of Jersey in 1831; on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood from King William the Fourth, March 2, 1831.

— At Tottenham, aged 71, William Robinson, esq., LL.D., barrister-at-law, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for Middlesex, and F.S.A., a distinguished local antiquarian and writer, and author of some law treatises.

2. At Aston Hall, Warwickshire, in his 80th year, James Watt, esq., F.R.S. Mr. Watt was the last surviving son of the illustrious improver of the steam-engine. He was born on the 5th of Feb. 1769. Inheriting a large share of the powerful intellect of his distinguished father, to the extension of whose fame he had for the last thirty years shown the most zealous and truly filial devotion, he united to great sagacity and a masculine understanding the varied acquirements and literary tastes of a well-cultivated mind. His name will long be remembered in association with that of the late Mr. Boulton, as they were for nearly half a century successfully engaged in carrying out those inventions and improvements by which the genius of his father was immortalized. For the last eight years of his life, he had comparatively retired from active business, and had devoted much time and attention to the improvement of his extensive estates in the counties of Radnor and Brecon, where his tenantry will have to lament the loss of a kind, energetic, and liberal landlord.

3. At Leamington, aged 57, Miss Ann Maria Manners Sutton, sixth daughter of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

— In the College of Arms, in his 82nd year, Francis Martin, esq., Clarencieux King of Arms, and F.S.A.

— In Chapel-street, Belgrave-square, from injuries sustained by her dress accidentally taking fire, aged 78, Lady Elizabeth Moncrieffe, aunt to the Earl of Dalhousie.

6. At his chambers in the Temple, of an affection of the heart, aged 39, Robert

Baldwin, esq., barrister-at-law, eldest son of Mr. Baldwin, of Paternoster-row.

8. Aged 56, in Bruton-street, Lady Lucy Eleanor Lowther, wife of Col. the Hon. H. C. Lowther, M.P., and sister to the Earl of Harborough.

— In Wilton-crescent, in his 54th year, the Hon. Edward Robert Petre, uncle to Lord Petre.

9. At Tottenham, aged 75, the Rev. David Thomas Powell, B.C.L.

— Aged 30, William Capel Clayton, esq., late of the Coldstream Guards, son of Sir William Clayton, bart.

— At Nice, the Marchioness de Lapière de Massingy, daughter of Sir Charles Henry Coote, bart., late M.P., Premier Baronet of Ireland.

10. At his Rectory House, near London Bridge, aged 77, the Rev. Thomas Leigh, M.A., Rector of St. Magnus in the city of London, and of Wickham Bishop's, Essex.

12. In Clifford-street, the Right Hon. Mary, Lady Montgomerie, mother of the Earl of Eglintoun, and wife of Sir Charles M. Lamb, bart. She was the daughter and heir of Archibald, 11th Earl of Eglintoun, and was married first in 1803 to her cousin Archibald, Lord Montgomerie, eldest son of the 12th Earl, who died before his father in 1814; and secondly, in 1815, to Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, bart., Knight Marshal. By her first marriage she had issue two sons, Hugh, Lord Montgomerie, who died in 1817, and the present Earl.

15. At Peele's Coffee-house, Fleet-street (some weeks after an attempt at self-destruction), Thomas Steele, esq., M.A. Mr. Steele was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1820. Mr. Steele was best known as the faithful and constant follower of the late Mr. O'Connell in his political efforts, and he received from the demagogue the title of "Head Pacificator" of Ireland. The following remarks upon his decease appeared in the *Standard* newspaper:—"The purest, perhaps indeed the only pure, spirit which the vile Repeal agitation produced, has passed away from amongst us. Poor Tom Steele is no more. What a fate was his! Highly gifted by nature, eminently distinguished at Cambridge University, with a buoyant spirit and an ample fortune, all shone brightly through the vista before him. Mark the sequel. With a broken spirit, and a broken heart, and a broken fortune, he died, almost deserted, at an inn in London—a pauper, alas! but not a beggar. He was a follower of O'Connell in every thing but that. When, in consequence of a late deplorable attempt, his destitution was made known, many who differed from his opinions hastened to his relief; and in a few days contributions were poured in which would soon have swelled into a fortune. There could have been no doubt about it. But Steele was not of Ireland's "mendicant patriots." His gratitude shed tears at the offer which his noble nature would not permit him to accept. The country which he loved and that from which he sought to separate were strangely contrasted in their conduct towards him. Ireland gave him words, England deeds. Ireland took his life, England gave him a grave. How bitter must have been the reflections of that death-bed. Steele's great mistake was this:—Unadmonished by the fate of many who preceded him, he, a Protestant, was credulous enough to put faith in Roman Catholic professions. The faction, as is their wont, flattered him, and used him, and neglected him. May his fate warn others. Poor fellow! what must have been his feelings when he found Lord Brougham, whom he had so often denounced, hastening to his aid, and Colonel Perceval, chief amongst the Orangemen, watching by his death-bed! Fare thee well, noble, honest, victimized, Tom Steele! A braver spirit, in a gentler heart, never left earth—let us humbly hope, for that home where the weary find rest."

16. At Darmstadt, aged 71, Ludwig II., Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt.

— At Richmond, Surrey, aged 63, Sir James Fullarton Dundas, the third baronet, of that place, and of Llanelly, co. Carmarthen (1815), a Major-General in the service of the Hon. East India Company.

17. At Inverury, the widow of William Thom, the bard of Inverury. The Queen has given a donation of ten pounds to the fund for behoof of the three orphan children, and the total sum raised by the joint efforts of the general committee in Dundee, and the auxiliary committee in London, exceeds 250*l*.

21. At Cheltenham, aged 84, Dame Deborah Pepys, relict of Sir Lucas Pepys, bart., M.D., F.R.S. She was the daughter of the celebrated Dr. Anthony Askew, and sister to Adam Askew, of Redheugh, co. Durham, esq.

22. At Cambridge, aged 57, William

Mortlock, esq. Mr. Mortlock was the sixth and youngest son of the late John Mortlock, esq., banker at Cambridge and M.P. for that borough in parliament, and was highly distinguished by his extensive charity and generosity. In 1818 he gave 500*l.* for the purpose of rebuilding the almshouses in Cambridge founded by Mrs. Elizabeth Knight in 1647, which had become so greatly dilapidated that without such timely aid the benevolent intentions of the founder would have been in a great measure defeated, and in the year 1826 contributed a further donation of 200*l.* for the repair of these almshouses. These almshouses are, in consequence of Mr. Mortlock's generous gift, now called the Knight and Mortlock's almshouses.

23. Aged 73, William Ashby Ashby, esq., of Quenby Hall. He was the only son of William Latham, esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., of Eltham, Kent, by Mary Elizabeth Ashby, eldest daughter and heiress of Shukbrugh Ashby, esq., F.R.S. and M.P. for Leicester in 1784. He changed his name from Latham to Ashby on succeeding to his mother's property.

— By the overturning of her carriage between Munich and Vienna, aged 72, Maria Leopoldine, Electress of Bavaria. She was the daughter of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Duke of Modena Brisgau, by Mary Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Massa-Carrara.

24. In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the Right Hon. Warwick Lake, third Viscount Lake (1807) and Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswarree, and of Aston Clinton, co. Buckingham (1804). He was third and youngest son of Gerard, first Viscount Lake, the hero of Laswarree. On the death of his eldest brother, Francis Gerard, second Viscount, May 12, 1836, he succeeded to the dignities of the peerage. He married, Nov. 28, 1815, Elizabeth, only daughter of James Beveridge Duncan, of Damside, esq., and by that lady had issue one son, Warwick, who died an infant in 1817; and two daughters. The peerage has now become extinct.

— At the vicarage, Little Marlow, Bucks, the Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., a Prebendary of St. Paul's, Rector of the united parishes of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch-Haw in the city of London, and Vicar of Little Marlow.

25. At his brother's house, St. Andrew's-place, Regent's-park, aged 32, the Rev. John Hamilton Forsyth, M.A., Curate of Dowry Chapel, Clifton, and formerly of Weston-super-Mare. He was the second son of Thomas Forsyth, esq., of Liverpool; was of Trinity College, Cambridge; and he married, Jan. 20, 1842, Mary Catharine, second daughter of the late Lord Edward O'Bryen.

27. At Aarau, in Switzerland, in his 78th year, Henry Zschokke, whose name fills no mean page in the annals of German literature and Swiss history. A native of Magdeburg, in Prussia, Zschokke commenced life by joining a company of strolling players, and afterwards studied philosophy and divinity at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. After many years of travels and varied adventures, he devoted himself to the education of youth, and fixed his residence in Switzerland at the close of the last century. His political services to Switzerland were important, and he ever after considered it as his adopted country. For the last forty years he resided in his peaceful retreat at Aarau, whilst his pen almost unceasingly brought forth works of philosophy, history, criticism, and fiction. His productions belong to the pure school of classic German literature, and his histories of Bavaria and Switzerland remain as noble monuments of talent. His beautiful tales have been translated into almost every language. His chequered life had endowed him with a rare insight into the springs of human actions, and few writers in any age or country have more largely contributed during the course of a long life to entertain and improve their fellow-men.

— The Rev. Horace Lewis Knight Bruce, M.A., Vicar of Abbotsham, Devonshire, the eldest son of Vice-Chancellor the Right Hon. Sir James L. Knight Bruce.

— At Beddington Park, Surrey, Chas. Hallowell Carew, esq., Capt. R.N. Captain Carew was the eldest son of Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew, K.C.B., by a daughter of Capt. Inglefield, R.N., Commissioner of the Dockyard at Gibraltar. He married, in 1828, Mary, daughter of the late Capt. Sir Murray Maxwell, R.N., and has left issue.

28. At Bideford, aged 39, Mary Madelina Bourmaster, wife of Major Douglas, daughter of the late Gen. Sir William Dixon.

30. At Bath, Lady Lester, of High Hall, Wimborne, Dorset, widow of Sir John Lester, knt., who died at Bath in 1805.

JULY.

1. At Charlecote Park, aged 23, Wil-

liam Fulke Lucy, esq. He was the son and heir of the late George Lucy, esq., by Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Williams, of Bodelwyddan, co. Flint, bart.

2. At his residence, Parker's Piece, Cambridge, aged 60, William Jardine Purchas, esq., Captain R.N., a magistrate for the county and borough of Cambridge. He was the younger son of John Purchas, esq., Alderman of Cambridge. He entered the royal navy in 1803, under the patronage of Admiral Sir Henry Trollope, and was present at the capture of two Spanish line-of-battle ships, by Sir Robert Calder, July 22, 1805; of four French two-deckers, by Sir Richard J. Strachan, Nov. 4, in the same year; and at the surrender of Rear-Admiral Linois, to part of the squadron under Sir John B. Warren, March 13, 1806. In 1809 the *Bellerophon*, then commanded by Capt. Samuel Warren, was attached to the Baltic fleet; and on the 7th of July Mr. Purchas served in her barge at the capture and destruction of seven Russian gun-boats, a large armed ship, and twelve transports, near Percola Point, in the Gulf of Finland. Captain Purchas commanded several vessels since the peace, and in 1824 was appointed to the *Esk*, 20, on the African station, where he captured nine Brazilian, Dutch, and Spanish vessels, with 2249 slaves, between July 17, 1825, and Feb. 8, 1827. On the arrival of the *Esk* at Spithead, she was visited by King George the Fourth and his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, who personally complimented her gallant commander for his brilliant deeds. He was immediately promoted to the rank of Post Captain, and appointed to the *Royal Adelaide*, 120 guns.

— In St. James's-square, aged 64, the Right Hon. Henrietta Frances, Countess de Grey. She was the youngest daughter of William Willoughby, first Earl of Enniskillen, and was married, in 1805, to the Earl de Grey (then Lord Grantham).

— At Ramsgate, aged 78, Lady Wood, widow of Sir Matthew Wood, bart., Alderman of London.

4. At Paris, in his 80th year, François Auguste, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Peer of France and Member of the Institute. "The life and adventures of the Viscount de Chateaubriand," says an able writer in *The Times*, "have filled so large a space in the politics, the literature, and the society of France, during the first thirty years of the present century, and his fame has been perpetuated by so much of romantic interest or conventional adulation throughout the period immediately preceding our own time, that his death is an event of sufficient interest to divert our attention for a moment from the living occurrences of an age not less agitated than that through which it was his lot to pass. A more varied career has never been followed by man, even in the vicissitudes of mighty and rapid revolutions; but, whilst M. de Chateaubriand was actively engaged in many of the principal transactions of his time, and passed in rapid alternations from indigence and obscurity to affluence and power, which fell off in their turn until the reflection of his past greatness alone remained to light up his declining years, it would be hard to find another instance of a reputation at once so vast and so hollow, or of a public existence so barren of real services to mankind. M. de Chateaubriand was born in the year 1769, like so many others of the men who were destined to play a prominent part in the gigantic labours of the last generation. Amongst the ample list of his immediate contemporaries we find the great captains, the statesmen, the poets, who were to inaugurate the nineteenth century upon the ruins left by the first French revolution. They, in their various paths, discharged that task; but whilst they conquered nations, governed mankind, or adorned their age, M. de Chateaubriand remained faithful to his vocation. We may describe it in a single word. He was the knight-errant of modern Europe, who won and wore his trophies and favours on his own person. A fervid imagination—an animated style, which seemed impassioned in comparison with the frigid models of the French empire—a spirit which was more chivalrous and bold than discreet and resolute—and a sympathy for the improvement of the age, united to a veneration for the majestic traditions of the past, gave to M. de Chateaubriand a potent influence over the minds of men at some of the most remarkable moments in history. When the storm of the first French revolution had, for that time, blown over, the young Breton emigrant, who had retired from the army of Condé, after the siege of Thionville, to the wilds of Kentucky, and subsequently to a garret in London, returned to his native land; and, after ten years of the brutality and blasphemy of Jacobin clubs and revolutionary journals, France was enchanted to strike a fresh vein of poetry in the pages of *Atala*, and

to resume her old faith in the pleasing attire of the 'Genius of Christianity' (published in 1802). The merit of these productions may be extremely questionable to foreigners and to posterity; but, if their author had not the gift of raising an imperishable monument to his literary fame, he had, at least, the art of gratifying, and sometimes leading, the taste of the time, although the wreaths he profusely wore in the summer of his life have left us the fewer flowers to strew upon his grave. Bonaparte was not slow to perceive the use which might be made of a pen so felicitous and so popular. Nothing was better fitted than such compositions to assist in the restoration of letters, of religious observances, and of society; but, like most of the ornaments of the Consular and Imperial *régime*, these productions were of tinsel rather than of solid gold; and men continued to praise them, rather from their original effect, than from any fresh and perennial charm which they possess. M. de Chateaubriand, however, was of too independent a spirit to submit to the conditions of Bonaparte's service, especially when it was degraded by treachery and stained with blood. Upon the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, he instantly resigned his post of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Valais, and served Napoleon no more; for, though the young poet and the embryo statesman might be regarded as a soldier of fortune, he was at least no mercenary retainer. After this check in his public career, he started on his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and described in glowing colours, befitting the part he had assumed, his itinerary from Paris to Jerusalem, including his return through Egypt, Barbary, and Spain, where he paused to mourn in the halls of Grenada over the last Abencerrage. In 1814 M. de Chateaubriand's political life really began, and he took a prominent part in the affairs of his country and of Europe for the next ten years. The vanity and pretensions which were harmless or merely ludicrous in a wandering Knight of Letters became dangerous and intolerable in a minister charged with the difficult task of consolidating an old dynasty on a new basis; and accordingly this is the period of M. de Chateaubriand's life most obnoxious to the severity of criticism. His *début* in the cause of the restored monarchy was, however, perfectly within his competency, and brilliantly successful. The pamphlet entitled Bonaparte and the Bourbons did, as Louis XVIII. expressed it, the work of an army; 100,000 copies of it were sold with prodigious rapidity; and, whilst the allied forces occupied the capital of France, and brought back the descendants of St. Louis, it was some compensation that the greatest master of the French language, intensely national in his predilections and his defects, should have pleaded the cause of the Bourbons in the popular ear. M. de Chateaubriand's devotion to the monarchy of the elder branch was chiefly of the romantic cast. He once styled himself 'a royalist by reason, a legitimist by duty, and a republican by taste,' and his political services seem to have been governed by a singular conflict of these opposite motives. He affected to warn the Court of Louis XVIII. against its retrograde tendencies, yet he plunged it into the shameful and impolitic war of 1823, against the opinion even of the king himself; and, whilst he sought to revive the dignity and stability of the throne of France, he presumed to stigmatize as odious those identical treaties which had recalled the Comte de Provence from hopeless exile. The history of the Congress of Verona, as recorded by his own pen, suffices to stamp his official career with the deepest condemnation. Towards this country, and to Mr. Canning, with whom he kept up the pretence of a familiar correspondence, he was false and hostile, though England had nurtured him in penury at one time, and honoured him at another as the representative of a prince whom she had restored to the throne of his ancestors. Towards Russia he was cringing and subservient, and he inspired the Government of the Restoration with the fatal scheme of regaining the frontier of the Rhine by the sacrifice of the East. Towards Spain he planned and practised a line of policy more violent and overbearing than that of Louis XIV. himself; and the invasion of the Peninsula, in 1823, only ceased to be dangerous by becoming absurd. Trocadero was to efface the painful recollections of Waterloo, and the Dauphin to surpass the achievements of Bonaparte. The Dauphin was as like Bonaparte as M. de Chateaubriand was like a great statesman. However, this culpable extravagance recoiled upon himself. M. de Villèle declared it was even worse to have Chateaubriand in the cabinet than in opposition, and he was cashiered with singular asperity at two hours' notice. The ex-minister took refuge, however, in the columns of the *Journal des Débats*, whence he directed a tremendous fire

against the increasing bigotry and intolerance of the party to which the accession of Charles X. gave a decided and fatal ascendancy. From this time, however, M. de Chateaubriand may be said to have descended into the retirement of private life. He still raised his warning voice against the errors of the Government which were leading to the catastrophe of 1830; in the height of that revolution he was borne in triumph one hour by the men of the barricades, and in the next he delivered his last speech in the Chamber of Peers in favour of the rights of the Duc de Bordeaux. At that moment his expression to the Duchess de Berri, 'Madame, votre fils est mon Roi,' and his pamphlet against the banishment of the elder branch of the royal family, marked him out as the leader, or at least the champion, of the Legitimist party—but his warfare was accomplished, and his relations with the Pretender soon dwindled down into a harmless and not unpleasing mixture of loyalty, politeness, and devotion. The conditions through which he passed in life were very various; and in his character the enthusiasm, if not the true genius, of a poet was blended with the aspirations, if not the fixed energy, of a statesman. But in all these things the world, and especially his own countrymen, ministered without limit or restraint to his inordinate vanity; he was exempted, by some extraordinary dispensation, from the satirical judgments and the oblivion of a society fertile in censure and prone to forget past merit, until his last years were spent, as it were, in the sanctuary of literary fame, and the greatest of contemporary reputations were held to be but secondary to that of Chateaubriand. An annuity of 1000*l.* a year, derived from the sale of his posthumous memoirs, supplied him with the means of subsistence; and, having lived through one entire cycle of the great revolution of his country, he expired almost at the moment when some of the most terrible scenes of his early youth were renewed in the streets of Paris. The French people have singled him out for honour alone of all the writers of the empire and the servants of the Restoration. It is not for us to question the merit of those on whom such rewards are bestowed by their own countrymen; but the veneration professed for the name of M. de Chateaubriand will not be shared by the whole of Europe." M. de Chateaubriand, although for a long time in a declining state of health, retained his mental faculties unimpaired to the last moment. His last illness, which has terminated fatally, was an inflammation of the lungs. He has left ten volumes of Memoirs, which he could not be induced to publish during his lifetime, and which will be looked for with eager curiosity. The Moniteur of July 24 gives the details of the honours paid to his funeral cortège. M. Ampère, in the name of the French Academy, pronounced an eloquent funeral harangue, and concluded with the following allusion to the place of sepulture which the deceased had chosen at St. Malo:—"Let him sleep in the last refuge which he selected when alive, under the cross which he raised up, amidst the murmurs of the waves as they break on the shore which he loved, amidst the accents of his own country people, on the rude rock which henceforth will be called Chateaubriand's Isle. This granite rock reared its head before the last convulsions which hurled our mountains into the briny flood, turned the course of our rivers, and altered the face of the earth. When revolutions of another order shall have changed the course of our ideas, reared new societies, and modified the forms of human thought, this rock, the contemporary of the most ancient ages of the world, will still exist and preserve its precious deposit. But of this I am still better assured, that the name of Chateaubriand is still more indestructible than this granite, and will rise above the succeeding tides of ages, which are incessantly encroaching upon us, and each day engulfing some summit of the past in the deluge of oblivion!"

5. At the Rev. E. B. St. John's, Ideford Rectory, aged 91, Theophila, relict of Robert Lovell Gwatkin, esq., of Plymouth, and last surviving niece of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

6. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, Anne, wife of Richard Prime, esq., M.P., of Walberton, Sussex.

— At Blyton, aged 23, Louis, youngest son of the late Sir James Rivett Carnac, bart.

7. At Vichy, in France, in his 62nd year, Sir Joseph De Courcy Laffan, bart., of Otham, Kent, K.H., M.D., and LL.D. He was born May 8, 1786, the third son of Walter Laffan, esq., of Cashel. His eldest brother was the Right Rev. Robert Laffan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, who died in 1833. Having graduated at Edinburgh, he was appointed successively Physician to the Forces in the Peninsula War, and Physician in ordinary to the late

Duke of Kent. He was created a baronet of the United Kingdom by patent dated March 15, 1828; and in 1836 he was nominated a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order.

8. At the Crown Inn, Lyndhurst, Richard Fitz-George, Duc de Stacpoole, of Montigny-Lencoup, in the department of the Seine and the Marne, France, and of Glasshayes, in the county of Hants.

— At Rotherham, Mr. John Stephenson, railway contractor. By the force of natural talent, aided by industry and integrity, he raised himself from the position of a humble artizan to the charge of some of the most gigantic undertakings in the kingdom.

9. Mr. Thomas Henry Sealy, one of those many labourers in the field of literature whose personal distinctions bear no just proportion to the amount of their labour, because they work under cover of the anonymous as contributors to periodical publications. Mr. Sealy is best known by his "Porcelain Tower," published in 1842. He was the author, besides, of a volume of poetry, entitled "The Little Old Man in the Wood." For many years, up till 1843, Mr. Sealy was the editor of the Western Archæological Magazine, published in Bristol; and from that time till 1847 he was the proprietor and editor, in the same city, of a weekly newspaper called "The Great Western Advertiser," and of "Sealy's Western Miscellany," in which he wrote some of his best tales. Mr. Sealy was a contributor to many other publications than those already mentioned; and among his numerous papers were some esteemed translations from several of the Italian poets.

10. Aged 79, Richard Jones, esq., of Parliament-street, Westminster, and Morden Lodge, Surrey, formerly one of the Assistant Committee Clerks of the House of Commons, and the principal of the firm of Jones and Walmisley, parliamentary agents.

— At Haverholme Priory, aged 39, the Right Hon. Emily Georgiana, Countess of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

12. At Graham's Town, Retired Commander Alexander Bissett (1847). This veteran officer, on the lieutenant list for nearly 40 years, was three times wounded (from one of which wounds his right arm was permanently injured), once shipwrecked, twice a prisoner, and engaged with the enemy in minor actions and "cuttings out" very many times in the service of his country.

15. In his 74th year, Mr. John Brunton, a once celebrated comedian, father of the well-known actress, Mrs. Yates, and brother to the Dowager Countess of Craven.

— At East Bergholt Lodge, Sarah Perring, relict of the Rev. Sir Richard Hughes, bart.

16. In his 70th year, Court Granville, esq., of Calwich Abbey, co. Stafford, a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for the counties of Stafford and Warwick. He was the son of Bernard D'Ewes, esq., of Hagley, co. Worc., and Wellesborne, co. Warwick, and assumed the name of Granville in 1826, on inheriting the estates of his uncle the Rev. John Granville, M.A. (previously D'Ewes), of Calwich Abbey.

19. Aged 74, Ann, widow of Mr. Cobbett, M.P. Her body was conveyed to Farnham, in Surrey, and there deposited in the same spot where those of her husband were deposited in 1835.

22. At his seat, Rockbarton, co. Limerick, the Right Hon. Standish O'Grady, second Viscount Guillamore of Caher Guillamore, and Baron O'Grady of Rockbarton, co. Limerick (1831), a Colonel in the army, and Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. His lordship was the eldest son of Standish, the first Viscount, late Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, by Katherine, second daughter of the late John Thomas Waller, esq., of Castletown, co. Limerick. He entered the army in early life, and was present at the battle of Waterloo. His lordship married, October 16, 1828, Gertruda Jane, eldest daughter of the Hon. Berkeley Paget, and niece to the Marquis of Anglesea, and has issue.

25. At his residence in Westbourne Grove, aged 76, Mr. François Cramer. This accomplished musician was the second son of William Cramer, formerly leader of the Opera band, and brother to the celebrated pianist John Cramer. François was born at Schwetzingen, near Mannheim, in 1772. He was early instructed by an able master in the art of playing the violin. At the age of seven he left his native country to join his father and brother, who had settled in England. At seventeen he was placed in the Opera band, of which his father was then leader. In the course of a few years he rose in the ranks of the orchestra, and became second violin to his father at the principal concerts and festivals. In the autumn of 1799 he lost his father, and in the ensuing

season succeeded him at the Ancient Concerts as leader, which post he held until his retirement in 1844. For many years he was alternate leader of the Philharmonic Concerts with Loder, T. Cooke, Weichsel, &c. François Cramer was an active member of the Royal Society of Musicians, and was much respected in the profession as a kind-hearted, generous man.

26. On board the ship *Earl of Dalhousie*, on passage from Calcutta to England, Sir Henry Wilmot Seton, knight, Puisne Judge in her Majesty's Supreme Court of Bengal. The deceased was a King's scholar at Westminster, and a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B. A. 1807, as second Senior Optime, M. A. 1810. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, June 20, 1809. In 1838 he was appointed judge in the Supreme Court, Bengal, and received the honour of knighthood.

— At Bury St. Edmund's, aged 89, Susanna, relict of the late Thomas Mills, esq., of Saxham Hall.

29. In London, in his 65th year, Sir James Roupell Colleton, the seventh bart. (1661) of Colleton Hall, co. Devon. He was the eldest son of Sir James Nassau Colleton, the sixth baronet, by Susanna, daughter of William Nixon, esq., of Lincoln. Sir J. Colleton was formerly in the Staff Corps, and commanded a detachment of his corps to the Mediterranean, in the expedition under Gen. Sir James Craig, and afterwards to Naples and Calabria. He commanded some detachments in the battle of Maida, and remained in Sicily until Jan. 1807. In 1808 he commanded a company with the expedition under Lieut.-General Sir Brent Spencer; joined the army in Portugal, and was present at the battles of Roleia and Vimiera; and in October of the same year he accompanied Sir John Moore's army into Spain, and was present at the battle of Corunna. In December 1810, he again embarked for the Peninsula, and was present at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, the siege of Badajos, the battles of Salamanca, Nivelle, and Toulouse, and the passage of the Bidassoa; and in 1815 he was employed in the Netherlands. He succeeded to the baronetcy in January 1815. He married in 1819, at the Hague, and in 1820 at London, his cousin Septima Sexta Colleton, third daughter of Admiral Richard Graves, of Hembury Port, Devonshire.

— At Burgh Hall, aged 32, Charlotte, wife of Francis L'Estrange Astley, esq.

30. In Albert-street, Regent's Park, Benjamin West, esq., youngest son of the late Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy.

AUGUST.

1. At Branksea Castle, Dorsetshire, aged 68, the Right Hon. Sir Augustus John Foster, bart., and G.C.H., of Stonehouse, co. Louth, a Privy Councillor of the United Kingdom. He was the younger son of John Thomas Foster, esq., of Dunleer, co. Louth. He was nominated a member of the Privy Council, March 28, 1822. He was for some time Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark, and afterwards to the Court of Sardinia, from which mission he returned in 1840. He was created a baronet by patent dated Sept. 30, 1831. He married March 18, 1815, Lady Albinia Jane, daughter of the Hon. George Vere Hobart, and sister to the present Earl of Buckinghamshire.

2. At Wydale, Emma, wife of E. S. Cayley, esq., M.P., third daughter of Sir George Cayley, bart.

— At his residence, Langham, Norfolk, in his 56th year, Frederick Marryat, esq., Captain R.N., C.B., and Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, F.R.S. and F.L.S. Capt. Marryat was descended from one of the French refugees who came to England after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and was the second son of Joseph Marryat, esq., of Wimbledon-house, Surrey, an eminent West India merchant, Chairman of Lloyd's, and M.P. for Sandwich. He was born in London, July 10, 1792. In 1806, he entered the navy as a first-class boy, on board the *Impérieuse*, 44 guns, commanded by the illustrious Lord Cochrane. During his service under this gallant officer, which lasted till the 18th of Oct. 1809, he took part in more than fifty engagements, in which many ships of war and merchantmen were cut out, off the coast of France and in the Mediterranean. Having chased a ship into the Bay of Arcupon, which sought safety under a battery, Lord Cochrane resolved to cut her out, and young Marryat was one of the boarding party. He followed closely the first lieutenant, who headed the expedition, and who at length, after his party had sustained a severe loss, succeeded in gaining the deck of the

enemy. He had scarcely done so when, struck by thirteen musket balls, he fell back a corpse, knocking down his follower in his fall, who was trampled on and almost suffocated by his shipmates, who, burning to revenge their leader, rushed forward with impetuous bravery. The vessel captured, an examination took place of the bodies of the killed and wounded. Marryat was numbered among the former, and being in a state of stupor was unable to deny the doom assigned to him. He was pronounced dead; "You are a liar!" exclaimed the aroused officer,—a retort which, notwithstanding the melancholy scene around, produced a roar of laughter. Shortly after this he was engaged in a rather "untoward" enterprise. His ship fell in with a vessel of a suspicious appearance. It was under French colours, which it soon hauled down, showing no others, and threatening to fire into the English ship if it attempted to board her. Upon this, she was boarded and taken, with a loss of twenty-six killed and wounded on her side, and of sixteen on ours; and not till then was it discovered that she was a Maltese privateer, and a friend, who had made a like mistake in supposing her opponent to be French. After this unfortunate mistake, the *Impérieuse* proceeded to Malta. The road from Barcelona to Gerona, which latter place was besieged by the French, had been completely commanded by them, for they had possession of the castle of Mongat. On the 31st of July, 1808, Marryat had a hand in the reduction and levelling of that fortress. This proceeding greatly delayed the transmission of the enemy's stores and provisions which were designed for their operations in Catalonia; so much so, indeed, that on one occasion the French general was under the necessity of abandoning the whole of his artillery and field ammunition. During these operations he was twice wounded, and he a third time sustained injury in the defence of the castle of Rosas, under Lord Cochrane. On the arrival of the *Impérieuse* in the bay, she perceived that the castle of Trinidad,—the maintaining of which was essential to the preservation of the main fortress,—had been so hotly bombarded by the enemy, that the British portion of the garrison had withdrawn from it. Lord Cochrane, therefore, taking with him a party of officers and seamen, amongst whom was Mr. Marryat, went on shore, and defended the fortress for some days —indeed, until the main fortress was taken, notwithstanding that the castle, by this time a complete ruin, was attacked, sword in hand, by 1200 chosen men of the enemy. When Lord Cochrane proceeded against the boom constructed by the enemy, before he sent in the fireship to attack the French fleet in the Basque Roads, Mr. Marryat was in one of the explosion vessels, commanded by Captain Ury Johnson, which his lordship led for that purpose. For his gallantry on that occasion, he received a certificate from Capt. Johnson, who brought his services under the notice of the Admiralty, and for his whole conduct in the Mediterranean he was recommended in Lord Cochrane's despatches. Mr. Marryat was no less distinguished by his gallantry in preserving his friends, than in attacking his enemies, having four times jumped overboard to the rescue of his comrades, under circumstances of uncommon danger; and once he saved his ship from shipwreck by his daring intrepidity, for which actions his captains awarded him their certificates. When he belonged to the *Spartan*, he was put in command of a boat, and cut out the *Morning Star* and *Polly*, privateers, from Haycock's Harbour, and likewise a revenue cutter and two privateers in Little River. Mr. Marryat obtained his promotion as lieutenant in 1812, and in the following year was appointed to l'Espiegle, Captain J. Taylor, in the West Indies. In Jan. 1814, he joined the *Newcastle*, 58, Captain Lord George Stuart, and led an expedition which was despatched to cut out four vessels off New Orleans. This he did with the loss of one officer and twelve men. He acquired his Commander's rank in 1815, and in 1820 commanded the *Beacon* sloop at St. Helena, from which he exchanged into the *Rosario*, 18, in which vessel he brought home duplicate despatches, announcing the death of Napoleon. He was now actively engaged in the Preventive Service, in which he effected thirteen seizures. Appointed to the *Larne*, 18, in March 1823, he sailed to the East Indies, where, until the Burmese war in 1825, he was fully employed as senior officer of the naval forces, the order of Commodore Grant being that none should interfere with or supersede him. Sir Archibald Campbell, the commander-in-chief, was received on board the *Larne* at Calcutta, and Commander Marryat led the attack at Rangoon. When

Captain Chads, of the *Arachne*, relieved him in September 1824, he had lost nearly the whole of his ship's company. He now proceeded to Penang and Calcutta, returning to Rangoon in December 1824, and in the following February sailed with the late Sir Robert Sale, of glorious memory, on an expedition to reduce the territory of Bassein. On his return in April, having successfully performed his perilous duty, he was promoted to a death vacancy, and commanded the *Tees*, which, on her arrival in England, he paid off. Captain Marryat commanded the *Ariadne* in the Channel and Western Islands, from Nov. 1828 to Nov. 1830. Twice thanked for his services in the Burmese war by the Governor-General of India, he received three letters of thanks from Sir Archibald Campbell, commander-in-chief of the forces, and was five times recommended by him. He was likewise thanked for his expedition with Sir Robert Sale, and was three times recommended and thanked by Commodore Coe. In June 1825, he received the decoration of C.B., and,—an honour, a record of which must not be omitted,—he was presented with a medal by that admirable institution, the Humane Society, for his daring and humane exertions to save the lives of so many men. In 1837 the Captain published "A Code of Signals for the Use of Vessels employed in the Merchant Service." That admirable invention is now in use in the royal and mercantile service, not only of this country, but of foreign nations. He twice received the thanks of the Ship-Owners' Society for it, and, the publication having been translated into French in 1840, was brought under the notice of Louis Philippe, from whom he received the gold cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1829 Captain Marryat turned his attention to authorship, and having published "The Naval Officer, or Frank Mildmay," the reception of which gave him encouragement, he set to work with an earnestness and a zeal which he brought to all his undertakings. "The King's Own," "Peter Simple," and "Jacob Faithful" followed each other in rapid succession. To these he added, in the course of a few years, "Japhet in Search of a Father," "Newton Forster," "Midshipman Easy," "The Pacha of Many Tales," "The Poacher," "The Phantom Ship," "Snarley Yow, or the Dog Fiend," "Percival Keane," "Masterman Ready," "Poor Jack," "The Settlers," "Olla Podrida," "Diary in America," in two Parts; "Monsieur Violet's Adventures," &c. All these works obtained a considerable popularity, and even gained the author a reputation which very few modern writers of fiction have succeeded in acquiring: but his "Diary in America" gave great offence on the other side of the Atlantic. Capt. Marryat married Catharine, daughter of Sir Stephen Shairp, formerly Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Russia, by whom he has left six children. The eldest son, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, perished with nearly the whole of his crew in the wreck of Her Majesty's steamer *Avenger* on the coast of Africa, which is recorded in our "Chronicle" for 1847.

3. Henry, eldest son of Robert William St. John, esq., Her Majesty's Consul General at Algiers.

— At Capécure, near Boulogne-sur-Mer, aged 49, Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Chancellor and Knight Grand Cross of the Ionian Order of St. Michael and St. George, Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, a barrister-at-law, and a Lieutenant R.N. Sir Harris Nicolas was descended from a Breton family, which came to England on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled at Looe in Cornwall. An authentic genealogical history of the family, contributed by Sir Harris, is published in Burke's Commoners. His father, John Harris Nicolas, was Commander R.N. Sir Harris was born on the 10th of March, 1799, the fourth of five sons. His eldest brother, Capt. John Toup Nicolas, is a very distinguished officer in the Royal Navy, a C.B., K.H.G., and K. St. F. Sir Harris Nicolas also passed his early years in the navy, and he received his commission of lieutenant on the 20th of Sept. 1815, after active service as midshipman in the boats of the *Pilot* brig, which his brother commanded, at the capture of several armed vessels and convoys on the coast of Calabria. On the 28th of March, 1822, he married Sarah, youngest daughter of John Davison, esq., of Loughton in Essex; an event which led to the production of his first literary work, which was "The Life of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, 1823." Having adopted the legal profession, in 1825 he was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple. Shortly after, he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Anti-

quaries. He now devoted himself almost entirely to antiquarian literature, particularly in the departments of history, genealogy, and heraldry, and the works which he produced in quick succession bore witness at once to his critical acumen and his almost unparalleled industry; of which the following are the principal:—"Notitia Historica;" "A Catalogue of the Heralds' Visitations;" "A Synopsis of the Peerage of England;" "Testamenta Vetusta;" "History of the Battle of Agincourt, and of the Expedition of Henry V. into France, with the Roll of the Men-at-Arms in the English Army," 1827; "A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483, written in the fifteenth century," from MSS. in the British Museum; "The Statutes of the Order of the Guelphs, translated from the original German, with Introductory Remarks," 1828, 4to; "The Statutes of the Order of the Thistle, with a History of the Order, and Catalogue of the Knights," 1828, 4to; "Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby;" "The Siege of Carlaverock, in the 28 Edw. I. Anno 1300;" "A Roll of Arms of Peers and Knights in the reign of Edward the Second;" "Rolls of Arms, of the reigns of Henry III. and Edward III.," 1829, 8vo; "Report of Proceedings on the Claim to the Barony of Lisle in the House of Lords;" "Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe;" "The Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, and the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth," 1831, 8vo; "The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry, A.D. 1385-1389," 1832; "Report of Proceedings on the Claim of the Earldom of Devon in the House of Lords;" "The Chronology of History;" "A Treatise on the Law of Adulterine Bastardy;" "Lives of Isaak Walton and Charles Cotton;" "History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire, and of the Order of the Guelphs of Hanover;" "History of the Earldoms of Strathern, Monteith, and Airth;" "The Despatches and Letters of Adm. Lord Viscount Nelson," 1844; "The History of the British Navy," 2 vols. 8vo, (unfinished). On this last work, and in arranging for publication the papers of Sir Hudson Lowe (Governor of St. Helena during the imprisonment of Buonaparte), he was engaged until within a week of his death. In 1826 he joined Henry Southern, esq., M.A., in the editorship of the "*Retrospective Review.*" He afterwards contributed occasionally to the reviews in the *Athenæum*, the *Spectator*, and the *Quarterly Review*. In 1831, he was nominated a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and was knighted on the 12th of October. In Aug. 1832, he was appointed Chancellor of the Ionian order of St. Michael and St. George, of which by the statutes the Chancellor was Senior Knight Commander; and he was afterwards in 1840 advanced to the grade of Grand Cross by Her Majesty, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered in matters relating to the Order. As a barrister, the business of Sir Harris Nicolas was confined to claims of peerage before the House of Lords.

— Aged 74, Edward Baines, esq., a magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire and the town of Leeds, and formerly M.P. for that borough. Mr. Baines was the son of humble parents, and was apprenticed to a Mr. Walker, a printer. Before his term of apprenticeship expired, he removed to Leeds for improvement, and entered that town as a poor journeyman printer seeking his fortunes. He soon engaged himself with the publishers of the *Leeds Mercury*, with whom he served the remainder of his time. In the year 1801, Mr. Baines, by the aid of local friends who knew and prized his great industry and thrift, was enabled to purchase the paper on which he had worked—and thus, at the age of twenty-seven, the compositor became the proprietor. Owing to this, the *Leeds Mercury*, from being a local journal of small dimensions and feeble power, suddenly acquired an extensive political influence in the north of England, and from that time to the present it has uniformly maintained the principles of civil and religious liberty with zeal and consistency. Mr. Baines suggested to the freeholders of the county of York the propriety of returning Henry Brougham to Parliament, which was done at the election of 1830. Lord Morpeth, too, and Mr. Macaulay, in the same manner, owed their first elections—the one for the West Riding and the other for Leeds—mainly to his personal exertions and influence. On the appointment of Mr. Macaulay to an official post in India in Dec. 1833, Mr. Baines was solicited by a large majority of the electors to become a candidate for the representation of Leeds. He accepted the invitation, and, defeating Sir John Beckett, Lord Sidmouth's late private secretary, was triumphantly returned, without cost to himself, on those principles of purity of election which he had so long

and so strenuously advocated. In Parliament Mr. Baines was eminently distinguished by the firm and consistent maintenance of his principles, and his independence endeared him to his political friends, and commanded the respect of his opponents. He was considered as representing in Parliament the opinions and interests of the Dissenters. At the close of the Melbourne Administration in 1841, Mr. Baines, whose health had suffered from his unceasing exertions, withdrew from the representation of Leeds, after having held that distinguished position during three successive parliaments. In retiring from his public duties as a member of parliament, Mr. Baines never contemplated an idle or useless life. Already he had appeared as the author of two most valuable works: one, "The History of the Wars of the French Revolution," which was subsequently made to embrace a wider range, and became a "History of the Reign of George III.;" and the other, a work of national importance, being a most elaborate "History of the County Palatine of Lancaster," in four volumes 4to. The original form of the latter was a "History, Gazetteer, Directory," &c., printed at Liverpool in two octavo volumes, 1825. The larger work was published in parts, and was, in some measure at least, the work of other hands, under Mr. Baines's superintendence.

4. In Stratford-place, aged 82, Sir Giffin Wilson, knt., a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and late one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery. He was the son of the late Rev. Edward Wilson. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 30, 1789; and attained the grade of King's Counsel in Hilary Term, 1819. He was for forty years Recorder of Windsor, in which capacity he received the honour of knighthood from King George the Fourth, in 1828. Having been for some time a Commissioner of Bankrupts, Sir Giffin was appointed a Master in Chancery on the 26th of March, 1826. He had an unfailing taste for music, and was, for many years, one of the most constant attendants of the London concerts.

— Catharine Juliana, wife of Sir Edward Dolman Scott, bart., of Great Bar Hall. She was the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Hugh Bateman, bart.

— At St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, aged 70, Lady Matilda Jane Locke, widow of Lieut.-Gen. John Locke, and sister to the late Earl of Devon.

5. At Belmont, aged 52, James Heath Leigh, esq., a deputy lieut. and magistrate of the county.

7. At Stockholm, in his 69th year, Berzelius, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Upsala, Secretary to the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and an Hon. Member of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In a century which has produced a greater number of distinguished chemists than perhaps of any other class of men of science, Berzelius stood out as a star of the first magnitude. His patient labours and sagacious investigations have done more to lay the foundations of organic chemistry than those of any other chemist. To him more than to any other man belongs the honour of applying the great principles which had been established by Dalton, Davy, Wollaston, Gay-Lussac, and himself, in inorganic chemistry, to unfolding the laws which regulate the combinations forming the structures of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Berzelius was born on the 29th Aug. 1779, in the village of Väfversunda, in Ostgothland, where his father kept the parish school. At the age of seventeen he commenced his studies at the University of Upsala, hoping to qualify himself for the medical profession. The bent of Berzelius's mind led him to the study of the chemical branch of his profession, and although chemistry was held in very low esteem, his patient labours made him a very excellent manipulator. In the year 1798 he passed his philosophical examination, as preparatory to the final one, for M.D. At this time he left the University; and in 1799 he was assistant to Dr. Hedin, superintendent physician of the mineral waters of Medevi. His first published essay was a dissertation, in conjunction with Ekeberg, on these mineral waters. He underwent the examination for a licence to practise medicine in 1801, and graduated at Upsala on the 24th of May, 1804. On leaving Upsala, Berzelius repaired to Stockholm, where he became assistant to Andrew Spaurnau, who sailed with Cook in one of his voyages round the world, and was then professor there of medicine, botany, and chemical pharmacy. Spaurnau died in 1806, and Berzelius, by his inaugural dissertation on galvanism and other papers, had already obtained for himself a sufficient degree of confidence to be appointed his successor. Although this chair embraced a very wide range of subjects, as

was frequently the case with Swedish chairs at that time, Berzelius more especially devoted himself to chemistry. It does not appear, indeed, that he gave any lectures on botany, except at the Military College of Carlberg, where he also held an appointment as lecturer. During the early period of his residence at Stockholm he practised the profession of medicine, and in 1807 was mainly instrumental in forming the Medical Society of that capital. In 1810 he was made President of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, and in the same year received the appointment of Assessor of the Medical College, and was made a member of the Royal Sanitary Board. At this time, though scarcely more than thirty years of age, he had obtained great reputation as a chemist. He had published a work on animal chemistry, containing many original investigations on the fluids of the animal body, and which was subsequently translated—as, indeed, have been most of his works—into almost every language of Europe. In conjunction with Hisinger he commenced, in 1806, the publication of a periodical work, entitled "Afhandlingar i Fysik, Keim, och Mineralogi," which contained a series of papers by himself, constituting some of the most valuable contributions that had yet been made to analytical chemistry. His labours were regarded as of so much importance by the Royal Academy of Stockholm, that that body decreed him, in 1811, 200 dollars yearly for his chemical researches. In 1812 Berzelius visited England, where he was most cordially received. In that year he communicated, through Dr. Marcet, a valuable paper to the Medico-Chirurgical Society of London, "On the Composition of the Animal Fluids." In 1818 he visited France and Germany, and in the same year he was appointed Secretary to the Academy of Sciences—a post which he held till his death. In 1831 he was allowed to retire from the active duties of his professorship at the Caroline Institute, but he still held the title of honorary professor. Up to this time he had resided in apartments provided for him at the building occupied by the Academy of Sciences, where, on the same floor, he had his study and laboratory, so that he could with little difficulty pass from his desk to his crucible, and husband his time to the greatest possible extent. He now, however, moved to a house of his own, and in 1835 married a daughter of the town-councillor (Staats-rath) Poppius. In 1837 he received the Great Gold Medal of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, and in 1840 the Diet of Sweden voted him a pension of 2000 dollars per annum. The scientific societies of Europe and America contended for the honour of enrolling his name amongst their members, and with eighty-eight of these bodies it was connected. Nor was his sovereign, Charles John, behind-hand in recognising the most distinguished of his adopted countrymen. In 1815 Berzelius was made a Knight, and in 1821 a Knight Commander, of the Order of Vasa. In 1829 he received the Grand Cross, and in 1835 was made a Baron. The intelligence of this honour was conveyed to Berzelius by the hand of the King, who wrote himself a letter intimating his deep sense of the merits of the philosopher, and expressing a hope that in this nomination the world would recognise a homage paid to the man who had consecrated his life to those useful researches which had been already recognised by Europe, and which it was the glory of Sweden to be able to appropriate as the patrimony of one of her children. This letter was sent to Berzelius on his wedding-day. How few men of science have married with a patent of nobility on the breakfast table! Sweden had, however, yet one more ovation for her beloved son. In 1843 he had been a quarter of a century Secretary to the Academy, and on this occasion a festival was given in his honour. The Crown-Prince was in the chair, and a portrait of the chemist, painted by Lieut.-Col. Lodemark, was presented to the Academy. In addition to the works already mentioned, he published a "Manual of Chemistry," which went through several editions, that of 1841 consisting of ten volumes, and, we believe, another larger edition has since been published. In 1822 he commenced the publication of an Annual Report on the Progress of the Physical Sciences, which has been published every year to the present time. These volumes are the most valuable record of chemical research extant, and contain a full report of the discoveries that have made the period to which they relate so remarkable in the history of chemistry. From 1806 to 1818 he published with Hisinger the periodical before mentioned: and in these volumes are forty-seven papers by Berzelius, all giving an account of original researches by himself. In addition to these he has published works on galvanism, on analytical chemistry, on mineralogy, and a

vast number of papers in various Transactions. The name of Berzelius has been so intimately connected with the history of chemistry for the last forty years, that it is difficult to give in few words an adequate idea of the influence which his discoveries and generalizations have exerted upon the science. To him it is indebted for the discovery of several new elementary bodies, more especially selenium, morium, and cerium. He first demonstrated the acid nature of silica, and was thus enabled to throw light on the composition of a series of interesting mineral compounds of silica with the metallic oxides. This subsequently led to a whole re-arrangement of mineral bodies, and contributed greatly to the advance of mineralogy. His discovery of selenium led him to investigate its various compounds, and compare them with the sulphurets. These investigations again resulted in his generalizations on the nature of the sulphur salts, and a new classification of the various salts. Subsequently, he investigated the compounds of fluorine, and arrived at some of the most important and valuable results that have yet been obtained by the analytical chemist. Whilst Berzelius was writing the first edition of his "Manual of Chemistry," Dalton had promulgated his idea of the atomic constitution of matter, and Davy had made his great discovery of the metallic bases of the alkalies. These directed his attention to the laws of combination. He was led to institute researches with the most scrupulous care into the combining proportions of the various elements, giving to each its correct number, and was enabled to obtain results perfectly harmonious with theoretical calculations made on Dalton's laws. He was enabled to extend Dalton's law that one atom of one body unites with one, two, or three, &c., atoms of another body, and showed that two atoms would unite with three and with five. He also pointed out the great fact, that two compounds which contain the same electro-negative body always combine in such proportions that the electro-negative element of one is a multiple by a whole number of the same element of the other. He not only gave to the elementary bodies their combining numbers, but introduced the system of symbols, by which chemical labour has been so greatly facilitated. Till the time of Berzelius, organic chemistry was a waste, with here and there an attempt to explain the phenomena of living beings upon chemical principles, and which, from the entire want of experimental foundation, was even worse than useless. The compounds found in plants and animals were not supposed to come within the category to which the laws of combination applied; Berzelius was the first to show that these laws could be applied to animal and vegetable products; and in so doing he opened the way for the discoveries of Mulder, Liebig, Dumas, Boussingault, and others. As a skilful manipulator, Berzelius has had few equals in the history of chemistry. To this we are indebted for the immense variety, number, and success of his analyses. Many of the analytical processes in use at the present time have had their origin with him.

9. At his seat, Henbury, near Bristol, in his 75th year, Edward Sampson, esq., a magistrate for Gloucestershire. Mr. Sampson was born Aug. 15, 1773, the younger son of Edward Sampson, esq., of Henbury, Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1778, and succeeded to Henbury on the death of his elder brother, John Sampson, esq., unmarried, in 1830, and served the office of High Sheriff of the county in 1838. During his long life he had the happiness of possessing the respect and esteem of all classes.

10. At Newhaven, aged 73, on board his yacht *Heroine*, Gen. Lewis Bayly Wallis.

12. At his residence, St. John's Wood, aged 80, Sir Robert Chester, knt., a Deputy Lieutenant of Hertfordshire. In 1794 he was appointed Gentleman Usher Quarterly Waiter to King George the Third; in 1796 he was promoted to be Gentlemen Usher of the Privy Chamber Extraordinary; in 1797 to be Groom of the Privy Chamber; and in 1798 to be Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary. In 1796 he was also appointed Assistant Master and Marshal of the Ceremonies to King George III.; and in 1818 promoted to the office of Master of the Ceremonies, upon which occasion he received the honour of knighthood.

— At Tapton House, near Chesterfield, aged 67, George Stephenson, esq., F.R.S., Knight of the Order of Leopold. He was born on the 9th June, 1781, of the most humble parentage, at a solitary cot or cottage, on the Tyne, between Wylam and Closehouse, Northumberland, about eight miles west of Newcastle. His father was an engine-tenter at a colliery, and he himself began life as a pit engine-boy at 2*d.* a day wages, and afterwards acted as a stoker, and as a breaksman, in the employment of Lord Ravensworth

and partners, where his mechanical talent first forced itself into notice in the amateur repair and improvement of a condensing pump-engine, where some engineers had failed. He was then promoted to the office of engine-man; and it was at this critical period of his history that he declared to a confidant, that, having risen from 2*d.* a day to the independent sum of 12*s.* a week, he was now a man for life. At this very time, at all events, the fates began to educate him for his future and still more manly career in life; for something went wrong with the waggon-way, or it never had been anything else but wrong until he tried his apprentice hand upon it, and of course improved it. He was afterwards employed in forming railway planes and engines under ground. Indeed it may be said, that from this time forward his peculiar mission was chalked out for him, as, in the midst of defects in the working of coal railways, he happened to be placed in the most favourable circumstances possible for the engagement of his attention and his peculiar talent. The main points in his subsequent career cannot be better described than in his own words at the opening of the Newcastle and Darlington line of railway in 1844:—

"Mr. Liddell has told you that in my younger days I worked at an engine in a coal-pit. I had then to work early and late, often rising to my labour at one and two o'clock in the morning. Time rolled on, and I had the happiness to make some improvements in engine-work. The first locomotive that I made was at Killingworth colliery, and with Lord Ravensworth's money. That engine was made thirty-two years ago, and we called it *My Lord.* I said to my friends that there was no limit to the speed of such an engine, provided the works could be made to stand. * * * I betook myself to mending my neighbours' clocks and watches at nights, after my daily labour was done; and thus I procured the means of educating my son. He became my assistant and companion. He got an appointment as under-viewer; and at nights we worked together at our engineering. I got leave to go from Killingworth to lay down a railway at Hetton, and next to Darlington; and after that I went to Liverpool, to plan a line to Manchester. I there pledged myself to attain a speed of ten miles an hour. I said I had no doubt the locomotive might be made to go much faster, but we had better be moderate at the beginning. The Directors said I was quite right; for if, when they went to Parliament, I talked of going at a greater rate than ten miles an hour, I would put a cross on the concern. It was not an easy task for me to keep the engine down to ten miles an hour; but it must be done, and I did my best. I had to place myself in the most unpleasant of all positions—the witness-box of a Parliamentary Committee. Some one inquired if I was a foreigner? and another hinted that I was mad. I put up with every rebuff, and went on with my plans, determined not to be put down. Assistance gradually increased—improvements were made every day—and to-day a train which started from London in the morning has brought me in the afternoon to my native soil, and enabled me to take my place in this room, and see around me many faces which I have great pleasure in looking upon." The competitors of Mr. Stephenson for the premium of 500*l.*, offered in 1829 by the new Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company for the best locomotive engine, were Mr. Burstall (or Burstall and Hill), Messrs. Braithwaite and Ericson, and Mr. Hackworth. Burstall's locomotive, the *Perseverance*, was withdrawn. The other two locomotives, the *Novelty* and the *Sanspareil*, broke down, while Mr. Stephenson's *Rocket* outran the requirements of the directors, averaged 15 miles an hour in speed, won the prize, and ushered in "the greatest mechanical revolution effected since the invention of the steam-engine by Watt," and its more immediate fruits. The subsequent career of Mr. Stephenson was as rapid and as smooth as the railway locomotion which he had done so much to realise. He took the lead, of course, at once in railway engineering, became an extensive locomotive manufacturer at Newcastle, and a railway contractor, a great colliery and iron-work owner, particularly at Claycross, and acquired great wealth. In acknowledgment of Mr. Stephenson's claims in connection with railways, the Midland Company voted 2000*l.* in 1845, to be expended in the presentation of a service of plate and the erection of a statue on the high-level bridge across the Tyne,—the structure recently proposed to be called the Stephenson Bridge in honour of his memory. Mr. Hudson, on whose motion the grant was made, stated that three other companies—the York and North Midland, the Newcastle and Darlington, and the Newcastle and Berwick—would each vote a like sum. The

claims of Mr. Stephenson to the original idea of the Davy lamp at one time excited a good deal of discussion. A committee was appointed to investigate the priority of the claims of the inventors of the safety lamp, and a public dinner was given by that committee to Mr. Stephenson, when a purse of a thousand guineas, and a silver tankard, were presented to him. In returning thanks, he announced his intention of devoting the money to the education of his son at the Edinburgh University. In private life, Mr. Stephenson earned the regard of all who appreciate worth and liberality not less than ability.

13. In Upper Ebury-street, Pimlico, in his 86th year, Mr. William Skelton, an eminent line-engraver. Mr. Skelton was pupil of James Basire the elder, and afterwards of the still more eminent William Sharp. He was also a student of the Royal Academy, and enjoyed through life the intimacy of many distinguished members of that corporation.

15. At Alvington House, Stonehouse, aged 73, Lady Devonshire, relict of Rear-Admiral Sir John Devonshire, K.C.B.

16. At St. Asaph, aged 57, Mary, wife of the Right Rev. T. V. Short, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

— At Bear Ash, near Maidenhead, Berkshire, aged 71, Lieut.-Gen. Sir David Ximenes, knt., and K.C.H., a magistrate of that county. He served in America in 1804, with the 29th Foot, when he was promoted to a majority in the 62nd, and returned to England. He served in Ireland throughout the year 1805; in the Mediterranean from Aug. 1807 to March 1808; and in the expedition to Ischia in 1809. He commanded the 62nd at the taking of Genoa, and with that regiment attended as a guard of honour upon the King of Sardinia on his landing to take possession of his recovered kingdom. He also commanded the 62nd in the successful expedition up the Penobscot. In 1812 he was with the armies in Spain and Portugal, and attached to the Portuguese service. He received the Guelphic Order and the honour of knighthood from King William IV. in 1832; and was one of the general officers receiving rewards for distinguished services.

18. At Dawlish, aged 76, Cornwallis Raleigh, esq., third son of the late John Raleigh, esq., Secretary for many years to the Garrison, and to several successive Governors, of Gibraltar.

— At South-shore, near Blackpool, aged 37, Robert Peel, of Church-bank, Lancashire, esq., third son of the late Robert Peel, esq., of Acrington House, and Hyndburn.

— At Wherstead Park, Suffolk, aged 83, Sir Robert Harland, the second Baronet (1771), of Sproughton, in that county, a deputy lieutenant of Suffolk. He married in May, 1801, Arethusa, daughter of Henry Vernon, esq., of Great Thurlow, Suffolk. By that lady he had no issue, and the Baronetcy has become extinct.

19. At Hams, aged 3, Julia Mary, second daughter of Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Adderley, and grand-daughter of Lord Leigh.

20. At Oakdean, near Cowden, aged 60, Lieut.-Col. William Ross, late Col. of the 23rd Fusiliers. He was present at Waterloo.

— Aged 72, Colonel Henry John Freke, C.B., of Hannington Hall, one of the deputy lieutenants and a magistrate for the county.

21. At Sidmouth, Emma Margaret, wife of Charles John Champion Crespigny, esq.

22. At his seat in Yorkshire, aged 72, Lieut.-Gen. George Guy Carleton L'Estrange, C.B., Colonel of the 61st Regiment. In May, 1811, he commanded the second battalion of the 31st Foot at the battle of Albuera, in acknowledgment of which he received the brevet rank of Lieut.-Col. on the 20th of the same month, and an honorary medal. In 1813 he was nominated a Companion of the Bath. He served afterwards for seven years on the staff in the Mauritius. He attained the rank of Lieut.-Gen. Nov. 23, 1841. He was appointed Colonel of the 59th Regiment in 1843, and removed to the 61st in 1848.

— At Bath, aged 31, James Edward Jerningham, esq., second surviving son of the late Edward Jerningham, esq., and nephew of Lord Stafford.

23. At Fecamp, in Normandy, Sir John Murray, of Stanhope, co. Peebles, the 11th bart. With him terminates this line of Murray on the male side, as he left only two daughters; one married to Edwin Howell, esq., and the other to Hamilton Gyll, esq., of Shenley, Herts, since deceased. Sir John deduced lineally from the Murrays of Falahill, whose issue, Sir David Murray, knt., married Lady Lilias Flemyng, daughter of John, first Earl of Wigtoun, and left a son, William, created a bart. in 1664. His descendant of the same name being implicated in the

rebellion of 1745, was in 1748 condemned to death, which sentence was commuted into exile for life; and his estates were sold under the authority of the Court of Session. He died abroad; but on the reversal of the attainder, after the act of revisal, the honour devolved on Sir John Murray, as 7th successive baronet, and grandfather of this Sir John, the last and 11th of that patronymic and title.

24. At Scarborough, the Very Rev. John Antony Cramer, D.D., Dean of Carlisle, Regius Professor of Modern History, Delegate of Estates, and Curator of the Taylor Institution, in the University of Oxford. Dr. Cramer was the author of some works, chiefly illustrative of classical literature and history.

— At Kensington, Lady Miles, wife of Col. Sir Edward Miles, C.B.

— At Lofts Hall, aged 77, John Wilkes, esq. He served the office of High Sheriff for Essex, and had been for many years a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for that county.

23. At New York, aged 49, Mr. W. J. Hammond, for twenty years a comedian of no mean ability, and for a short time proprietor of Drury Lane Theatre.

25. On his passage to England, on sick certificate, aged 42, Sir Charles Wentworth Burdett, bart., Capt. 41st Madras Native Infantry.

27. Near Monaghan, Ireland, R. Lamartine Grason, esq., and his lady, to whom he was married on the 22nd of May. They were taking a drive in a pony phaeton, about four o'clock, P.M., in the direction of Rosmore Park, when the two ponies took fright and bounded over a bridge that crosses the Ulster Canal, and fell into the canal, about 120 feet deep, killing Mr. and Mrs. Grason and Miss A. Graham, sister-in-law to the unfortunate gentleman. Mr. Grason has left no relative to inherit his large property, about 18,000*l.* per annum.

28. In Bath, in his 68th year, Rear-Admiral John Duff Markland, Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and Knight of the Imperial Austrian Order of Leopold. He was the second son of Edward Markland, esq., of Leeds. He commenced his naval career in 1795, under the auspices of his uncle Captain John Cooke, of the *Bellerophon*, who fell at the battle of Trafalgar. He was midshipman of the *Nymphe* at the capture of the French frigates, *Résistance* and *Constance*, in 1797, and of the *Amethyst* at the capture of the *Dédaigneuse* in 1801. Having obtained the rank of Commander, in 1808 he was appointed to the *Bustard* brig, and was actively employed against the enemy for two years in the Adriatic Archipelago, and on the coast of Barbary, and at the capture of a convoy near Trieste in protecting Sicily from invasion by Murat's army. Having obtained post rank in 1811, from 1811 to 1813 he served as flag-Captain to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Fremantle, in the *Milford*, 74. He was present at the captures of Fiume, Rovigno, Piran, Capo d'Istria, and at the siege of Trieste. In April, 1830, he commissioned the *Briton*, 46 guns, for the Lisbon station, and received the thanks of the Admiralty and the British merchants at Lisbon, for his conduct in the protection of British interests during the civil disturbances which occurred in Portugal in the following year. He obtained the good-service pension in 1841, and was promoted to the rank of a retired Rear-Admiral, October 10th, 1846. He was gazetted on three occasions, viz. in 1809, and twice in 1813, and the Imperial Order of Leopold was stated in the Gazette of 19th March, 1816, to have been conferred upon him "in approbation of the distinguished services rendered by him at the siege and capture of Trieste, and the other operations in Italy during the campaigns of 1812 and 1813."

— Aged 37, the Rev. Charles Claudius Beresford, Rector of Bailieborough, co. Cavan, third and youngest son of the Rev. Charles Cobbe Beresford, Rector of Termonmaguirk, co. Tyrone, younger brother to the late Bishop of Kilmore.

29. In Porchester-terrace, Bayswater, aged 75, Sir John Osborn, the fifth bart., of Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire (1661-2), D.C.L., a Commissioner for Auditing the Public Accounts, and Colonel of the Bedfordshire Militia. He was born on the 3rd Dec. 1772, the only son of General Sir George Osborn, the fourth Baronet, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Banister, esq. In early life he was attached for a short period to Lord Whitworth's embassy at the court of Russia. After he returned from St. Petersburgh, he was elected to parliament for the county of Bedford in the year 1794. He was re-chosen for that county in 1802 and 1806; but in 1807 was defeated. He then sat for Cockermouth, Queenborough, and Wigton, in succession. He had succeeded to the Baronetcy on the death of his father, June 29, 1818. He was one of the Lords of the Admiralty from the year 1811 to

the year 1824, when he was appointed one of His Majesty's Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts, the duties of which he fulfilled until within a short period of his decease. For many years he had ceased to take any active part in politics. He married Sept. 14, 1809, Frederica Louisa, daughter of Sir Charles Davers, bart., and had issue.

— Killed in action at Bloem Plaats, Captain Arthur Stormont Murray, of the 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade. The circumstances of Captain Murray's death are thus described:—"On the third day's march from the Orange River our advanced guard was attacked by the rebel Boers, strongly posted, and was driven back upon the column. Arthur Murray led the column with his company, which Sir H. Smith ordered to the front in extended order, and on reaching the crest of a small hill on our right, they were assailed by a murderous fire. Murray was foremost, sword in hand, when Glyn, who was near him, seeing him severely struck in the shoulder (his left arm was shattered), told some men to take him to the rear, but before Murray could dismount from his horse he was again hit by a shot, which, striking the spine, passed quite through his body. He was then put into a waggon and taken to the rear. Though medical assistance was at hand, his wounds were beyond relief. He requested Dr. Hall to write to his father, and gave a sealed packet to be sent with affectionate remembrance to his wife. He lived till past midnight, perfectly conscious of his state, and most remarkably calm throughout. His loss was deeply felt by officers and men; he was esteemed by all. He was buried at the foot of a peach-tree at Bloem Plaats."

The following is the copy of a letter from Sir H. Smith, dated Camp, near Bethany, north of the Orange River, Aug. 31, 1848, announcing his death:—

"My dear General Murray,—To a soldier like yourself I need not say we are not permitted to regret the loss of a comrade who nobly and gallantly falls in the service of his country; but human nature, more tolerant, allows the father to weep over the son. I do not write to offer consolation—that can be derived alone from the Almighty—but to assure you your son fell as becomes the hero, and proved himself a most gallant and active officer—his loss deeply regretted by the men of his company.

"This outburst of rebels has cost as smart an affair as I ever witnessed. Your son led an attack as bold as it was successful, under a storm of fire, in a difficult position, but fell an honour to his father and to his country.

"God bless and support you, my dear General, is the prayer of

"Yours faithfully,

"H. G. Smith.

"Major-General the Hon. H. Murray,
"Commanding, Plymouth."

30. At Darcy Lever, near Bolton, aged 64, William Bolling, esq., M.P. for that borough. Mr. Bolling had served in four parliaments as representative for Bolton, his native town, being returned in 1832, at the first election after the passing of the Reform Bill, with Colonel Torrens; in 1835 and 1837 with Mr. Ainsworth. At the general election of 1841 Mr. Ainsworth and Dr. Bowring were returned, Mr. Bolling being unsuccessful; but in 1847 Mr. Bolling and Dr. Bowring were re-elected. In politics the deceased was a Conservative, and a supporter of Sir Robert Peel's free-trade measure. He was, in conjunction with his brother, Mr. E. Bolling, a large employer in the borough of Bolton. He was highly respected by his work-people as a kind and generous master, and by his fellow-townsmen as a liberal and influential supporter of the charities and the trade of that town.

— At St. Louis, in his 27th year, Lieut. George Augustus Frederick Ruxton, esq., late of the 89th Regiment. He was the third son of the late John Ruxton, esq., of Broad Oak, Brenchley, Kent. When serving with the 89th Regiment in Canada, Lieut. Ruxton imbibed a thirst for adventure, for which he was both mentally and physically peculiarly fitted. To Africa he first turned his attention, in the hope of adding to our geographical knowledge some of its unexplored and hitherto inaccessible lands. He had formed the daring project of traversing Africa in the parallel of its southern tropic—from Walwich Bay eastward: but the tracing of some fifty miles of coast was all that he was able to accomplish. Before leaving Africa, Mr. Ruxton made himself acquainted with the Bushmen; and contributed a paper on this interesting race to the Ethnological Society. Mr. Ruxton became afterwards a personal observer of the recent struggle between the Americans and the Mexicans, and has placed his stirring picture of its events on record in the columns of Fraser's Magazine. From this scene of warfare he made that exploration which resulted in his contributing to the Home and Colonial

Library his "Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains;" to Blackwood, the series entitled "Life in the Far West;" and to the Ethnological Society, a paper "On the Migration of the Ancient Mexicans, and their Analogy to the existing Indian Tribes of Northern Mexico." Mr. Ruxton was the author also of a pamphlet "On the Oregon Question;" wherein he took "a glance at the respective claims of Great Britain and the United States to the territory in dispute," with his usual acuteness.

31. Drowned in the bay of Sligo, Francis Goold, esq., of Dromada, co. Limerick, High Sheriff of that county. The deceased was on a boating excursion in the bay of Sligo, with his nephew, the eldest son of Sir Robert Gore Booth, bart., when the boat was upset, and both gentlemen were plunged into the water. Mr. Gore Booth regained the boat, and held on till secured by a pilot boat; but Mr. Goold, though an excellent swimmer, sank to rise no more, being encumbered by his clothes, and, it is supposed, by the additional weight of bullets, which he carried for shooting sea-fowl.

SEPTEMBER.

1. At Hanley Castle, aged 29, Henry Thomas, eldest surviving son of the late Rev. G. D'Oyley, D.D., Rector of Lambeth, Surrey, and Sundridge, Kent.

3. Whilst bathing in the Thames, near Teddington, aged 23, Lionel Granville Thomas Eliot, only child of Lionel Duckett Eliot, esq., of Shenstone Villa, St. John's Wood.

4. In Kensington-crescent, aged 84, Mauritius Adolphus Newton de Starck, esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue. He was a son of Charles Sigismond, Baron de Starck, an officer in the Imperial army, who settled in England in 1753, and married Martha, sister to the late Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, bart. He served at the relief of Gibraltar in the *Latona*, 38, and was in other vessels. During the Spanish armament he served in the *Canada*, 74, under Lord Hugh Seymour. In 1797, having volunteered his services to assist in suppressing the mutiny at the Nore, he was appointed to command the *Eclipse*, gun brig, armed for that purpose with long Dutch 24-pounders and heavy carronades, and manned with volunteers, part of whom were soldiers. During the ensuing seven years Lieutenant de Starck successively commanded the *Suwarow* armed lugger, *Liberty* brig, and *Milbrook* schooner, in which last vessel he was frequently engaged with the enemy, both on the coasts of France and Spain. In Sept. 1801 he captured the *Baptista* Spanish privateer of eight guns, and shortly afterwards repelled a night attack made upon the *Milbrook* by some gun-boats near Gibraltar, one of which received a broadside which was supposed to have proved fatal to her, as she disappeared in an instant, although then nearly alongside of the British schooner. He subsequently commanded the *Milbrook* on Channel service, and the *Tartarus* bomb, on the Downs station. During Lord Howick's naval administration, Capt. de Starck obtained the command of the *Avon*, 32, in which he was employed on Channel service until ordered to escort, from Spithead to the Baltic, the *Neva*, a Russian man-of-war, which had recently returned from a voyage of discovery. Hostilities having then commenced between Alexander and Napoleon, it was not considered prudent for her to proceed to Russia without the protection of a British vessel. For the performance of this friendly office, the Czar presented Capt. de Starck with a breakfast service of plate, and a purse of 100 guineas. On her return from the Baltic in 1806, the *Avon* was selected to carry out Mr. Erskine, H.M. Minister to the United States of America. On his way, Captain de Starck fell in with the *Regulus*, French 74, by which ship he was chased for eight hours, right before the wind, his pursuer within gun-shot, and repeatedly firing upon him. Fortunately, a violent squall suddenly came on, during which he skilfully escaped his pursuer, and landed Mr. Erskine at Annapolis Royal. Being ordered to Halifax, he was thence sent home with despatches, when he was promoted to post rank. Admiral de Starck was the inventor of the method of projecting a rope by means of powder and shot, and of an Applicative Compass for taking bearings on a Chart. He married, 1st, Miss Houghton, of Bramerton, co. Norfolk; and, 2ndly, Aug. 30, 1807, Miss Kent, niece to the late Sir Thomas Kent. He was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, Nov. 25, 1841.

6. At Barnham Broome, Norfolk, aged 34, the Hon. and Rev. Alfred Wodehouse, B.A., Rector of that parish with Bickston and Kimberley. He was the sixth and youngest son of John, second Lord Wodehouse.

8. Aged 67, Gustavus, Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg.

9. At Iffley, aged 84, Richard Wootten, esq., banker, Oxford.

10. At St. George's-place, Hyde Park Corner, in his 73rd year, the Right Hon. Charles Douglas, third Lord Douglas, of Douglas Castle, co. Lanark (1790). His lordship was born in London, October 26, 1775, the second son of Archibald, first Lord Douglas, by his first wife, Lady Lucy Graham, only daughter of William, second Duke of Montrose. He succeeded to the peerage on the death of his elder brother, Archibald, January 27, 1844; and, having never married, is now succeeded by his half brother, the Hon. and Rev. James Douglas.

— At Reading, aged 68, Charlotte Elizabeth Wightman, relict of Vice-Adm. Sir Thomas Dundas, K.C.B.

11. At Benham House, Berkshire, Major-General William Dickson, C.B., of the Hon. East India Company's Madras army.

— Miss Lucipia Hanly, late of Cambridge-terrace, Hyde Park, youngest and last surviving daughter of the late Earl of Bellamont.

— At his residence, Forest Hill, Sydenham, in his 80th year, Sir Hugh Evelyn, the fifth baronet, of Wotton Place, co. Surrey (1713). The family of Evelyn has flourished in several branches, and in three several members has been advanced to the dignity of baronet. Sir John Evelyn, the first baronet of the last creation, was the grandson of John Evelyn, esq., the author of Sylva and many other literary works; and it was after the death of Sir Frederick, the third baronet, which occurred in 1812, that his widow, Lady Evelyn, through the instrumentality of Mr. Bray, the historian of Surrey, and the late Mr. Upcott, communicated to the world the very interesting diary of her husband's learned and amiable ancestor. With Sir Hugh, he being the last heir-male of the family, the baronetcy has become extinct.

— At Islington, aged 48, James Melville Walker, esq., eldest son of the late Rear-Admiral Walker, C.B. and K.T.S.

12. At his residence, Caroisal, Wigtonshire, in his 72nd year, Rear-Admiral John M'Kerlie, a magistrate for that county. He was descended from an ancient family in the county of Wigton. Early in 1794 he joined the *Arethusa* frigate, commanded by Sir Edward Pellew (the late Viscount Exmouth), to whose favourable notice he soon recommended himself by his activity, bravery, and skill, and bore part in the many battles and skirmishes fought by that distinguished officer in the *Arethusa*, *Indefatigable*, and *Impetueux*. In the *Indefatigable's* gallant action with *Les Droits de l'Homme*, Mr. M'Kerlie lost his right arm and received a severe wound in the thigh. On the 6th of June, 1800, when a successful attack was made upon the enemy's shipping in the Morbihan river, he assisted in boarding and blowing up *l'Insolente*, an 18-gun corvette, and on every other occasion of boat-service he was always a volunteer. On the suspension of hostilities, during the peace of Amiens, Lieutenant M'Kerlie served in the *Camilla*, 24, Captain Henry Hill, on the Newfoundland station; and shortly after the renewal of the war, he was appointed, through the influence of Sir Edward Pellew, first of the *Spartiate*, 74, Capt. Sir F. Laforey, which ship accompanied Nelson to the West Indies in pursuit of the combined fleets of France and Spain; and also bore a share at the memorable battle of Trafalgar. In consequence of that glorious victory, Lieut. M'Kerlie was advanced to the rank of Commander, December 24, 1805. In 1808 Capt. M'Kerlie was appointed to the *Calliope*, a new brig, of 20 guns, fitting at Deptford for the North Sea station. In that vessel he assisted at the capture of Flushing, and was subsequently entrusted with the command of a division of gun-brigs, &c., attached to the Walcheren expedition. His meritorious conduct in the Scheldt induced Sir Richard J. Strachan to give him the north coast of Holland and the neighbourhood of Heligoland for a cruising ground, on which he soon captured several merchant vessels, chiefly Danes and Swedes. The *Calliope* was afterwards attached to the in-shore squadron off Flushing, from whence Captain M'Kerlie was sent by the late Sir William Young, in March, 1813, to take the command of the naval force stationed at Heligoland. During the seven months that he was employed on that station, as senior officer, the *Calliope* and her consorts made many prizes. In October, 1813, he took possession of two corvettes, two gun-brigs, and other shipping, at Braak, in the Duchy of Oldenburg; and having escorted them to England, on his arrival he found himself promoted to post rank, by commission dated December 4, 1813. On the 4th of April, 1816, Capt. M'Kerlie was granted a pension for the loss of his arm. This gallant officer was Captain of

the *Vernon*, 50, on the Mediterranean station, in 1833, during her trials with the *Barham*, 50, to ascertain the sailing qualities of the two ships, which occupied much public attention at the time. He accepted the retired rank of Rear-Admiral in Oct. 1846.

— Aged 48, the Rev. Arthur Trollope, M.A., for twenty-one years Curate of the united parishes of St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Pancras, Soper-lane, and All-hallows, Honey-lane, London. He was a son of Dr. Trollope, formerly head-master of Christ's Hospital.

— At Boulogne-sur-Mer, aged 27, Mary Anne, wife of Rupert Kettle, esq.

— Killed in action before Mooltan, in his 20th year, Ensign Charles Owen Lloyd, of the 8th Regiment, N.I., youngest son of Edward Lloyd, esq., of Rhagatt.

— At Knockdrin Castle, co. Westmeath, aged 63, Sir Richard Levinge, the sixth bart., of Hyde Park (now Knockdrin Castle), (1704), and a deputy-lieutenant; brother-in-law to Lord Rancliffe. He was born on the 29th October, 1785, the eldest son and heir of Sir Charles Levinge, the fifth baronet, by Elizabeth Frances, only daughter of Nicholas Reynell, esq., of Reynella, co. Westmeath. He succeeded his father as a baronet, on the 19th January, 1796. Sir Richard Levinge had proved his patriotism by permanent residence on his estate, by the extensive improvements which he had made, thereby affording employment on a large scale, and by his efforts to encourage, among the peasantry, a better plan of agriculture than that hitherto in use. He suddenly dropped down dead while out on a walk in the grounds of his princely residence, Knockdrin Castle. He married, December 3, 1810, the Hon. Elizabeth Anne Parkins, daughter of Thomas Boothby, first Lord Rancliffe, and sister to the Princess de Polignac; and has left issue.

13. In his 57th year, Sir William Henry Richardson, of Chessel House, Hampshire; a magistrate for that county and Berkshire.

14. At Chilham, Henry Cobb, esq., late of the E.I.C. Service. He commanded the Company's ship *Kent*, of 1400 tons, when she was destroyed by fire in the Bay of Biscay, on the 1st of March, 1825, whilst conveying the 31st Regiment to India. His intrepidity and self-possession upon that trying occasion, through a course of exertion rarely equalled in either difficulty or duration, were the means, under Providence, of preserving some hundreds of valuable lives, and obtained for him the personal thanks of the Commander-in-Chief.

17. At Cheltenham, aged 60, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Bennett Everest, late of the 6th Royals. He served during the Peninsular War, and was wounded in the Pyrenees.

18. At his residence, Connaught-square, John Adams, jun., esq., barrister-at-law, eldest son of Mr. Serjeant Adams.

20. At his seat, Charleville, co. Wicklow, after a severe and protracted illness, in his 64th year, the Right Hon. Henry Stanley Monck, first Earl of Rathdowne (1822), second Viscount Monck (1800), and Baron Monck, of Ballytramnon, co. Wexford (1797). His lordship was born July 26, 1785, the eldest son of Charles Stanley, first Viscount Monck, by his cousin Anne, daughter of Henry Quin, esq., M.D. He succeeded his father, as Viscount Monck, on the 9th June, 1802, and was advanced to the dignity of an Earl of the kingdom of Ireland by patent dated Jan. 12, 1822. His lordship never sat in either house of parliament. His lordship married, on the 28th July, 1806, Lady Frances Le Poer Trench, fifth daughter of William Power Keating, first Earl of Clancarty, and by that lady, who died on the 22nd November, 1843, he had issue two sons (who both died in infancy) and twelve daughters. His lordship having died without surviving male issue, the Earldom has become extinct. In the Viscountcy and Barony he is succeeded by his only brother, the Hon. Charles Joseph Kelly Monck.

— At Ramsgate, aged 50, Frederick Polhill, esq., late M.P. for Bedford, and formerly a Captain in the King's Dragoon Guards. Captain Polhill was descended from an ancient family, formerly seated in the counties of Kent and Sussex. His grandfather, Nathaniel Polhill, esq., a banker in London, and M.P. for the borough of Southwark, purchased Howbury Park, which was inherited by Capt. Polhill. Capt. Polhill retired from the army on succeeding to the family estates. He first contested the borough of Bedford on the memorable struggle of 1830, when Parliamentary Reform was, as it were, put to the vote of the country. So decided was opinion upon this important subject at Bedford, that Captain Polhill was able to contend successfully with no less a person than the present Premier, the very author of the Reform Bill. The poll

lasted ten days; 914 electors voted; Mr. Whitbread and Lord John Russell both voted for themselves; but Capt. Polhill defeated the latter *by one vote*, having polled 491, of which 319 were plumpers. After the passing of the Reform Bill, Mr. Whitbread and Captain Polhill were re-elected without a contest. In 1832 Mr. Crawley came forward on the liberal interest, and defeated Captain Polhill. In 1835 another contest restored Captain Polhill to his seat. In 1837 he was again returned with a second Conservative candidate; and again in 1841; but at the last election, in 1847, Captain Polhill was defeated. In Parliament Captain Polhill was a supporter of Sir Robert Peel, with whom he also voted for the alteration of the Corn Laws. He was for some time lessee of Drury-lane Theatre, and was himself the author of some successful dramatic pieces.

21. At Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, in his 47th year, Lord William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, M. P. for Lynn. His lordship was born on the 27th February, 1802, the third son of William Henry, fourth and present Duke of Portland, by Henrietta, eldest daughter and co heir of Major-Gen. John Scott, of Balcomie, co. Fife, and sister to the late Viscountess Canning. Although a younger child, yet, as his mother brought a very considerable marriage portion to the already wealthy house of Portland, Lord George was not circumscribed in his pecuniary resources within the narrow limits usually imposed upon those who occupy a similar position in the great families of our aristocracy. It did not therefore become necessary for him to engage with much ardour in the pursuit of any laborious profession; still it was thought desirable that he should have some avocation, and he entered the army, and eventually attained the rank of Major. The long peace affording no prospect of an active life, Lord George turned his attention to civil service, and became secretary to his uncle, the celebrated George Canning, who found in his lordship one of the best of his several private secretaries, for he had all the adroitness, delicacy of manner, knowledge of human nature, method in business, shrewdness in negotiation, and skill in epistolary correspondence, which such an office is generally supposed to require, while it presented to his lordship one of the most favourable opportunities that could possibly arise for entering upon a public career. At that time, however, he failed to attract notice, and it was not till he sickened of other occupations that he engaged with the requisite fervour and earnestness of purpose in the pursuits of statesmanship and ambition. He had no seat in parliament during the administration of his uncle, Mr. Canning; but in 1826 he succeeded his brother, the Marquess of Tichfield, as member for Lynn Regis, and represented that borough for the remainder of his career. Lord George Bentinck may be considered to have been, on first entering parliament, one of the moderate Whig school. He never was, like his distinguished relative Mr. Canning, a warm supporter of Catholic emancipation; and if he attached himself, about this time, more distinctly to any one statesman than another, it was to Lord, then Mr. Stanley, an attachment which, as it proved, ended only with his life. On the accession of Lord Grey's administration, in 1830, Lord George was a general but still very independent supporter of Government. He voted for the principle of the Reform Bill, but against several of its most important details; for instance, against the metropolitan members, one of the most democratic provisions of the Bill; and in favour of the celebrated Chandos clause, which gave so much power to the landed interest. In May 1832, when William IV. refused to make new peers, and Lord Grey tendered his resignation to the King, Lord George Bentinck gave a stronger proof than he had yet given of his complete independence of the Whig party, by refusing to vote for Lord Ebrington's famous motion of unabated confidence in ministers, which proceeding, being carried by a large majority, finished the Duke of Wellington's attempt at the formation of an administration, and dictated terms of submission to the King and the House of Lords. Upon that occasion Lord George Bentinck either abstained from voting, or voted in the minority against the motion. On the retirement of Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon, from Lord Grey's Government, in May 1834, Lord George seceded from the Whig ranks—if he can ever have been said to have belonged to them—and on the accession of Sir Robert Peel to office, in December 1834, and the opening of the Parliament in 1835, he was extremely active in forming the party which was afterwards nicknamed by Mr. O'Connell the "Derby Dilly." On the defeat of Sir Charles

Manners Sutton for the Speakership, and the subsequent proceedings of the Whigs, which led to the treaty of Lichfield House, and the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, Lord George in the warmest manner expressed his disgust, and from that moment openly and avowedly joined the great Conservative party which acknowledged Sir Robert Peel as its head. From that moment till the commencement of the session of 1846, a period of eleven years, Lord George Bentinck was a steady and unflinching supporter of Sir Robert Peel. On the overthrow of the Melbourne Administration, in August 1841, Sir Robert Peel received the Queen's commands to form an Administration; and, after his Cabinet and principal officers of state had been named, an offer of office was made to Lord George Bentinck, in a manner the most congenial to his feelings—namely, through his friend Lord Stanley. That offer, spontaneously made by a minister who was well aware of his abilities, which he was anxious to secure, was respectfully declined, not from want of cordiality towards the new Administration and its chief, but from a total disinclination to the cares and troubles of office. Lord George at that time was deeply interested in the turf, and he preferred to give a disinterested support to the Government, not the less zealous because it was perfectly independent. During the first four years of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, Lord George Bentinck was never absent from his post; awake or asleep, there he invariably sat, from the meeting of the House till its rising, generally occupying the same seat on the back benches on the Ministerial side of the House. At this time Lord George was very eager in his pursuit of the chase, and kept a large stud of hunters in the neighbourhood of Andover, for the purpose of hunting with Mr. Assheton Smith's celebrated pack of fox-hounds. He was always considered a very hard rider, and his custom was, after the latest debates in the House, to rise at six, and be off by the seven o'clock train, have a long day's hunting, and return again by the South Western Railway direct to the House of Commons, throw a light-coloured blouse or zephyr over his scarlet coat, and, fully accoutred in leathers and tops, thus enter the House, take his seat, and sit out another long debate. When Sir Robert Peel introduced his free-trade measures, in 1843, he estranged a large proportion of his supporters, and what has been called the Protectionist party was formed. One or two country gentlemen made feeble attempts to place themselves at its head; a few efforts proved their inadequacy to the task; and it was soon discovered that Lord George Bentinck, notwithstanding his previous failures, and notwithstanding his infelicitous manner as a public speaker, was the only man in the House of Commons whose lead that party would follow. Personal enemies he had none, but his political opponents were mortified and astounded that such a man should *per saltum* become the head of the Opposition. Few public events have occasioned more general surprise than the short period of time in which Lord George Bentinck built up his parliamentary character; and yet, with the public at large, his lordship enjoyed even a higher reputation than that which he acquired amongst the *habitués* of the House of Commons: for the matter of his speeches was excellent, and his style not below par; on the contrary, it was remarkably perspicuous, occasionally forcible, and even picturesque; but he was no sentence-maker, nor in the least degree an actor; hence the effect of his speeches was produced solely by those essential and intrinsic qualities which the reader, a thousand miles from London, could compare with those of rival and adverse statesmen, with a cooler judgment and more perfect means of appreciation than men who, listening in the House of Commons to the more artistic displays of professional orators, became so dazzled by light, and so heated by fire, that they rarely did full justice to the array of facts and reasoning which Lord George Bentinck was accustomed to bring to any discussion in which it suited his views to stand forth either as advocate or accuser. Possibly his independence with reference to the stricter bonds of party was not without its effect in giving him a high place in the public estimation; for, whatever may be thought with regard to the tendency of his doctrines, there seems to be no inclination in any quarter to dispute his general consistency and uprightness as a public man. He was never an uncompromising partisan, for he voted against the opinions of the higher Tories in supporting the measure called "Catholic Emancipation." His next piece of liberalism was to vote in favour of the principle of the Reform Act, though he opposed many of its details. He supported the bill for removing the Jewish disabilities, and recommended the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy

by the landowners of Ireland. Lord George therefore was so far from being an old-fashioned "thick and thin partisan," that he might be better described as a politician peculiarly favourable to the maintenance of open questions. As he never held office, his qualifications as a practical statesman were not fairly tested, though he made some important propositions, of which the sixteen-million loan to the Irish railways may be cited as an example; and he effected many amendments in measures proposed by his political opponents. What he might have been in power no man can tell; what he has been in Opposition is best seen in the fact that scarcely any series of parliamentary labours ever obtained for a member of either House so much influence in so short a time. It has often been said that no one, within the same number of years, made so many damaging speeches as Lord George Bentinck, by which phrase it was meant that no one contributed more than he did to disturb, injure, and weaken the Ministry whose evil fate exposed them to his merciless hostility. In 1846 he made a memorable attack on Sir Robert Peel with reference to the treatment which his uncle, Mr. Canning, had experienced from the Tory party; but it is understood that Lord George was over-persuaded to make this attack by other relations of Mr. Canning, who were intent upon the downfall of the Administration, and that he was led by his warm temperament and honest zeal into making this attack, as into a somewhat smarter one on Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Ripon, which in his cooler judgment he regretted. It is due to his memory to state that long-cherished resentments were not in the nature of Lord George Bentinck, and most certainly had nothing whatever to do with the line of policy which he adopted relative to the free-trade measures of Sir Robert Peel in 1846. During his career on the turf, Lord George Bentinck is understood to have realised very considerable gains. He possessed almost all the qualifications which make a man eminent in the sporting world —unrivalled judgment in horseflesh, singular shrewdness in penetrating the arcana of a racing stable, matchless rapidity in calculating all imaginable chances, and indomitable determination to expose and punish as many as possible of the infamies which even yet continue to disgrace the good old English sport of horse-racing. Lord George was not married. The melancholy circumstances of his lordship's death will be found in our Chronicle, see p. 122.

— In Norland-square, Bayswater, aged 56, James Campbell, esq., Assistant Secretary of the General Post Office.

23. At Broadstairs, aged 73, Lieut.-General Sir Charles William Maxwell, knt., K.C.H. and C.B. He was the eldest son of Charles Maxwell, esq., of Terraughty, in Dumfriesshire, by the eldest daughter of James Douglas, esq., and grand-daughter of Sir William Douglas, of Kilhead, in the same county. He was employed on the coast of Africa in 1809, when he captured the French garrison at the settlement of Senegal. On the 29th December following he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He afterwards continued Governor-general and Commander-in-Chief of the island of Goree, the settlements of Senegal, and Sierra Leone, to July 1815. In the same year he was made a Companion of the Bath, and on the 15th June was made Lieut.-Col. of the 21st Foot. He also served in the garrisons of Gibraltar and Malta; received the brevet of Colonel in 1819; was subsequently Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Tortola, Anguille, and the Virgin Islands. He became Major-General 1830, received the honour of knighthood in 1836, and attained the rank of Lieutenant-General 1841.

— At Yarmouth, in his 73rd year, Capt. James Guthrie, after 48 years' military service in Sicily, North of Spain, and at Corunna; then in Walcheren; afterwards in the peninsula till the peace in 1814.

24. At Brighton, aged 18, Henry, third son of the Right Hon. William Yates Peel.

— In Wyndham-place, aged 56, Emily, wife of W. Ward, esq., formerly M.P. for the city of London. She was a daughter of Harvey Combe, esq., M.P., Alderman of London.

28. At his mansion, Attingham Hall, near Shrewsbury, in his 74th year, the Right Hon. and Rev. Richard Noel Hill, fourth Baron Berwick, of Attingham (1784). His lordship was third and youngest son of Thomas Noel, first Lord Berwick, by Anne, daughter of Henry Vernon, esq., of Hilton, in the county of Stafford. He was born October 11, 1774, and on the 9th April, 1787, was admitted a scholar at Rugby, under the mastership of the Rev. Dr. James. He was afterwards a nobleman of St. John's College,

Cambridge, where he received the honorary degree of M. A. in 1795. In 1799 he was presented by his father to the rectory of Berrington, near Shrewsbury; to the small rectory of Sutton, at that time within the liberties of the same town; and also to the rectory of Thornton, near Chester; which benefices he resigned on succeeding to the peerage. He assumed the additional name of Noel before Hill in 1824, and he succeeded to the peerage on the death of Richard Noel, the third Lord Berwick, Aug. 4, 1842, being the third brother to whom it had devolved in succession. Lord Berwick married, at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 16th January, 1800, Maria Frances, second daughter of the late William Mostyn Owen, esq., of Woodhouse, co. Salop, and of the Bellstone, Shrewsbury, by whom he had issue.

— In Fitzroy-square, aged 74, Edward Orme, esq., for many years a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Middlesex.

— At Knepp Castle, near West Grinsted, Frances, wife of Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, bart.

30. At his house, in Upper Seymour-street, Marylebone, aged 68, Lieutenant-General the Hon. George Murray, Auditor of the Exchequer in Scotland. He was born April 8, 1780, the second son of David, the second Earl, by his second wife, the Hon. Louisa Cathcart, third daughter of Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart (and Countess of Mansfield, co. Nottingham, in her own right). He was unmarried.

— At Broom Hall, aged 69, Henry Pinson Tozer Aubrey, esq., a descendant of Lord Chancellor Harcourt.

OCTOBER.

1. At Durham, aged 62, Major James Wemyss, high constable of the county of Durham, formerly of the Scots Greys. Major Wemyss was noted for his cool courage. As senior captain, it fell to his lot to lead the final charge of the Scots Greys at Waterloo, the result of which was the final overthrow of the power of Napoleon. During the conflict Captain Wemyss had no fewer than three horses shot under him. Though severely wounded in the arm, he bravely led his followers into the midst of the conflict, and so greatly signalised himself that he was promoted to the rank of Major, and rewarded with a pension. Major Wemyss was appointed to the command of the Durham rural police, in which office his determination and administrative skill were of important service, during the repeated disturbances among the pitmen and rough population of that district.

3. In Grosvenor-street, Henrietta, relict of Henry Gally Knight, esq., M.P., and sister to the Countess Manvers. She was the third daughter of Anthony Hardolph Eyre, esq., of Grove, co. Notts, by Francisca Alicia, third daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq., and sister to Lord Skelmersdale. She was married first to her cousin, John Hardolph Eyre, esq., who died without issue in 1817; and secondly to Mr. Gally Knight, who died in 1846.

— In Upper Portland-place, aged 67, Joseph Hambro, esq., Councillor of his Danish Majesty's Court, and Knight of the Dannebrog, of the firm of Messrs. C. J. Hambro, Son, and Co., of Old Broad-street.

— Jane, relict of Benjamin Bellchambers, esq., of St. John-street.

— In Chester-square, P. Laurent Campbell, esq., late secretary of the South-Western Railway.

— In Dover-street, Charlotte, wife of Capt. Gawen Roberts, R. N., eldest daughter of Lord Chief Justice Dallas, and niece to Sir George Dallas, bart.

— At Ennis, aged 85, the Very Rev. Terence O'Shaughnessy, Roman Catholic Dean of the diocese of Killaloe.

— At Orestes cottage, Southsea, Capt. John Reynolds, R. N. He was a lieutenant of the *Santa Margaritta* frigate, in Sir Richard J. Strachan's action, Nov. 4th, 1805; on which occasion a French rear-admiral and four line-of-battle ships were captured. Early in 1812, he was removed to the command of H. M. cutter *Nimble*, which vessel unfortunately foundered in a violent storm, while cruising in the Sleeve, Nov. 6th following; the whole of her crew, however, providentially escaped. During the period that Lieut. Reynolds commanded these cutters, he captured and destroyed three Danish privateers, and no less than thirty-four sail of merchantmen; was frequently in action with the enemy's flotilla; and, on one occasion, was slightly wounded. So greatly were the Norwegian merchants, in particular, annoyed by his active and successful exertions against their trade, that they actually offered a considerable reward for his capture. For these services he received the high approbation of his com-

mander-in-chief, Sir James Saumarez. Captain Reynolds was constantly employed during the war, and commanded several ships since the peace.

5. At Stockton-on-Tees, very suddenly, in his 55th year, William Bayley, esq., for many years a principal solicitor at Stockton-on-Tees, President of that town's Mechanics' Institution, and Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

6. At his apartments, Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the Rev. Richard Scott, B.D., of Shrewsbury. The announcement of this reverend gentleman's decease caused in Shrewsbury an universal expression of sorrow, as a bereavement of no common occurrence; for he was a man of the most extended benevolence, of splendid generosity, upright and charitable beyond most men. His ample fortune was rendered subservient to the most valuable of all purposes—the benefit of the community. This was particularly manifested during the past fifteen years of his life, in the course of which Mr. Scott expended upwards of thirteen thousand pounds in public improvements alone. Of this sum at least ten thousand has been bestowed in adorning seven of the churches in the town, by the introduction of many costly and beautiful windows of stained glass, by a timely repair, and securing from the ravages of time such restorations to decayed portions of edifices as were required, whereof an example is strikingly exhibited in the venerable Abbey and St. Giles's churches; and in numerous gifts of whatever might seem necessary to the decent and even splendid performance of divine worship. The interior of the spacious Music Hall at Shrewsbury received its elegant and tasteful beauty at his charge, and, with the brilliant-toned organ, cost little short of eleven hundred pounds. The ancient Market House in the same town was the last public work which received his kind attention, in the renovation of those parts which had yielded to time and the weather. Nor was his beneficence limited in these matters to Shrewsbury; it extended even into the county, as may be seen in the village churches of Cressage, Harley, Grinshill, and in that recently erected at the hamlet of Bayston Hill, Salop. The sacred edifices in these places were similarly furnished as those in the metropolitan town, with elegant stained glass windows, altar-screens, &c., also with such requisite pulpit hangings, furniture, and appendages as might be necessary for the due celebration of divine service; together with the useful addition of turret-clocks, and a tower, where required. The generosity of Mr. Scott likewise flowed in other channels than those already mentioned, by frequent and large donations to many of the public institutions and improvements connected with Shrewsbury, or towards subscriptions for the erection or enlarging of churches; for in these, and in many other purposes and objects, he practised universal benevolence, as it were from an impulse of nature, as well as from a sense of duty; his hand being generally open to succour and befriend, while his occasional gifts to the poor were oftentimes a seasonable stream from the pure fountain of the heart.

7. At Castle Howard, Yorkshire, aged 75, the Right Hon. George Howard, sixth Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, co. Northumberland, and Baron Dacre of Gillesland, co. Cumberland, Knight of the Garter, a Privy Councillor, D.C.L. and F.R.S. His lordship was born in London on the 17th of Sept. 1773, the eldest son of Frederick, the fifth Earl of Carlisle, K.G., by Lady Margaret Caroline Leveson Gower, second daughter of Granville, first Marquess of Stafford. He received his early education at Eton, and from thence he was transferred to Christ Church, Oxford, where the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him in 1792, and that of D.C.L. in 1799. On his coming of age in 1794, room was made for his sitting in parliament for the family borough of Morpeth, for which he was re-chosen in 1796 and 1802. In 1796 he moved the address at the opening of parliament, and in the same year he accompanied Lord Malmesbury in his diplomatic mission to France. In 1806 he was appointed to a seat at the India Board, and sworn a Privy Councillor. At the general election in December, 1806, he was returned for the county of Cumberland, but when his friends quitted office he of course resigned his place at the India Board, and did not at the ensuing election again offer himself for Cumberland, which county he had represented for a portion of three parliaments. Nor did he, owing to the near prospect of succeeding to the peerage, again seek a seat in the House of Commons. The Lord-Lieutenancy of the East Riding becoming vacant in 1824, his lordship, notwithstanding his being opposed to the Ministry, was appointed to that honourable office. On the 4th of

Sept. 1825, Lord Morpeth succeeded his father as sixth Earl of Carlisle; and in 1827, when the Canning ministry was formed, the noble Earl received the appointment of Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests. This office was held by his lordship till the death of Mr. Canning led to the formation of the Goderich ministry, in which he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, which he held until January 1828. When the Whigs came into office under Lord Grey, in December 1830, Lord Carlisle, though he accepted no place in that Ministry, took a seat in the Cabinet, but did not long continue to hold that unusual mark of royal and ministerial confidence, for his lordship withdrew altogether from public life in 1834. Although at that time not much more than 60 years of age, yet it became evident that he was falling into the decrepitude of age. Thenceforward he resided principally in the country, his name ceased to be mentioned in political circles, and at length he sank into the grave, doubtless as much beloved by his family and personal friends as he was respected by his political associates. His lordship was elected of the Order of the Garter in the year 1837. He resigned the office of Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire in July, 1847, and Lord Morpeth, his lordship's eldest son, was appointed to succeed him. The Earl of Carlisle married, on the 25th of March, 1801, Lady Georgiana Dorothy Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, fifth Duke of Devonshire; and by that lady, who survives him, he had issue six sons and six daughters.

— At Devonport, Retired Commander John Francis Wharton (1838). The deceased officer served as a midshipman on board one of the ships in Lord Howe's action, 1st of June, 1794; also under Lord Hotham on the coast of Egypt, and was in the receipt of a "good service pension."

8. At Mooltan, Scinde, in the camp of Lieut. Edwardes, aged 33, Lieut. Wilmot Christopher, of the Indian Navy, of wounds received on the 9th of Sept. while guiding some of Her Majesty's troops (to whom the localities were unknown) in a night attack on the fortifications of the enemy.

10. At Cockairnie, Fifeshire, aged 73, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Moubray, K.A., a deputy lieutenant and magistrate of Fifeshire. He was descended from an ancient family long seated at Cockairnie, and was the son and heir of Robert Moubray, esq., by Arabella, daughter of Thomas Hussey, esq., of Wrexham, co. Denbigh. In 1796 he was present with the troops under Sir James Craig at the surrender of the Dutch fleet to Admiral Lucas, and served in Ceylon and with the Indian troops who embarked in the expedition to Egypt. He had succeeded to the estate of Cockairnie, and part of the barony of Inverkeithing, on the death of his father in 1794; and on the 20th of April, 1825, he was knighted by King George IV. at Carlton Palace, in consideration of his ancient and honourable descent. He married, in Sept. 1807, Laura, fourth daughter of William Hobson, esq., of Markfield, in Middlesex, and had issue.

11. At Birmingham, where he had been confined ever since the overthrow of the express train at Newton Bridge on the 2nd of Sept., Mr. Shuard, architect, of Somerleyton, Suffolk.—Also, from the same accident, in his 72nd year, Lieut. Colonel James Baird, of Stirling.

— At Logie, Aberdeenshire, aged 83, Sir Robert Dalrymple Horn Elphinstone, of Horn and Logie Elphinstone, bart., a deputy lieutenant of that county. He was the only surviving son of Gen. Robert Dalrymple, who assumed the names of Horn Elphinstone, by Mary, daughter and heir of Sir James Elphinstone of Logie. In early life he served in the army, from which he retired with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Scots Fusilier Guards. He was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom by patent dated Jan. 16, 1828. He married, May 21, 1800, Græme, daughter of Colonel David Hepburn, a younger son of Hepburn of Congalton, and had issue nine sons and four daughters, who place the name of Dalrymple after Elphinstone.

12. Aged 83, Marianne, lady of Major George Wathen, Military Knight of Windsor.

— At Southampton, aged 65, the relict of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell, bart., G.C.B.

— At Manchester, Mr. W. H. Bentley. He was well known as a naturalist, and was skilled in the science of comparative anatomy. He was appointed curator of the Manchester Zoological Gardens, on their first establishment.

13. At his seat, Johnstown, near Rathcool, co. Dublin, aged 63, Sir John Kennedy, bart., a deputy lieutenant for that county.

— At Twickenham, aged 70, John Edward Conant, esq., of Upper Wimpole-

street, second son of Sir Nathaniel Conant, formerly chief magistrate of Bow-street. Mr. J. E. Conant was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 27, 1816, and was for some years a police magistrate at the Marborough-street Office, to which he was appointed in 1817.

— At Torquay, aged 30, Marianne Gilberta, widow of John J. Wakehurst Peyton, esq., of Wakehurst Place, Sussex, eldest daughter of Sir East Clayton East, bart., of Hall Place, Berkshire.

15. At his house, Devon-grove, Dollar, Mr. William Tennant, Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of St. Mary at St. Andrew's, and at Edinburgh College. Mr. Tennant was a native of Anstruther, a small town, which gave birth also to Dr. Chalmers. The circumstances of his parents, and the misfortune, if it might be so called, of his being lame in both limbs, pointed out the path of study on which he early entered as that in which he might overcome the disadvantages of poverty and of nature. He became, and continued through life to be, a zealous and successful student, especially of languages. At fifteen he was sent to the University of St. Andrew's, where he studied under the famous Dr. Hunter. Like all, however, who attain the honours of scholarship, it was but little that the university did for him in comparison to what he achieved for himself. In secret he was diligently amassing those vast stores of literary wealth which raised him to public honour, while they were the solace of a life spent chiefly in solitude. He had been but two years at college when he was called away to fill the situation of clerk to his brother, then a corn merchant. In this humble sphere, while every duty was faithfully discharged, he continued to increase his acquirements in ancient and modern languages, adding to his studies in the Italian writers accessions from the inexhaustible and then little cultivated fields of German literature. About this time also he first directed his attention to the study of the Oriental tongues, in which his eminence soon became remarkable. In 1812 Mr. Tennant first became known as a poet by the publication of his "Anster Fair," the best and most successful of his writings. In 1813 he was elected schoolmaster of the small parish of Denino. From thence in 1816 he was transferred to the more lucrative situation of Lasswade; and in 1819 he was elected teacher of Classical and schoolmaster of Oriental Languages in the Academy of Dollar. From this situation he was in 1837 called to fill the chair of Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrew's, vacant by the death of Dr. David Scott. In 1840 Mr. Tennant published a Syriac and Chaldee Grammar, and since then he has given to the world a volume of Hebrew Dramas. Besides his "Anster Fair," Mr. Tennant was the author of "Cardinal Beaton, a tragedy," and various small poems. The Hebrew chair at Edinburgh College is also rendered vacant by the death of Professor Tennant.

— At Clifton, Caroline, relict of Stewart Crawford, esq., of Bath, M.D., fourth daughter of Sir William P. A. A'Court, bart., sister to Lord Heytesbury and the Countess of St. Germain's.

16. Suddenly, in King's-road, Chelsea, Mrs. Mary M'Grath, granddaughter of the late Sir Nicholas Bayly, bart., formerly of Plas-Newydd, Anglesea, sister of the late Gen. Sir Henry Bayly, C.B., Col. of the 8th Foot, and first cousin of the present Marquess of Anglesey.

17. At Bath, aged 63, Captain Philip Henry Bridges, R.N.

18. Aged 55, Charles Nevill, esq., of Nevill Holt. He was the second son of Cosmos Nevill, esq., F.S.A., by Maria, daughter of William Gardiner, esq.

19. At the Villa, Maidenhead, aged 90, Penelope, relict of William Watson, esq., of Queen-square, Bloomsbury.

20. At Boxley Abbey, aged 82, the Lady Maria Elizabeth Finch, third daughter of Heneage, third Earl of Aylesford.

21. At his house in the College, Durham, in his 72nd year, the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, D.D., Canon of Durham, Rector of Bishopwearmouth, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Chaplain of Hampton Court Palace; brother to the Duke of Wellington. Dr. Wellesley was born on the 7th of Dec. 1776, the sixth, but fourth surviving son of Garrett, first Earl of Mornington, by the Hon. Anne Hill, daughter of Arthur, first Viscount Dungannon, and was therefore brother to the Marquess of Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Cowley, and uncle of the Earl of Mornington. In 1805 he was presented by Earl Cadogan to the rectory of Chelsea, Middlesex, which he retained until 1832. In 1827 Dr. Wellesley was collated by Bishop Barrington to the living of Bishopwearmouth, of the declared value of 2899*l.*, and with a population of 27,000; and in the same year he was made a prebendary of Durham. Dr. Wellesley was also a

chaplain of the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court. Dr. Wellesley married, June 2, 1802, Lady Emily Mary Cadogan, eldest daughter of Charles Sloane, first Earl Cadogan; and by that lady, who died Dec. 22, 1839, he had issue three sons and four daughters.

23. At Balnaguith, Torquay, aged 51, Mary, daughter of the late Sir Digby Mackworth, bart., and wife of the Rev. W. Cleaver, late Rector of Delgany, co. Wicklow.

— At Portsea, aged 65, Lieut. John Hudson (1813). He was mate of the *Orion* at the battle of Trafalgar, served at the taking of Copenhagen, and in the Walcheren expedition,

— At Malines, George John Dalbiac, esq., Knight of the Order of William of the Netherlands, formerly Major in the 4th Regiment of Light Dragoons.

26. At Oak Park, Tralee, aged 78, Arabella Jane, daughter of the late Sir Barry Denny, of Tralee Castle, bart., and relict of Rowland Bateman, esq., of Oak Park. The deceased lady claimed to be representative of the last Earl of Norwich and Baron Denny, of Waltham Abbey, ob. 1642; and co-heir to the last Viscount Baltinglass, of the Roper family, ob. 1725; also, to the last Earl and Viscount Coningsby, ob. 1729.

— Near Malton, aged 50, William Scott, the celebrated jockey. He was unparalleled for the number of times he had ridden the winning horse at great races—the St. Leger nine times, and the Derby four times.

28. Major Chipchase, barrack-master at Windsor. He served in the Peninsula in the 61st Foot from 1809 to the end of 1812, including the battle of Busaco, pursuit of Massena, investment and capture of the fort of Almeida, the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, the actions of El Bodon, Guinaldo, and the siege and capture of the forts of Salamanca. In the latter action he was severely wounded.

29. At Longbridge House, near Warwick, in his 84th year, William Staunton, esq., B.C.L., a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate for the county of Warwick. He was the eldest surviving son of John Staunton, esq., (in whose family the property at Longbridge has descended in direct male succession since the reign of Henry VI.,) who served the office of High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1801. Mr. Staunton was originally educated for the bar, and entered at St. John's College, Oxford. He was called to the bar, by the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Nov. 18, 1791, and for a short time went the Midland Circuit. He did not, however, long continue to follow the profession of the law, but shortly afterwards obtained a commission in the 1st Regiment of Life Guards, but retired on half-pay in 1807. Mr. Staunton in early life showed an extreme passion for the study of antiquities, and soon became known as one of the numismatic collectors of that day. The principal object, however, of Mr. Staunton's attention was to form a collection of books, documents, and records of every description illustrative of the history and antiquities of his native county. To this his views had been directed almost from the time of his leaving school: many "book rarities" of this description he obtained during his residence in London; and on coming down to live at Longbridge his leisure hours were employed with indefatigable energy towards this point. Besides his own collection, Mr. Staunton became the possessor of those of Mr. Harper and Mr. Sharp, and thus at his decease has left behind him a series of documents relating to Warwickshire of the greatest value. These it was his delight to arrange, classify, and make additions to his topographical stores, till within a few weeks preceding his decease: this great mass of materials for a county history, so liberally and so judiciously collected—the work of a life extended beyond the limits of fourscore years—is directed by his will to continue an heir-loom with his family at Longbridge. For many years Mr. Staunton was an active and useful magistrate for the county of Warwick, for the duties of which he was eminently qualified, as well by his legal education as by his remarkable patience and strict love of justice, while by the excellence of his private life he obtained the esteem of all who knew him. Mr. Staunton married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Osborne Standert, esq., of London, who died 30th of April, 1839.

— At Little Casterton Rectory, Felicia Susan, wife of the Rev. C. W. Cavendish.

30. At St. Leonard's, in her 50th year, Mary Georgiana Emma, wife of the Right Hon. Col. Damer, of Came House, Dorset, M.P. for Dorchester.

31. At Craigentinny House, in the parish of North Leith, co. Edinburgh, in his 60th year, William Henry Miller, esq., F.S.A., of Britwell House, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, and of Craigentinny; a deputy-lieutenant for the county of Buckingham, and formerly M.P. for New-

castle-under-Lyne. Mr. Miller was returned to parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyne in 1830, and was re-elected on four subsequent occasions; viz., in 1831, 1832, 1835, and 1837; in 1841 he was defeated by Mr. Buckley and Mr. Harris: at the last general election he stood for Berwick, but was defeated. As a book collector Mr. Miller was regarded as the true successor of Richard Heber. He was extremely choice in his copies, and was commonly known at sales and among collectors as Measure Miller, from his system of applying to every book he had a fancy for a foot rule (which he invariably carried about with him), in order to ascertain whether a so-called "fine tall copy" really answered not to the eye alone, but had the legitimate number of inches which practice had taught him every book bore when it left the printer. In early English poetry (Shakspere editions excepted, which he said he left others to buy) his collection is almost unrivalled. Mr. Miller was the purchaser of the Heber Ballads; and the only known copies (two in number) of Lodge's "Defence of Plays and Players," in answer to Gosson, form a part of the collection. This valuable collection, said to be worth 50,000*l.*, Mr. Miller has bequeathed to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, accompanied, it is said, by a bequest of 20,000*l.* to erect a room for its reception.

31. At Jermyns, aged 37, Georgiana, wife of C. Sergison Smith, esq., Captain Dragoon Guards. She was the third daughter of the Hon. Herbert Gardner, by Mary Anne, youngest daughter of John Cornwall, esq.; was married in 1834, and leaves five children. She was poisoned by a chemist having made up a mixture with strychnine instead of salicine.

NOVEMBER.

1. At Pepper Harrow, Surrey, aged 42, the Right Hon. George Alan Brodrick, fifth Viscount Midleton (1717), and Baron Brodrick of Midleton, co. Cork (1715), in the peerage of Ireland; and second Baron Brodrick of Pepper Harrow, in the peerage of England (1796). His lordship was born June 10, 1806, the only son of George, the fourth Viscount, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, by his second wife, Maria, daughter of Richard Benyon, esq., of Gidea Hall, Essex. He succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, August 12, 1836. He married, May 14, 1833, Miss Ellen Griffiths, and has left no issue. At an inquest held on his lordship's body, it appeared that his death had been occasioned by voluntary exposure to the fumes of charcoal, under depression occasioned by domestic unhappiness. (See "Chronicle," Nov. 1.)

— At Eydon Hall, aged 84, Catherine, relict of Arthur Annesley, esq., of Bletchington, Oxon.

— At Dublin, aged 73, the Hon. Louisa Fowler, widow of the Right Rev. Robert Fowler, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ossory.

— At Umballah, Bengal, Major George Templer, son of the late Colonel Henry Templer, of Teignmouth, and A.D.C. to Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, K.C.B.

2. At the Cloisters, Chichester, aged 34, William Miller, esq., M.A., Superior Bedel in Law in the University of Oxford.

— At the rectory house, Ballymoney, co. Antrim, where he was on a visit, in his 73rd year, the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, and M.R.I.A. Bishop Mant was born on the 12th Feb., 1776, at Southampton, where his father, the Rev. Richard Mant, D.D., was Rector of the Church of All Saints. He was educated at Winchester College, and afterwards became a commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, from which he was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1798. In 1799 he gained the Chancellor's prize for the English essay, the subject, "Commerce." He proceeded M.A. 1800, B. and D.D. 1815. In 1810 Mr. Mant was presented to the vicarage of Great Coggeshall, in Essex; in 1813 he became Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Manners Sutton; in 1815 Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; and in 1818 Rector of East Horsley, Surrey. He was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora in 1820, and translated to the see of Down and Connor in the spring of 1823; so that he has presided over the latter diocese for twenty-five years and a half. The care of the diocese of Dromore also devolved upon him in 1842, under the provisions of the Church Temporalities Act, on the death of the last bishop, Dr. Saurin. Having lately completed his seventh general confirmation of his extensive diocese, he was taken ill on Friday, October 27, and after a short rally on Monday, the disease, typhoid erysipelas, gained ground so rapidly, that his constitution gave way, and he sank calmly and peacefully, retaining his intellectual facul-

ties till within a few hours of his dissolution. Dr. Mant owed his rise in the church to his professional authorship, and particularly to his sermons preached at the Bampton Lecture in 1812, on which occasion he made a masterly vindication of the established clergy from the unmerited accusations of those who professed a greater purity of principles. This introduced him to the patronage of Archbishop Manners Sutton, under whose auspices he was engaged, in conjunction with the late Rev. George D'Oyly, D. D., Rector of Lambeth, to prepare an edition of the Bible, with a selection of Notes from the best commentators and preachers of the Church of England. This was performed in 1817, at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by whom "D'Oyly and Mant's Bible" has been frequently reprinted, and is still dispersed in considerable numbers. Bishop Mant's writings, all upon theological subjects, are marked by the most eminent piety and learning, are very numerous.

5. At Arlington-street, aged 74, the Right Hon. Charlotte, dowager Lady Feversham, only daughter of William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth.

10. At Cairo, aged 59, his Highness Ibrahim Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt. Ibrahim Pasha was born in 1789, at Cavalla, in Roumelia, which was also the birthplace of his father, Mahommed Ali. At the age of seventeen he joined his father's army, in which he soon attained a prominent position, and in 1816 he was sent to Arabia against the Wahabees, an heretical sect of the Mahommedan religion, whom he subdued after a harassing war of three years. He wrested the holy towns of Mecca and Medina from their hands, and re-established the regular course of the caravans. On the 11th December, 1819, he was received in great triumph in Cairo, on his return from his victories, and the Sublime Porte gave him, on that occasion, the high title of Pasha of the Holy Cities. In the year 1824, when Mahommed Ali was commanded by the Sultan to assist in quelling the insurrection in Greece, Ibrahim Pasha took command of the expedition, and sailed from Alexandria for the Morea with a fleet consisting of 163 sail, 16,000 infantry, 700 horse, and four regiments of artillery. At the battle of Navarino, on the 20th October, 1827, the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were completely annihilated, and a small portion only of the troops returned to their country. During the whole time that he was in the Morea, Ibrahim committed great excesses and cruelties. In 1831 Mahommed Ali's ambition led him to the conquest of Syria, and he sent Ibrahim into that country with an army of 24,000 infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and 40 pieces of artillery. In this expedition Ibrahim, with the assistance of Soliman Pasha, a Frenchman, whose real name was Colonel Selves, displayed much military talent; Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa soon fell into his hands, and Acre, which had resisted Napoleon, opened its gates to him on the 27th of May, 1832, after a siege of six months. The Sultan sent strong reinforcements of troops against Ibrahim Pasha, but the Pasha invariably overcame them, and on the 22nd December, 1832, he destroyed at Koniah, with 30,000 men, a fresh Turkish army of 60,000 troops, commanded by Reshid Pasha, who was made prisoner. The victory of Koniah opened the way to Constantinople, and Ibrahim had already advanced as far as Kutayeh, about 150 miles from the capital, when the Sultan called to his aid a fleet and army of Russians, who encamped at Scutari, and Ibrahim, thus stopped in his advance to Constantinople, concluded a treaty with the Sultan, by which several provinces were added to his father's government. Ibrahim's conquests were thus confined to Syria, of which he kept possession until 1839, and where he established his father's rule with singular success, and organised that country in a very admirable manner. In 1839 the Sublime Porte attempted to regain possession of Syria, and sent against Ibrahim a strong army, which was, however, quite discomfited by the Egyptian troops at the battle of Nezib, on the 24th of June of that year. Ibrahim Pasha at this period had a second opportunity of marching to Constantinople, but the European Powers interfered a second time, and stopped his progress. The four Powers of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia then combined to restore Syria to the Sublime Porte; a fleet was sent to occupy the towns on the coast; Ibrahim resisted, but the bombardment and occupation of the fortress of Acre, on the 3rd November, 1839, in the very short space of four hours, soon convinced Ibrahim Pasha and his father that their best policy was to submit to the decrees of the four Powers, and obtain the best terms they could from the Sultan. After the evacuation of Syria, Ibrahim led a very

quiet and retired life; he devoted his whole attention to agriculture, and introduced many improvements in the cultivation of the land. He always showed the greatest respect for his father, and, though enjoying the high titles of Vizier and Governor of Mecca, and covered with military glory, he always kissed Mahommed Ali's hands in token of submission, and never seated himself or smoked in his presence without leave. In consequence of Mahommed Ali's incapacity, from dotage, to govern the country, Ibrahim was nominated by the Sultan Viceroy in his stead on the 1st of September last, and therefore held supreme power in Egypt only during the brief space of two months and ten days. For many years Ibrahim suffered acutely from a complication of complaints, brought on principally by excesses committed during his youth, and in 1846 he went to Europe for the purpose of consulting the most eminent physicians there, and on that occasion he also visited England; but the only result was a temporary relief to his sufferings, for he continued to be more or less disordered; and he finally sank under the combined effects of bronchitis and an abscess in his lungs. Ibrahim Pasha has left only three sons: Ahmed Bey, born in 1825; Ishmael Bey, born in 1830 (both pursuing their studies in Paris); and Mustapha Bey, born in 1832, at present in Cairo. Abbas Pasha, his nephew, succeeds him in the pashalic of Egypt, according to the firman granted by the Sultan in June 1841, at the close of the Syrian War, by which the succession to the government of Egypt is to descend in a direct line in Mahommed Ali's male posterity, from the elder to the elder among his sons and grandsons.

11. Suddenly, at the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. George Ackermann, Bishop's-road, Westbourne-terrace, aged 63, Johanna Wilhelmina, wife of J. Haefkens, esq., Burgomaster of Leerdam, Holland; also, on the same day, aged six months, Ann Margaret, youngest child of Mr. G. Ackermann.

— In Vincent-square, Westminster, aged 75, William Barnard, esq., for many years keeper of the British Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, Pall Mall.

— At Exmouth, aged 80, Lady Holroyd, widow of Sir George Sowley Holroyd, of Harehatch, Berks, one of the Judges of the King's Bench.

13. At Collipriest House, Tiverton, aged 60, the Rev. Thomas Carew, B.D., Rector of Bickleigh and Haccomb, Devonshire, third son of Sir Thomas Carew, the sixth bart.

— At Barbadoes, in his 24th year, Francis William Astley, esq., Captain of the 66th Regiment.

14. In Kentish Town, aged 84, Jane, widow of Sir William Blizard, F.R.S., the celebrated surgeon.

— John William Spurrier, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law, formerly Professor of Law and Jurisprudence at King's College, London.

— At Munich, in his 47th year, Ludwig von Schwanthaler, the eminent sculptor. Schwanthaler showed at an early age a love for the arts. His first destination was to the learned sciences, and he applied himself, when a boy, to the deepest study of Homer and the Greek tragedians. The death of his father obliged him to take to the business of statuary, a profession which had existed in the family for generations, and was that of his father and uncle. At the Academy of Arts at Munich he greatly distinguished himself by his taste for the antique and his great skill in composition, which gained him the attention and patronage of King Maximilian. On the death of that monarch, King Ludwig and the Duke Maximilian extended their patronage to Schwanthaler, who executed for the latter the myth of Bacchus, in a series of relief compositions, for the freize of a room in his palace. King Ludwig, however, was his greatest patron, and he executed for the king the statues of painters in the Pinakothek, the protectors of plastic art in the niches of the Glyptothek, the dramatic poets on the staircase of the theatre at Munich, and the compositions for the pediments of the Glyptothek, the *Industrie-gebaude*, and the Walhalla, besides many other relief pieces also at the Glyptothek and in the royal palace. He also modelled many figures which were afterwards reproduced by foundry. A series of statues of Czech heroes and heroines, which he had been commissioned from Bohemia to execute, has been interrupted by his death. He was buried with great pomp on the 17th November, thousands attending his funeral.

15. At Moor Hall, near Warrington, in his 78th year, Peter Heron, esq., a general in the army, and a deputy lieutenant of Cheshire, and in the commission of the peace for that county. He was the son and heir of Peter Kyffen Heron, esq., of Daresbury Hall, co. Chester, Sheriff

of Cheshire in 1777. At the general election of 1806 he was returned to parliament for the borough of Newton, in Lancashire. He was re-elected in 1807, and continued to sit for it until 1814.

— At Bath, in his 54th year, William Elton, esq., late of the 15th Hussars, second son of the Rev. Sir Abraham Elton.

— Aged 35, William Twining, esq., M.D., Oxon. Dr. Twining was physician to the North London Ophthalmic Institution, and was the author of "Some Account of Cretinism, and the Institution for its Cure, on the Abendberg, near Interlachen, in Switzerland, 1843," 12mo., published with the view of obtaining contributions to the Hospital on the Abendberg. By his great exertions the system of Dr. Guggenbühl was made known to the medical profession in this country, and three institutions for the instruction of idiots were established.

— Assassinated at Rome, Count Rossi, Minister of the Interior of the Roman States. Although Count Rossi has not played a very conspicuous part until recently, yet few men have been gifted with more penetrating or exalted powers—few have exercised a more important influence in the highest sphere of political life. Born at Carrara in 1787, he became an advocate and professor of laws in the University of Bologna as early as 1809. In 1815 he acted as Civil Commissioner during the occupation of the Legations by Murat, and was in consequence proscribed. He escaped to Geneva, where the rights of a citizen were conferred upon him in time to rescue him from the persecution of the Austrian Government. He occupied for nearly twenty years the chair of Roman Law in the Academy of Geneva, the honoured colleague of those six men who have very recently been ejected from their respective professorships in the same Academy by the present Radical Government of that Republic; so that of these men so long engaged in scientific or literary pursuits in the peaceful obscurity of a Swiss canton, all have suffered for the cause of constitutional freedom, and the greatest has now laid down his life. In Switzerland M. Rossi laboured earnestly to effect by pacific means those changes which have been at length produced by civil war; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and wearied with the minute and untractable elements of Swiss politics, he was induced by M. Guizot to remove to Paris. A chair of constitutional law was at once placed at his disposal, and upon his naturalization in France he rose to fill several important offices, and was eventually called to the Chamber of Peers. Although he never held a ministerial office in France, he lived in the closest intimacy with the Government, and enjoyed the unreserved confidence of the king. This circumstance caused him to be selected for the important post of French Ambassador at Rome, and after an absence of thirty years he returned to his native country as the plenipotentiary of a foreign sovereign. In that capacity he probably contributed in a remarkable degree to place Pio Nono on the Papal throne, and he at length became his prime minister and confidential adviser. M. Rossi was assassinated on the 15th of November, at one o'clock, as he was alighting from his carriage to enter the Chamber of Deputies. He was stabbed in the neck, and died instantly. Some gendarmes and national guards who were on the spot allowed the assassin full liberty to escape. The population remained cold and silent in the presence of this event. The Assembly, on the steps of which the murder was committed, continued to read its minutes gravely, without making the slightest mention of the incident during its sitting. In the afternoon the murderers and their adherents, to the number of some hundreds, with colours at their head, fraternised with the soldiers in the barracks, but the authorities showed themselves nowhere. The Director of Police, being requested to take some energetic measures, refused and retired. The entire ministry resigned the next morning.

On the following day the same fate awaited

16. Monsignor Palma, the Pope's Secretary. This distinguished ecclesiastic, who was in his 56th year, had been in youth an intimate friend of his Holiness. He was for upwards of twenty years undersecretary of Propaganda, and as such acquired a complete acquaintance with the ecclesiastical affairs of every part of the world. He had, moreover, occupied the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Roman Seminary, the College of Propaganda, and latterly in the University of Sapienza. His published lectures on that portion of sacred literature had conferred on him additional celebrity throughout Italy. He had, moreover, been often employed in great and delicate matters of ecclesiastical interest. It was he who drew up the masterly statement which the Holy See put forth a few years ago

on the treatment of the Catholic Church by the Emperor of Russia. The present Pope named him a Canon of the Patriarchal Basilica of St. John Lateran, and appointed him his "Secretary for Latin Letters." Monsignor Palma was walking up and down in his apartments in the Quirinal, opposite to which is the church of San Carlino, belonging to Spanish religious. Its tower, however, had been seized by the insurgents, and a ball from this reached his apartment, and striking M. Palma below the neck, penetrated downwards into the chest, and was instantly fatal.

— At Brighton, in his 58th year, Thomas Callaway, esq., of Wellington-street, Southwark, and the Grove, Blackheath, a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons. Mr. Callaway was well known as a most successful practitioner in surgery, and for twenty-two years one of the assistant-surgeons of Guy's Hospital.

17. At Ankerwycke House, aged 8, Mary, child of George Simon Harcourt, esq.

— At Eastwell Park, aged 28, Lady Eleanor Caroline Graham, wife of Mr. Sandford Graham, son of Sir Sandford Graham, bart. She was sister to Viscountess Maidstone, and eldest daughter of the Earl of Uxbridge.

— At the Palace, Bangor, aged 67, Miss Philippa Bethell, sister of the Lord Bishop of Bangor.

18. In his 64th year, Mr. Charles Heath, the eminent line engraver, known by the "Books of Beauty" which bear his name, and the costly Annuals which he conducted. He was the son of James Heath, eminent in the same art, and well known to the print collector by his "Death of Major Pearson," after Copley, and his "Riots in Broad Street," after Wheatley. Mr. Heath, besides being eminent for the power of his own hand, may be said to have exercised a marked influence over his own department of art. In his hands that species of serial artistic publication known as the "Annual"—which, originating with others, he was nevertheless one of the earliest to copy—has survived to the present day. Such publications had their use in familiarizing the general mind with the productions of art, and in making the latter accessible to moderate means.

— In Norfolk-crescent, Hyde Park, aged 56, Martha Matilda, wife of Major-General Sir Charles W. Pasley, K.C.B.

20. At Ridgemount-place, Ampthill-square, aged 59, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Batty, F.R.S. Colonel Batty served in the Grenadier Guards during the campaign of the Western Pyrenees, and at Waterloo (where he was wounded by a shell in the hip while in square). He was aide-de-camp to Sir William Clinton in Portugal; and on the staff of Count (now Prince) Woronzow, who commanded the Russian forces at Maubeuge. He recorded the gallant services of his corps in a quarto volume, illustrated with an admirable plan, and views of his own taking, etched by himself. It bears this title: "Campaign of the Left Wing of the Allied Army in the Western Pyrenees and South of France in the Years 1813-14, under Field Marshal the Marquess of Wellington." 1823. He also wrote a "Sketch of the Campaign of 1815," which met with the decided approbation of the Commander, the Duke of Wellington. In 1820, and some subsequent years, were published several beautiful volumes of "European Scenery." He married Johanna, daughter of the late Sir John Barrow, bart., Secretary to the Admiralty.

21. At Kimbolton Castle, aged 50, the Most Noble Millicent, Duchess of Manchester. She was the daughter and heir of General Robert Bernard Sparrow, of Brampton Park, Northamptonshire, by Lady Olivia Acheson, daughter of Arthur, first Earl of Gosford.

22. At Hampstead, the Lady Anna Maria Cuffe, relict of William Cuffe, esq., of St. Alban's, co. Kilkenny, sister to the Earl of Harborough.

— In Cambridge-terrace, Hyde-park, aged 87, John Wells, esq., late of Bickley, Kent, and formerly M.P. for Maidstone, from 1820 to 1830.

— At Barbadoes, aged 32, Capt. John Thomas Hope, of the 72nd Regiment, eldest son of the late Gen. Sir John Hope.

— Br.-Gen. Charles Rob. Cureton, C.B. This gallant officer, whose life was lost in the engagement at Ramnuggur, originally enlisted in the 14th Dragoons, in 1808, as a private, under the assumed name of Roberts. He immediately proceeded to the Peninsula with his regiment, and served to the close of the war, and was engaged in the battles of Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, and the siege of Badajoz, in April, 1812; at the battle of Salamanca, capture of Madrid, the battles of Vittoria, Orthes, Tarbes, and Toulouse. During

those hard-fought engagements the brave private and non-commissioned officer did not escape unscathed, as he was always in the hottest of the fray, and owed his future advancement entirely to his gallantry. He was wounded in the right leg by a rifle ball on crossing the Mondego, near Coimbra, Oct. 1, 1810; at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, in May in the following year, he received a severe sabre-cut on the head, and another on his rein hand. In Feb. 1814, he was promoted to an ensigncy in the 14th Dragoons, without purchase, in consideration of his gallant behaviour and services. He subsequently proceeded to the East Indies, where he has been employed nearly 30 years. He served under General Viscount Combermere at the siege and capture of Bhurtpore in 1825-6, and there displayed his usual courage and ability, having attained the rank of Captain, by purchase, in the former year. Colonel Cureton remained in India, employed in the routine duties, up to the breaking out of the war in the Punjab in the autumn of 1845, when he was called upon to take active service with the armies which achieved the glorious victories of Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon. He did not share in the glories of the first-named battle, but in the latter two he was in command of the cavalry corps. Major-General Sir Harry Smith, in his despatch of the battle of Aliwal to the Adjutant-General of the army, speaks in the highest terms of the deceased officer's services at that encounter. At the battle of Sobraon similar praise was bestowed on his service in the field by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, in his despatch to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge. The recommendation of the gallant Colonel's superior officers gained the approbation of the Duke of Wellington (the Commander-in-Chief); and Colonel Cureton, who had only held the regimental rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Queen's army, was, soon after the receipt of the despatches from India (namely, in April, 1846), promoted to the rank of Colonel, made a Companion of the Bath, and an Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. Colonel Cureton was subsequently appointed Adjutant-General of the Bengal army, a staff appointment previously held by his friend, Major-General Sir Harry Smith. On the breaking out of hostilities, he accompanied the army under Lord Gough to the Punjab, and in the discharge of his duty met with an honourable death. He had received the decoration of the third class of the Dooranee Empire, for his services in India.

— Killed in action, at the head of his regiment, the 14th Light Dragoons, in their desperate but successful charge on the Sikh army, in the same engagement, Lieut.-Col. William Havelock, one of the most chivalrous officers in the service. A spectator, writing of this skirmish, says,— "A more fearful sight was perhaps never witnessed on a field of battle, for the British army stood drawn up, both artillery and infantry, silent spectators of the bloody conflict of 450 sabres against an army amounting to more than 15,000 men with heavy cannon." Colonel Havelock, cheering, led on the first and second squadrons of the 14th down to the bank, then into the nullah, crossed it at a gallop, and, coming to close quarters with the Sikhs, charged through and through their ranks, and sabred hundreds of the enemy under the most frightful shower of missiles from their cannon and matchlocks. They then retired a short distance, formed up, were joined by the remainder of the corps, and the 5th Cavalry, and again they went to their work. Then, amidst a terrific cannonade from the enemy's artillery, which swept away both men and horses, and a shower of bullets which fell among the troops like hail, the gallant Havelock, in the front of his regiment, charged amidst the undiverted fire from the batteries of the enemy. In this the second charge Colonel Havelock met his death. He had his right arm severely wounded, and his left leg and left arm nearly cut off, and was left dead upon the field; eleven of his men fell fighting by his side, and their bodies were found a fortnight after the fight, decapitated, when they were buried. Colonel Havelock was born in 1795, and was the eldest son of William Havelock, of Ingress Park, Kent. Colonel Havelock entered the army at an early age, and carried the colours of the 43rd Light Infantry in the action on the Coa, when only 15. He was engaged in the Peninsula from July 1810 till the end of that war in 1814, including the battles of Busaco, Sabugal, Salamanca, and Vittoria, the passage of the Bidassoa, the battle of the Nivelle, the affair near Bayonne, and the battles of Orthès and Toulouse. He served also in the campaign of 1815, and was wounded at Waterloo, where he was Aide-de-Camp to Baron Alten, and received the cross of the Hanoverian Order. He subsequently served at Corfu; and afterwards, on exchanging

into the 4th Light Dragoons, proceeded with his regiment, first to Bombay, where he was Aide-de-Camp to Sir Charles Colville, and then to Madras, where he was on the staff as Military Secretary to Lord Elphinstone. His last exchange was into the 14th Light Dragoons. He was engaged in the various movements of Sir Charles Napier's force in the Bombay contingent, and then in the Punjab, until, as before stated, at the Ford of Ramnuggur he fell mortally wounded, at the head of his regiment, in battle against the forces of Shere Singh.

23. In New-street, Spring-gardens, in his 85th year, Sir John Barrow, bart., LL.D., F.R.S., formerly Secretary to the Admiralty. Sir John was born on the 19th June, 1764, in a small cottage at the village of Dragleybeck, near Ulverstone, North Lancashire, being the only child of Roger and Mary Barrow, and received his education at the Town Bank Grammar School, and chiefly owed his attainments to his own indefatigable industry. At this early age he was engaged in taking a survey of Colonel Braddyl's estates in Yorkshire, and acquired so much knowledge of the theodolite, and the several mathematical instruments, then and subsequently, that, on arriving in London some years after, he drew up and published a small treatise to explain the practical use of them; "this," says he, "being my first introduction to the press, for which I obtained 20*l*., and was not a little delighted to send my first fruits to my mother." Sir John Barrow's parents had some idea of educating him for the clerical profession, but he persuaded his father to give up the intention. A situation was then obtained for him at Liverpool as superintendent and clerk at an iron-foundry, in which he remained for two years, when he quitted it for a voyage to Greenland in a whaler, where he had some initiation in practical navigation and the duties of a seaman. His next employment was as mathematical teacher at Dr. James's academy, Greenwich, where among his pupils were three or four belonging to, or destined for, the navy, one the son of Lord Anson, and another the son of Lord Leveson Gower. From this service he was, through the interest of Sir George Staunton, who was secretary to the embassy destined for China, appointed on the effective list of Lord Macartney's suite, as "comptroller of the household," and, nominally in that capacity, proceeded with his patron to China. He was thus enabled to put his foot on the first step of the ladder of promotion; and every subsequent step of his advancement in his distinguished career may be fairly said to have been achieved by himself. His talents and his zeal for the public service, when once known and placed in a fair field for action, could hardly fail of being appreciated and duly fostered by those distinguished statesmen under whom he successively served. It so happened, that the chiefs of the British mission to China in 1792, the Earl of Macartney and the late Sir George Staunton, were, in some respects, not so happily provided with active and talented associates as might have been wished; but in Mr. Alexander, the draughtsman of the embassy, they were fortunate in possessing a very able and diligent artist; and Mr. Barrow, from his various talents, and the zeal and alacrity with which he applied himself to every department of the service, although his own was only a subordinate one, was a host in himself. The authentic account of the embassy, published by the late Sir George Staunton, records many of Mr. Barrow's valuable contributions to literature and science connected with China. Although Mr. Barrow ceased to be personally connected with our affairs in China after the return of the embassy in 1794, he always continued to take a lively interest in the varying circumstances of our relations with that empire. On the occasion of the second embassy under Lord Amherst in 1816, he was of course consulted by the ruling powers; but, unfortunately, although his advice was asked, it was not taken; and, in consequence of the injudicious rejection of the proposal which his prophetic sagacity had suggested for getting rid of the vexatious question of the Chinese ceremony, Lord Amherst and his colleagues were compelled to abandon the *personal* reception of the mission for the sake of preserving the honour and real interests of the English in China, which would have been essentially damaged by the acceptance of the terms upon which it was offered. Mr. Barrow was likewise consulted, and, we believe, more fairly and confidentially, on the occasion of our recent conflict with China. Lord Macartney was naturally anxious to secure the aid of such a man as Mr. Barrow in his next public service, his important and delicate mission to settle the government of our newly-acquired colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Barrow accompanied his lordship as private secre-

tary, in Jan. 1797; and having been entrusted to conduct our first communication with the Caffre tribes, was occupied during the latter six months of that year in traversing the country in all directions, during which he travelled more than three thousand miles, usually sleeping in his own waggon. Lord Macartney, when he quitted the colony in Nov. 1798, left Mr. Barrow in the post of "auditor-general of public accounts, civil and military." He returned to England on the evacuation of the Cape in 1803, and shortly after published the fruits of his observations, under the title of "Travels in South Africa," printed in 4to., 1801. By General Frank Dundas, Lord Macartney's successor, Mr. Barrow was introduced to the notice of Lord Melville, and to Mr. Pitt. Lord Melville did not lose sight of Mr. Barrow; but, on taking office as First Lord of the Admiralty, in May 1804, he immediately appointed him, without solicitation, to the office of Second Secretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Barrow was continued in office by Lord Barham, Lord Melville's immediate successor; but was requested to retire by the Whig First Lord, the Hon. Charles Grey, in 1806. Notwithstanding this, when the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope brought Mr. Barrow's services in that quarter of the world more prominently before the government, he was offered any colonial appointment that he might select for himself. Upon consideration, however, he determined not to leave England, and at the suggestion of Earl Grey, and with the expressed understanding that it would be favourably entertained by the premier, he was ordered to draw up a memorial of his various services, the result of which was the grant of a pension of 1000*l.* a year, to be abated from the emoluments of any place he might afterwards hold under government. The dissolution of the Grenville government brought Mr. Barrow again into the Admiralty, on Lord Mulgrave succeeding Earl Grey as First Lord. From this day, the 8th April, 1807, to the 28th Jan. 1845, he continued without intermission as Second Secretary of the Admiralty, when he retired, having completed altogether, from his first appointment in that capacity, forty years, under twelve or thirteen several naval administrations, Whig and Tory, including that of the Lord High Admiral, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence. It is unnecessary to add that his public services had given the highest satisfaction to his several chiefs. He was created a Baronet during the short administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1835. At length, in 1845, Sir John Barrow retired from public life, in consideration of his advanced years, although he was still in vigorous possession of all the mental and bodily powers required for the due discharge of the functions of his office. As an author, Sir John Barrow was exceedingly industrious and very successful. His works consist of articles in the Quarterly Review, on almost every subject (excepting political), 195; in the Encyclopædia Britannica, ten or twelve; a "Review of the Life of Admiral Lord St. Vincent," in the Edinburgh Review; the Life of Lord Macartney, in 2 vols. 4to.; Travels in South Africa, 2 vols. 4to.; Travels in China, 1 vol. 4to.; Voyage to Cochin China, 1 vol. 4to.; the Life of Lord Anson, 1 vol. 8vo.; the Life of Lord Howe, 1 vol. 8vo.; in the "Family Library," the Life of Peter the Great, and the Mutiny of the Bounty; Chronological History of Arctic Voyages, 1 vol. 8vo.; Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, 1 vol. 8vo. Sir John Barrow was the constant and successful advocate at the Admiralty of those voyages of discovery which have enlarged the bounds of science, and conferred so much honour on the British name and nation. Appreciating those services, the officers who had been employed on the various Arctic expeditions presented to him, in March 1845, a magnificent candelabrum, with a suitable inscription on the pedestal. Sir John Barrow married at the Cape of Good Hope, in Aug. 1798, Maria, daughter of Peter John Treutter, esq., member of the court of justice in that colony, and had issue four sons and two daughters.

— At Redbourne, aged 81, Charlotte, widow of Joseph Valentine Grimstead, esq., mother of Lady Glammis, and grandmother of the Earl of Strathmore.

24. At Melbourne House, Derbyshire, in his 70th year, the Right Hon. William Lamb, second Viscount Melbourne (1770), and Baron Melbourne of Kilmore, co. Cavan (1781), in the peerage of Ireland; 2nd Baron Melbourne of Melbourne, co. Derby (1815), in the peerage of the United Kingdom; the 3rd Baronet (1755); a Privy Councillor, a Commissioner of Exchequer Loans, an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, and a Governor of the Charter House; formerly Prime Minister to King William IV. and Queen Victoria. Lord Melbourne was

born at Melbourne House, Whitehall, on the 15th March, 1779, the second son of Peniston, first Viscount Melbourne, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke, bart. His university education he received, first, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and, secondly, at Glasgow, where he studied jurisprudence and politics in the class of an eminent teacher, Professor Millar. In a debating society attached to the class Mr. W. Lamb was distinguished amongst his contemporaries for historical knowledge, considerable classical attainments, strong common sense, and great pleasantry. At that period of his life, like most young men brought up amongst the Whigs, he was a prodigious admirer of Mr. Fox, and an acknowledged disciple of his political school. In return Mr. Fox warmly patronised Mr. W. Lamb even before he left Cambridge. He entered as a student at Lincoln's-inn on the 21st July, 1797, and was called to the bar on the 23rd Nov. 1804, and on the 3rd June, 1805, married the Lady Caroline Ponsonby, daughter of the Earl of Bessborough, and niece of Earl Spencer. This matrimonial alliance bore every appearance of an union likely to be crowned with permanent happiness; but in the course of a few years differences of a very painful kind arose, which ended in a separation. Lady Caroline Lamb died on the 25th of January, 1828. She attained some celebrity as a novel-writer and as a correspondent of Lord Byron. In the year 1805 Mr. Lamb entered the House of Commons as one of the Members for Leominster, and joined the Opposition under the leadership of the celebrated Charles Fox. In 1806 he moved the address in answer to the King's speech. He represented the Haddington district of burghs in the Parliament of 1806, Portarlington in that of 1807, Peterborough in 1816 and 1818, Hertfordshire in 1819 and 1820. During this period Mr. Lamb's principles, although consistently liberal, were by no means extreme, and, though remaining in Opposition, he frequently gave the benefit of his vote to Lord Liverpool's ministry. When Mr. Canning was commissioned to form a cabinet, the Hon. Wm. Lamb accepted the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in that country the Roman Catholic party hailed his advent with a degree of triumph which was almost absurd. The sort of temporary alienation from the extreme Whigs which Mr. Lamb underwent during the years 1827–29 appears to have reconciled him to a still closer intercourse with the Tories; and he not only accepted office under Lord Goderich, but even remained with the Duke of Wellington himself. But about this period the movement party both in France and England showed symptoms of approaching insubordination, and the well-remembered proposition for disfranchising East Retford came before the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Grant (now Lord Glenelg), Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Lamb could not, with any show of consistency, refuse to support this first step in Parliamentary Reform; and, as the military premier never tolerated mutiny, Mr. Lamb became once more a member of His Majesty's Opposition, and about the same time he ceased to be a Member of the House of Commons, by the death of his father, on the 22nd July, 1828. He had entered that branch of the legislature shortly before Pitt and Fox were removed from the scene of their political triumphs; and he continued to belong to it for a period of more than twenty years; his fellow-labourers and opponents there included not only the illustrious names above mentioned, but those also of Perceval, Castlereagh, Tierney, Sheridan, Brougham, Canning, Huskisson, Peel, Wyndham, Macintosh, Wilberforce, Plunket, and Whitbread. Amongst men of such practised faculties and such distinguished powers of debate the Hon. William Lamb was but a luminary of tenth-rate magnitude. It was not until he had obtained a seat in the Upper House that he ascended to the rank of a political chieftain. The Duke of Wellington having in 1830 professed himself unable to comprehend how the king's government was to be carried on if the representative branch of the legislature underwent any alteration whatever, he threw up office, and Lord Grey reigned in his stead. Thereupon Lord Melbourne accepted the seals of the Home Department. He had already acquired some experience in its most difficult branch—the affairs of Ireland; and Lord Grey intrusted to him the duties and powers of Home Secretary at a moment when the administration of our domestic government demanded the exercise of great delicacy and circumspection. Lord Melbourne was not equal to the undertaking. The Home Office, in his time, was almost always "in trouble." Sitting in the Upper House, with such a leader as Lord Grey, he had scarcely any Parliamentary

duties to perform, yet in his official character he fell considerably in the rear of his colleagues. While he held the seals of the Home Department his measures were sometimes unskilful and always late. He loved procrastination, and even gravely contended in the House of Lords that the general rule of official life was "never to do anything till a man could not possibly help it." To this theory his practice at the Home Office was perfectly conformable; but, fortunately for that department, his administration of its affairs did not continue much beyond three years. During the session of 1834 the government proposed to make a considerable alteration in the state of the Irish Church establishment. From this proposition Lord Ripon, Lord Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, Sir James Graham, and others, dissented; they consequently threw up their offices, and thenceforward Lord Grey's position became unstable. The King sent for Viscount Melbourne, and on the 14th of July, 1834, his lordship announced that he had been authorised to reconstruct the Ministry. This he contrived to do after an imperfect fashion, and with no small difficulty his Cabinet managed, till the rising of Parliament, to retain their offices, trusting to agitation and the chapter of accidents for giving them another year or two of official existence. But in November Earl Spencer died; Lord Althorp therefore ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the king, considering that event as tantamount to a breaking-up of the Ministry, rather unceremoniously called upon Lord Melbourne to retire from office. Under the advice of the Duke of Wellington, his Majesty summoned Sir Robert Peel from Italy, and a very promising attempt was made to form a Conservative Administration. But a new Parliament decided against the new Government; Lord Melbourne was restored, and lost no time in calling to his aid as many of the late ministry as were prepared to go the full length of extreme Liberalism. A Government was thus formed which held its ground from April 1835 till Sept. 1841, and during that period Viscount Melbourne was First Lord of the Treasury. On the retirement of Lord Grey, all the world wondered how it happened that the King thought of sending for such a person as the *ci-devant* head of the Home Office; because the world never had the least idea that he was at all fitted to be Prime Minister until after he had actually attained to that lofty eminence. Once there, however, his partisans pronounced him to be a statesman, and were amazed that he never became an orator, for the head of the Government usually enjoys the fame of eloquence, and in that respect a Premier's reputation often exceeds his deserts. He has the advantage of never being constrained to speak upon trifling occasions, of always being heard with profound attention, of having his speeches fully reported and extensively published, of having his best passages quoted in every quarter, of being furnished by his subordinates with the most exact and copious information, of being permitted to close almost every debate, and therefore of expatiating uninfluenced by the terrors of a reply. Yet all these appliances have not been sufficient to build up for some men the oratorical character; and of that number was Lord Melbourne. Nevertheless, he possessed many requisites of a public speaker. He was once a very handsome man, and he enjoyed at all times the advantages of a most prepossessing appearance, a mellow and flexible voice, a cheerful temper, and a cordial frankness of manner, which, notwithstanding that it sometimes degenerated into coarseness, acquired for him, on the whole, much popularity. But he was an immethodical speaker; the bubbling current of his rhetoric was at best but a turbid stream; his narratives were unskilful, and his expositions obscure; yet for many years he contrived, with a certain degree of success, to flounder through the business of Ministerial leader in the House of Lords. The chief reproach of the Melbourne government was an alliance with the demagogue O'Connell. Parties were so nicely balanced that Ministers must often have been in a minority if unsupported by that section of the House of Commons which in those days was commonly called "O'Connell's tail:" whilst, therefore, they publicly repudiated Mr. O'Connell's party, and denounced his principles, they patronised the Irish Roman Catholics; they frowned upon the Irish Protestants, and, in the words of a well-remembered admission of Lord Melbourne himself, gave "heavy blows and great discouragement" to the Irish church. Lord Melbourne's ministerial career naturally divides itself into two parts—that which belongs to the reign of William IV., and that which was passed under the dominion of Queen Victoria. Under the former his service was one of ease and freedom.

Although, upon the memorable occasion in 1834, Lord Melbourne was treated rather cavalierly by King William, there can be no doubt that the affairs of the Palace, during that reign, occupied in a less degree than usual the attention of the Cabinet. But the commencement of the new reign imposed upon Lord Melbourne a novel, and rather a difficult, series of duties. That he accomplished his task with consummate address is attested by the evidence of facts, and the concurrent opinion of all observers; and his Lordship is entitled to still higher praise, for he spared no pains to imbue the mind of Her Majesty with a deep sense of the responsibilities attaching to the regal office; he availed himself of all fitting opportunities to instruct her in the various duties of her high station; and, as far as it was possible for a Whig of his school, he presented to her view the leading principles of the British constitution. At the time of her accession the Queen, though legally "of age to govern," had scarcely emerged from childhood. The Minister might therefore have grasped and wielded an unusual degree of authority. His party clamoured, at the commencement of a new reign, for titles, honours, emoluments, and power. It required, therefore, no ordinary skill on the part of Lord Melbourne to reconcile the duty which he owed to his sovereign with the inclinations which would lead him to gratify his friends; and, for a man of his easy temper and careless habits, he was wonderfully successful in escaping the embarrassments with which he found himself at that period surrounded. But, though he stood high in the confidence of the Queen, he was by this time rapidly losing ground in the estimation of parliament. In the year 1841 Lord Melbourne's Cabinet had lost the confidence of every party and faction throughout the country, except that of a few drawing-rooms in London. They clung to place long after they had lost power, abandoning various measures, such as those with regard to education, church-rates, Scotch and Irish registration, ecclesiastical courts, Irish railways, and others. Finally, Lord Melbourne had recourse to a dissolution. The country confirmed the verdict of the House, and the tenacious minister succumbed. From this period his lordship, never much devoted to active exertion, and now enfeebled by declining health, took small part in public affairs. It is allowed by those most sensible of his deficiencies that Lord Melbourne was possessed of many estimable and many social qualities; that he was a man of shrewd judgment when he chose to exert it, and of accurate insight into the capacities and foibles, the vanities and pretensions, of the professional politicians by whom it was his lot as Minister to be surrounded. He had a fair, gentlemanlike acquaintance with the classical authors of Greece and Rome, which he continued to read even when burdened with the toils of state, and no contemptible knowledge of the past and contemporaneous literature of his own country. Society was, however, eminently his place. In the drawing-room and at the dining-table Lord Melbourne was of colossal proportion. Society was to him what the Queen's Bench was to Sir William Follett, or the House of Commons to Sir Robert Peel. The *prestige* acquired in these scenes followed him into others for which by character and by nature he was less adapted, gilded many a success, and draped many a defeat. He was a man who, in spite of grave failings, will now be remembered with approbation for many estimable qualities, whose mirthful sallies excited the applause of every circle that he entered, and whose frank geniality of character won the confidence and affection of his personal and political associates. Viscount Melbourne left no surviving issue, and is succeeded in the peerage by his only surviving brother Lord Beauvale.

— In the Minster precincts at Peterborough, in the 93rd year of her age, Margaret, relict of the Rev. William Strong, D.D., late Archdeacon of Northampton.

— At Torquay, aged 11, Olivia Jane Lennox Peel, eldest daughter of Mr. Laurence and Lady Jane Peel, and niece to the Duke of Richmond.

25. At Bath, aged 76, the Hon. Miss Frances Harley, only surviving sister of the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

26. At Edinburgh, Andrew Wilson, esq., R.S.A., and a member of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of Genoa Mr. Wilson was well known to those conversant with art, having been for many years master of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. Mr. Wilson had also filled the office of Professor of Drawing at the Military College at Sandhurst.

— Shot by an assassin, at his mansion, Stanfield Hall, near Wymondham, Norfolk, in his 60th year, Isaac Jermy, esq., Recorder of Norwich, one of the Chairmen of the Quarter Sessions of Norfolk,

President of the Board of Directors of the Norwich Life Assurance Society, and a Director of the Norwich Union Fire Office. Mr. Jermy was born on the 23rd September, 1789, the eldest son of the late Rev. George Preston, Rector of Beeston St. Lawrence and Tasburgh, who died in 1837. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Christchurch, Oxford, and was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, May 20, 1814, and went the Norfolk Circuit. In 1826 he was appointed steward, and in 1831 Recorder, of Norwich, succeeding in each office the late Robert Alderson, esq. He was also a Commissioner of Bankrupts for Norwich. In 1837, on the death of his father, he succeeded to Stanfield Hall and other landed property, and in August 1838 he assumed the name of Jermy. The Jermy family acquired this property through the marriage of William Jermy, esq., in 1735, with the Hon. Elizabeth Richardson, by whose ancestor, Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Bayfield (now Stanfield Hall) was purchased in 1642. This Mr. Jermy had no issue by the heiress; but the estate was left to the Prestons, relatives of his second wife, and came to the Rev. George Preston (the father of the late Mr. Jermy) pursuant to the will of his brother Isaac, in May 1796. An adverse claim to this property was, on the death of the Rev. George Preston, attempted to be set up by a family of the name of Larner; and on the 24th of September, 1838, John Larner, accompanied by an attorney named Wingfield, and backed by some 80 or 90 labourers and small tradesmen from the neighbouring villages, took forcible possession of the Hall, turned out Mrs. Sims, the housekeeper, and a Miss Bloomfield, who was staying with her, placed the furniture on the lawn, and barricaded the premises, which they held against all the efforts of the civil force to dislodge them, and were only expelled by a military force Eighty-two persons were indicted for this offence, and, having pleaded guilty, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Since that period Mr. Jermy remained in quiet possession of the property, although some rumours have recently been circulated of another attempt to dispossess him. An account of the horrible assassination of this gentleman and his son, and the mutilation of the wife of the latter and a female servant, by James Bloomfield Rush, will be found in the CHRONICLE, p. 155. Mr. Jermy, sen., married, first, in 1819, Mary Anne, daughter of the late Sir Thomas Beevor, bart. She died in 1823, leaving two children, the late Isaac Jermy Jermy, esq., who perished with his father, and Mrs. Jephson. He married, secondly, in 1832, Fanny, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Jephson, Prebendary of Armagh. By that lady, who died in October 1835, he has left a daughter, Isabella, born a few weeks before her mother's death. Mr. Isaac Jermy Jermy was 27 years of age. His widow is a daughter of the late Rev. Mr. Chevalier, Rector of Baddingham, Suffolk.

27. At Torquay, Charlotte Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Sir Edward Baker Baker, bart., and niece to the Duke of Leinster.

— At Newcastle-on-Tyne, aged 31, from a fall from his horse, brevet Major Hew Graham Ross, Second Capt. Royal Horse Artillery, eldest son of Major Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple Ross.

— At his residence in Christ Church, Oxford, aged 21, Philip Ughtred Shuttleworth, only son of the late Bishop of Chichester.

— At Weston House, Albury, Capt. Robert Russell, R.N., brother to the Duchess Dowager of Cleveland.

28. In Chester-place, Chester-square, in his 42nd year, the Right Hon. Charles Buller, a Privy Councillor, President of the Commission for the administration of the Poor Laws, a Queen's Counsel, and M.P. for Liskeard. Mr. Buller was born at Calcutta in August 1806, the only son of the late Charles Buller, esq., a civil servant of the Hon. East India Company. Mr. Charles Buller was educated partly at Harrow, partly at Edinburgh, and lastly at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gave promise of no ordinary abilities and acquirements. At 23 he entered parliament on the eve of the Reform Bill for the borough of West Looe, which belonged to his family. His party, was, however, then and for life the party of the people. He voted for the bill, lost his borough, and was subsequently returned for Liskeard, a seat which he retained till his death. His maiden speech was made in 1830, on Mr. Davenport's motion on the currency. He was a zealous opponent of the Corn Laws long before those who have since given him office "took up" that question. He even declared against property qualification for members; in favour of triennial parliaments; and for removing the bishops from the House of

Lords. In 1833 he moved an adverse amendment to the Irish Coercion Bill; and on several other occasions he appeared far in advance of the Whig party. The first decisive step he made on his own account in parliament was a speech on the Public Records, a luminous and brilliant effort, full of knowledge, and pregnant with valuable suggestions, which were afterwards more or less adopted. When the Earl of Durham went to Canada as Governor General in 1838, he took Mr. Buller with him as his secretary; and, when that colonial administration came to an abrupt termination, the country learned with surprise that the masterly report which bore the name of the Governor General, and which will be remembered as one of the ablest and most effective state papers of this age, was the production of Mr. Buller's pen. From that time forward Mr. Buller's attention was directed with especial industry to the state of the British Colonies and to emigration. The most considerable experiment in independent colonisation which had been made by Englishmen since the reign of Elizabeth was the enterprise of the New Zealand Company; and, although the result of that undertaking fell far short of the hopes of its promoters, it relaxed nothing of Mr. Buller's zeal to direct the energy, capital, and population of these islands to their natural outlet in the foreign dependencies of the empire. Mr. Buller had been called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, on the 10th of June, 1831, but had few opportunities of exhibiting his forensic abilities, being in 1841 appointed, by Lord Melbourne, Secretary to the Board of Control. On the formation of the Whig Cabinet of 1846 it was generally anticipated that Mr. Buller would be a member of it, in the department for which his knowledge of colonial subjects singularly fitted him; and it was with surprise that the public learned his appointment to the sinecure office of Judge Advocate General, which afforded no opportunities for the display of his remarkable parliamentary talents: it was, however, generally understood that although holding this office nominally he would in fact act as an additional under-secretary for the colonial department. In November of the same year he was appointed a Queen's Counsel; and on the 22nd July, 1847, he was sworn of the Privy Council. After holding the office of Judge Advocate for about eighteen months, during which time he remodelled the Mutiny Act, he exchanged, in Nov. 1847, that comparatively easy post for one burdened with great labour, and surrounded by perils. The Poor Law Commission had sunk under public obloquy, the existence of the New Poor Law was itself shaken, when Mr. Buller, at the direct sacrifice of his own convenience and of a portion of his income, consented to assume the duties of sole Poor Law Commissioner. This office, so responsible and invidious, Mr. Buller filled with remarkable success. The laborious duties of this office, however engrossing, did not absorb his whole attention, for, whilst he left no duties of his station unperformed, he sedulously pursued the studies and the relations which befit the largest objects of an English statesman. In the affairs of foreign nations, especially in those which are struggling for the establishment of constitutional liberty, he took a strong and enlightened interest; and one of the last subjects which had occupied his thoughts was a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of the condition of Ireland. These, and all the other pursuits of his amiable and accomplished life, have been abruptly ended. An attack of typhus fever supervened after surgical treatment, and after a short illness Mr. Buller expired. "Those only who enjoyed the charm of his personal intercourse can describe the brilliancy of fancy which shone in all the caprices of his wit, or the tenderness of a nature which never allowed that wit to inflict a wound. With nothing of the cant of patriotism, and little of the creed of party, he lived in singleness of devotion to the public good. His name will be remembered amongst those who have been finely called

'The inheritors of unfulfilled renown;'

and, if from his untimely end he leave no conspicuous monument of his public labours, the greater is the loss to England, which is deprived of one who, like Canning or Francis Horner, is enrolled among the honourable and the good, more even for what he was than for what he performed."

— In Upper Bedford-place, aged 79, George Watlington, esq., of Caldicot House, Aldenham, Herts, late Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and Recorder of St. Alban's.

— In Eaton-square, George Aylmer, youngest son of the late H. G. Redhead Yorke, esq.

— At Torquay, aged 73, Lieut.-Gen. John Wardlaw, Colonel of the 55th Foot.

He served in the Peninsula, and received a medal for the battle of the Nive.

— At Bath, aged 84, Lieut.-Gen. John Luther Richardson, of the Bengal army.

— At Barbadoes, aged 27, Capt. Henry Rice, 72nd Regiment, second son of Edward Rice, esq., M.P.

29. In Pall Mall, aged 52, Isabella, wife of Vice-Adm. Sir Thomas Briggs, G. C. St. M. and St. G., and daughter of the late Gen. Trapaud.

DECEMBER.

2. The lady of Sir John Hall, K.C.H.

3. At his residence, Shepperton, Middlesex, aged 67, Samuel Cooper, esq., F.R.S. This gentleman, deservedly well known all over the world for the variety and extent of his surgical information, was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons on the 7th of Oct. 1803, soon after which he entered the army, and became staff-surgeon. In 1806 he obtained the Jacksonian Prize at the Royal College of Surgeons for an elaborate treatise on the joints; and on the 26th of May, 1827, he was elected a member of the council of that body. In 1832, on the anniversary of the birth of Hunter, he had the honour to deliver the annual oration in memory of the founder of the Hunterian Museum. In 1835 he was appointed an examiner, and in 1845 was elected President of the College. Mr. Cooper was for seventeen years connected with the London University College and Hospital as a most popular teacher. When the late Mr. Liston's health began to suffer in the autumn of last year, he apprised Mr. Cooper of his inability to continue the usual assistance in the surgical lectures; the deceased, therefore, made application to the senate for the necessary assistance, and requested that Mr. Morton might be appointed his assistant. This suggestion of Mr. Cooper's gave great offence to two of his colleagues, and Mr. Cooper felt compelled to resign. Mr. Cooper's professional works are—"Reflections on Points relative to Cataract, 1805;" "First Lines of the Practice of Surgery, 1807;" "A Treatise on the Diseases of the Joints" (the prize essay above mentioned), 1807; "Dictionary of Practical Surgery, 1809;" "Epitome of Modern Surgery, 1812."

4. In Charles-street, Brompton, aged 89, Sarah, eldest daughter of the late William Farr, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., and relict of Samuel Rose, esq., of Lincoln's Inn.

5. In Wimpole-street, aged 50, John Clendinning, esq., M.D., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

— At Bay House, near Gosport, the Right Hon. Anne Louisa, dowager Lady Ashburton. She was the eldest daughter of William Bingham, esq., of Philadelphia.

— At Malta, William Henry Hotham, esq., Lieut. 44th Regiment, eldest son of the Hon. Capt. Hotham, R.N., and the Lady Susan Hotham.

6. At Dover, aged 49, Ann Mary, fourth daughter of the late Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, bart., of Denton Court.

— At Ballykileaven, Queen's County, Sir Edward Johnson Walsh, the second bart. (1777), a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate of that county.

7. In Old Bond-street, Edward Courtenay, esq., fifth son of the late Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay.

— At Broadbush House, near Petersfield, Hampshire, Christopher Crackenthorp Askew, esq., Post Captain, R.N. He entered the navy Feb. 21, 1798, and served in the *Vestal* in the expedition against Ostend, and next with the gallant Riou, in the *Amazon*, 38, at the sanguinary battle of Copenhagen; during which his captain was slain, and 36 of his shipmates killed and wounded. After the renewal of the war with France, in 1803, Mr. Askew, then serving in the same frigate, under Capt. William Parker, assisted at the capture of *Le Felix* privateer, of 16 guns and 96 men. He subsequently accompanied the squadron under Lord Nelson to the West Indies, in pursuit of the combined fleets, and, returning from thence, assisted in capturing the *Principe de la Paz* Spanish privateer, mounting 24 long 9-pounders and 4 brass swivels, with a complement of 160 men. Having attained the rank of lieutenant, he served in the *Thalia*, 36, Capt. J. G. Vashon, in the expedition to the Scheldt, in the year 1809. He was promoted from the *Thalia* to the command of the *Moselle* sloop, on the Jamaica station, Nov. 26, 1811. He was also afloat during the peace.

— At Nuttall Rectory, Frances Barbara, wife of the Hon. and Rev. John Vernon.

8. At Bath, aged 59, the Rev. William Barlow, Canon of Chester, and Rector of Northenden, Cheshire.

9. In Grove-lane, Camberwell, in his 63rd year, Mr. James Bigg, bookseller, of Parliament-street.

— At Hopton, aged 39, John Edward Lacon, esq., of Ormesby House.

9. At York-crescent, Sir John Brooke Stonhouse, the 12th bart., of Radley, Berkshire (1628). Sir John was formerly a civil servant of the East India Company on their Bengal establishment, and was some time registrar of the Zilla court at Ghazeepore.

11. At the residence of her daughter, Louisa, relict of Philip Lybbe Powys, esq., of Hardwick House, Oxfordshire.

— At Clevedon, Somersetshire, aged 75, the Right Hon. Edward Wadding Plunkett, 14th Lord Dunsany, of Dunsany Castle, co. Meath, one of the representative Peers of Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Meath. Lord Dunsany was formerly Lieut.-Colonel in the Coldstream Guards, with which he served in Holland and Egypt, and was severely wounded at the landing in the latter country, March 8, 1801. He succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, April 4, 1821, and was elected one of the representative Peers of Ireland in 1836. He was a constant resident on his property in the county of Meath, where he gave much employment to the poor. His lordship was twice married, and has left issue.

12. In Berkeley-square, Mary, wife of William Ord, esq., M.P.

— At his seat, Westwood Hall, Staffordshire, aged 84, John Davenport, esq., a deputy-lieutenant of the county, and late M.P. for Stoke-upon-Trent. This gentleman was the head of a firm of great celebrity for their manufacture of glass and porcelain, which they carried on on a great scale, and by which they realised large fortunes. Messrs. Davenport commenced business at Longport in 1794, and added, in 1797, to their other concerns, the chemical preparation of litharge and white lead, for the use of the potters, in their glazes, having three distinct establishments, each of immense extent. In 1801, the making of flint-glass, or crystal, was introduced by them, and has ever since been extensively carried on; connected with which is steam-machinery for cutting and ornamenting it. The firm have also produced brilliant specimens of stained glass, and have got up some elaborate works of that kind for church and other windows, particularly one for St. Mark's, Liverpool, and have furnished splendid specimens for the Dukes of Sutherland and Devonshire, the Marquesses of Anglesea and Westminster, and others of the nobility. They have a fourth earthenware manufactory at Newport, and these establishments together give employment to upwards of fifteen hundred hands. Mr. Davenport was three times returned to parliament for the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent; first in 1832, together with Mr. Wedgwood, of Etruria; again in 1835 with Mr. Heathcote, and again in 1837 with Ald. Copeland. At the election of 1841 he retired, on account of his advancing years.

14. At Bristol, aged 75, Lieut.-Gen. James Lomax.

— At Tenby, aged 64, George Richards, esq., of Cheltenham, late a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Mr. Richards has made numerous bequests, exceeding in the whole 10,000*l.*, to charities and public institutions; an annuity of 50*l.* to King's College, Cambridge, for the benefit of scholars there; an annuity of 50*l.* to Eton College, for the benefit of superannuated collegers; and of 21*l.* for Latin and English essays.

— In camp near Mooltan, aged 28, Thomas H. Plumer, Lieut. 49th Bengal N. Inf., and eldest son of Thomas Hall Plumer, esq., of Canons, Middlesex.

15. At his residence in Albemarle-street, aged 44, John Harris, esq., M.D., Cantab. and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

16. In Park-street, Westminster, aged 62, the Hon. Lady Hope, widow of Adm. Sir George Hope, K.C.B., and sister to Lord Kinnaird.

— At Dublin, Major John Goodday Strutt Gilland, the eldest of the staff of the Queen's Royals. He served throughout the campaign in Affghanistan and Beloochistan, and was present at the storm and capture of Ghuznee and Khelat in 1839. As Major he served in the campaign in the Southern Mahratta country in 1844, including the storming of the fortress of Punella, and that in the Concan in 1844.

— At Belmont, near Waterford, aged 62, Captain Sir Samuel Roberts, Knight and C.B. Sir S. Roberts was a midshipman of the *Anson* frigate, Captain P. C. Durham, in Sir John Warren's action with Mons. Bompart in Donegal Bay, and at the capture of *La Loire*, Oct. 12 and 18, 1798. He subsequently joined *La Volage*, 24, Capt. the Hon. Philip Wodehouse, under whose command he

proceeded to the Jamaica station, where he assisted in cutting out many of the enemy's vessels, but at length had the misfortune to be severely wounded and taken prisoner. He next served on board Sir John T. Duckworth's flag-ship, the *Leviathan*, 74, during the Peace of Amiens. Immediately after the renewal of hostilities, he was placed by that officer under Capt. Edmund Boger, of the *Echo* sloop of war. In 1804, he assisted at the capture of a French transport, full of troops; and a privateer of 16 guns. Five well-armed vessels, having on board 250 soldiers, were also captured by a single boat under his command, containing no more than 13 men, with cutlasses, muskets, and pistols. On another occasion, having been accidentally left on shore at Jamaica, and observing a privateer take possession of the *Dorothy Foster*, a valuable West India trader, he immediately embarked with some volunteer seamen in another merchant vessel, pursued the enemy, and, after an obstinate conflict, compelled him to surrender his prey. For this exploit he was rewarded with an order to act as Lieutenant of the *Echo*. Capt. Boger subsequently gave Mr. Roberts the command of a tender, mounting one 12-pounder carronade and two 2-pounders, with a crew consisting of 21 men, directing him to look out for and endeavour to detain some Spaniards about to sail from the Havannah for Europe. He shortly afterwards fell in with two vessels, one of 12 guns and 60 men, the other carrying 8 guns and 40 men; determined, however, to defend his little craft until the last extremity, he fought them for half an hour, and did not yield until she began to sink, taking with her to the bottom the whole of the killed and wounded. He was kept in cruel imprisonment for some months, and his health was much injured by his treatment. Mr. Roberts served as Lieutenant of the *Unicorn* frigate, Captain Lucius Hardyman, and commanded a detachment of 50 seamen at the capture of Monte Video, where he rendered important aid to the right column of the assailants, by scaling the walls of the town, near the north gate, and helping to force it open from within. After his return from South America Mr. Roberts became senior lieutenant of the *Unicorn*, in which capacity he assisted at the destruction of *La Ville de Varsovie*, French 80, and her consorts, in Aix Roads, April 12, 1809. He subsequenly removed, with Captain Hardyman, into the *Armide*, 38, and commanded her boats at the capture and destruction of 15 of the enemy's coasting vessels, near Rochelle, in Jan. and Feb. 1810. Early on the morning of May 4 following, the boats of the *Armide*, assisted by those of the *Cadmus* sloop, and *Monkey* and *Daring* gun-brigs, the whole under the direction of Lieut. Roberts, made an attack upon a convoy at the Isle of Rhé, defended by batteries on shore, two armed luggers, and several pinnaces. Although the enemy were well prepared to receive them, our brave fellows boarded and took possession of 17 sail; being unable to bring them out, 13 were burnt and the others left on shore. After more service Mr. Roberts was made commander in 1813. Capt. Roberts commanded the *Meteor* bomb during the expeditions against Alexandria, Baltimore, and New Orleans, with his usual gallantry. He was nominated a C.B. June 4, 1815; advanced to post rank on the 13th of the same month; appointed to the *Tay*, 26, in Jan. 1816; wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico, Nov. 11 following. Captain Roberts was constantly employed down to a late period, and had fought the enemies of Great Britain on *fifty-three* occasions. He received the honour of knighthood from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1833, and was latterly on the retired list of Captains (1846) at 20*s.* per diem.

17. At Prinknash Park, aged 37, Mary, wife of James Ackers, esq., late M.P. for Ludlow.

19. At Cheltenham, aged 77, William Greaves, esq., M.D., late of Mayfield Hall, Staff., a justice of the peace for Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Gloucestershire.

21. At Windsor, Lieut.-Col. Adam Gordon Campbell, Knight of Windsor, lately commanding the 16th Regiment.

— Suddenly, of diseased heart, aged 65, Colonel William Tyrwhitt Drake, of Little Shardeloes, Bucks., formerly of the Royal Horse Guards Blue.

22. In Woburn-place, Russell-square, aged 63, James Cowles Prichard, M.D., Licentiate of the College of Physicians, one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy, Fellow of the Royal Society, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, of many other literary and scientific societies, and, at the time of his death, President of the Ethnological Society of London. Dr. Prichard was born at Ross, in Herefordshire. He settled as a physician in Bristol in the year 1810, and was connected with the principal medical charities of that city. The degree of Doctor of Medicine of the

University of Oxford was conferred upon him, *by diploma*, upon the occasion of the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of that University. In the year 1845, he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy, and removed to London. Mr. Prichard was author of some highly esteemed works, of which the principal are,—"Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," 1813; "An Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology," 1819; "A Treatise on the Diseases of the Nervous System. Part I., comprising Convulsion and Maniacal Affections," 1822; "A Treatise on Insanity," 1835; "On the different forms of Insanity, in relation to Jurisprudence," 1842, 12mo; "The Natural History of Man," 1843, 8vo.

25. At Woolbeding, aged 74, Frances Ann, second daughter of the late Hon. E. Bouverie, M.P. for Northampton, and sister to Edward Bouverie, esq., Delapre Abbey.

27. At his seat, Wood End, near Thirsk, co. York, aged 63, Sir Samuel Crompton, Bart., a deputy-lieutenant of the North Riding, formerly M.P. for Derby. He represented East Retford in the House of Commons from 1818 till 1826, and was next elected member for Derby, for which he sat until 1830. In 1834 he was elected without a contest for Thirsk, which he continued to represent to 1841, when he retired from parliament. In politics he was a moderate Reformer. In 1838 he was advanced to a baronetcy, which has now become extinct.

28. Aged 54, Sir Augustus Frederic D'Este, K.C.H., a Colonel in the army. Sir Augustus D'Este was the son of his late R. H. the Duke of Sussex, by Lady Augusta Murray, second daughter of John, fourth Earl of Dunmore. The marriage ceremony, first performed at Rome, was repeated in London on the 5th Dec. following, but in August 1794 was declared by the Court of Arches to be invalid, in consequence of its having been contracted contrary to the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act, passed 12 Geo. III. This marriage was productive of two children, the late Sir Augustus D'Este, and Ellen Augusta, married in 1845 to Sir Thomas Wilde, now Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Sir Augustus D'Este was born in the year 1794, and entered the army as Lieutenant in the Royal Fusiliers, with which regiment he went to America, and was present at the attack upon New Orleans in 1815, as aide-de-camp to Sir John Lambert. He rapidly attained the rank of Colonel, when he sold out. King William IV. in 1830 appointed him a Knight Commander of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. He was for some years Deputy Ranger of St. James's and Hyde Parks. Upon the death of the Duke of Sussex in 1843, Sir Augustus D'Este preferred his claim to succeed to the titles and honours of his father, and the claim was heard by the House of Lords in that year, when, after proof was given of the marriage of his father and mother, and of the birth of Sir Augustus Frederic in 1794, a question was submitted to the Judges upon the effect of the Royal Marriage Act, 12 Geo. III. The Judges pronounced their opinion to be that that statute had incapacitated the descendants of George II. from contracting a legal marriage without the consent of the Crown, either within the British dominions or elsewhere; whereupon the House of Lords resolved that Sir Augustus Frederic D'Este had not established his claim. Sir Augustus died unmarried.

29. At his seat, Brampton, Herefordshire, aged 75, the Right Hon. Edward Harley, fifth Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Baron Harley of Wigmore, co. Hereford (1711), D.C.L. His lordship was born on the 20th Feb. 1773, and was the only son of the Hon. and Right Rev. John Harley, Lord Bishop of Hereford (third son of Edward, the third Earl), by Roach, daughter and heir of Gwynne Vaughan, esq., of Trebarry, co. Radnor, and succeeded to the peerage on the death of his uncle Edward, the fourth Earl, Oct. 8, 1790. In early life the Earl of Oxford took an active part in the debates of the House of Peers, voting with the Whigs. The Earl of Oxford married, March 3, 1794, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. James Scott, Vicar of Itchen, near Southampton; and by that lady, who died Nov. 20, 1824, he had issue.

30. At Brussels, aged 74, Robert William Brandling, esq., of Low Gosforth, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and formerly of Portland-place, Middlesex, a barrister-at-law, and one of the justices of the peace for the county of Northumberland.

— At his seat, Hale Barns, near Altrincham, Cheshire, in his 67th year, Samuel Hibbert Ware, M.D., F.R.S. Ed., and formerly Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He was the eldest son of Samuel Hibbert, esq., of

Clarendon House, Chorlton, in Lancashire, and assumed the name of Ware, by royal licence, in 1837, as being the eldest representative of Sir James Ware, the historian of Ireland. Dr. Ware early turned his attention to science, and in a voyage to Shetland first brought into notice the great masses of chromate of iron to be found in those islands. He published an account of his journey, entitled, "Description of the Shetland Islands, comprising an account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions." Having taken up his residence in Edinburgh, he became, in 1820, a Fellow of the Royal Society of that city, and of other literary and scientific associations. He here published his "Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to trace such Illusions to their physical causes," published in 1824. As a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, he undertook the office of secretary; and, during the period from 1823 to 1827, he was eminently successful in contributing to revive the Society to a state of active usefulness, and contributed some valuable papers. He subsequently passed two or three years on the continent examining the volcanic districts of France and Italy, and the northern parts of Germany. On his return to Edinburgh, he embodied a portion of his observations in his "History of the Extinct Volcanoes of the Basin of Neuwied, on the Lower Rhine," 1832, 8vo. Another important contribution to geology was submitted to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1833, and appeared in their Transactions, "On the Freshwater Limestone of Burdiehouse, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, belonging to the Carboniferous group of Rocks." He also published a "History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester," in 1830; also a curious volume, printed in 1845, for the Chetham Society, "Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion in 1715." Dr. Ware was thrice married.

— At his residence, Millbank, Westminster, in his 58th year, John Johnson, esq., Alderman of the Ward of Dowgate, in the city of London. Mr. Alderman Johnson was the son of a wealthy and enterprising paviour, who introduced to notice the valuable stone known as the "Haytor Granite," and who was also the contractor for the celebrated Breakwater at Plymouth. Having realised considerable wealth, in the year 1836 he was called upon to fill the office of Sheriff of London, and in 1839, a vacancy taking place in the ward of Dowgate, he became a candidate, and succeeded to the aldermanic gown for that ward, and in 1845 he filled the civic chair. Alderman Johnson was an able and upright magistrate, and much esteemed.

— At Cambridge, Mr. Fisher, banker, and latterly resident director of the Eastern Counties Railway Company.

PROMOTIONS.

1848.

JANUARY.

Gazette Promotions.

24. Major Gen. John Bell, C.B., to be Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey.

28. John Scott, esq., to be Surveying Engineer and Superintendent of Public Works, and James Hosken, esq., Lieut. R.N., to be Master Attendant and Postmaster for the island of Labuan. Charles Simms, esq., to be Chief Clerk and Registrar of the Supreme Court, and Clerk of the Central Circuit Court, of Newfoundland.

31. Major-Gen. Sir J. H. Littler, K.C.B., Bengal Infantry, to be a Grand Cross of the Bath. Arthur Bailey, esq., to be Surveyor General in the Falkland Islands.

Army Appointments.

28. 60th Foot, brevet Major J. Temple to be Major; brevet Major Lord C. J. F. Russell, 60th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. in the army. Capt. J. S. Dodsworth, 2nd Life Guards, to be Major.

Naval Promotion.

30. Capt. Hon. G. A. Crofton to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

FEBRUARY.

Gazette Promotions.

2. Arthur Lloyd Davies, esq., only son and heir of John Lloyd Davies, of Blaendyffryn, co. of Cardigan, esq., by Anne only surviving child and heir of John Lloyd, of Carmarthen, esq., deceased, and niece of David Lloyd, of Alltyr-Odin, co. Cardigan, esq., also deceased, henceforth to take the name of Lloyd

after Davies, and bear the arms of Lloyd in the first quarter.

4. Frederick Trotter, of the Middle Temple, esq., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Judge of the County Courts in the Warwickshire Circuit, to take the surname of Dinsdale after Trotter.

11. The Rev. Wm. Henry Brookfield, M.A., John Daniel Morell, and Zelinger C. Symons, esqs., to be inspectors of Schools in England and Wales; and John Gibson, esq., to be one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in Scotland.

12. John Minet Fector, of Maxwelton House, co. Dumfries, esq., only son and heir of John Minet Fector, late of Dover, esq., by Anne Wortley Montague, only sister and heir of Adm. Sir Robert Laurie, late of Maxwelton, bart., and K.C.B., to assume and use the name and arms of Laurie of Maxwelton.

17. Gen. the Hon. Sir Alexander Duff, knight, to be Lieutenant and Sheriff Principal of the shire of Elgin.

17. Rev. Wm. Phillipps, B.A., Rector and patron of Lanivet, Cornwall, in compliance with the will of his maternal uncle, William Flamank, D.D., Rector of Glympton, co. Oxford, to take the name of Flamank after Phillipps, and quarter the arms.

28. Edmund Murray Dodd, esq., to be a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. The Rev. Francis Ellis, M.A., Rector of Lasham, Hants, and Vicar of Long Compton, Warwickshire, and Mary his wife, in compliance with the will of her paternal uncle Tristram Huddleston Jervoise, of Britford, co. Wilts, esq., to take the name of Jervoise after Ellis, and bear the arms of Jervoise.

29. Lord Cowley (now Secretary to Her Majesty's Embassy to the Ottoman Porte) to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Confederated States of the Swiss Cantons; the Hon. Charles Ashburnham (some time Secretary of Legation in Mexico) to be Secretary to Her Majesty's Embassy to the Ottoman Porte.

Army Appointments.

9. Royal Engineers, brevet Major C. C. Alexander, to be Lieut.-Colonel.

11. 22nd Foot, Lieut.-Col. S. J. Cotton, from 28th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, *vice* J. L. Pennefather, who exchanges.—27th Foot, Major-Gen. W. F. P. Napier, C.B., to be Colonel.—41st Foot, Major-Gen. C. A. A'Court, C.B., to be Colonel.—58th Foot, Major-Gen. G. C. D'Aguilar, C.B., to be Colonel.—69th Foot, Gen. Sir R. Darling, from 41st Foot, to be Colonel.—73rd Foot, Captain B. Brown to be Major.—Brevet Captain Lord H. F. Chichester, of the 2nd Foot, to be Major.

18. Unattached, brevet Lieut.-Colonel P. Young, from Major half-pay Unattached, to be Lieut.-Col.—Brevet Capt. W. C. E. Napier, 25th Foot, and Capt. W. M. G. M'Murdo, to be Majors in the Army.

25. 1st Dragoons, brevet Major Edw. Littledale to be Major.—Coldstream Guards, Lieut. and Capt. W. S. Newton to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—9th Foot, Major-Gen. Sir James A. Hope, K.C.B., to be Colonel.—32nd Foot, Capt. John Eardley Wilmot Inglis to be Major.—71st Foot, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B., from 9th Foot, to be Colonel.—Brevet Major Thomas Hutton, of 32nd Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel in the Army.

Naval Promotions.

14. Capt. Villiers Francis Hatton to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Captains.—Commanders Robert Sharpe (1826), Thomas Harvey (1840), William Loring (1841), G. K. Wilson, and Sir W. Hoste.

To be Commanders.—Lieuts. P. F. Shortland, R. J. J. Macdonald, C. S. Phillips, J. Etheridge, H. Need, T. Kisbee, and W. T. Bate.

Appointments.—Captains H. T. Austin, C.B., to the *Bleinheim*, steam guardship; R. A. Yates, to the *Illustrious*; T. W. Carter, to the *Caledonia*; Sir H. Leeke, to the *San Josef*; W. B. Mends, to the *Agincourt*; R. S. Dundas, to the *Powerful*; J. Bennet, to the *Imaum*; Sir J. C. Ross, to the *Enterprise*.—Commanders J. A. Mends, to the *Vanguard*; J. A Stephens, to the *Blenheim*; J. Cammilleri, to the *Poictiers*; F. E. Johnstone, to the *Scout*; J. M. Hayes, to the *Champion*; J. P. Dickson, to the *Caledonia*; J. A. Paynter, to the *Star*; S. Greenfell, to the *Blenheim*; R. H. Risk, to the *Lucifer*; J. E. Patey, to the *Rodney*; C. Hall, to the *Agincourt*; S. Greenfell, to the *Illustrious*.

Members returned to Parliament.

Dublin University.—John Napier, esq.

Shropshire (*North*).—John W. Dod, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Right Rev. Dr. John Bird Summer

(Bishop of Chester) to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. E. Gifford, M.A., to be Head-Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham.

Government School of Design.—Mr. William Dyce, A.R.A., master of the class of Ornament; Mr. Richard Redgrave, A.R.A., master of Flower-drawing and occasional lecturer; Mr. Henry Townsend, master of class of Form; Mr. J. C. Horsley, master of class of Colour; Mr. C. J. Richardson, master of Geometrical, Architectural, or Perspective Drawing; Mr. Burchett and Mr. Denby, assistant-masters.

MARCH.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

2. Robert Holden, of Nuttall Temple, esq., to be Sheriff of the county of Nottingham (in the room of J. H. Manners Sutton, esq.); and John Edwards, of Beguildy, esq., to be Sheriff of the county of Radnor (in the room of J. A. Whittaker, esq.).—Major-Generals Sir Dudley St. Leger Hill and John Rolt, Companions of the Order of the Bath, to be Knights Commanders of the said Order.

6. Richard Torin Kindersley, esq., to be one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery, in the room of Sir Griffin Wilson.

9. Benjamin Currey, esq., to be Clerk Assistant of the Parliaments, *vice* J. W. Birch, esq., resigned.

10. James Watson Sheriff, esq., to be Attorney-General for the Islands of Antigua and Montserrat, and John Somers Martin, esq., to be Coroner for Antigua; John H. Jennings, esq., to be Commissary of Police for the Island of St. Lucia.

11. Lieut.-Col. Ralph Carr Alderson, R. Eng., to be one of the Commissioners of Railways.

13. Thomas B. Winter, esq., to be Assistant Receiver General of Berbice.

14. The Hon. Charles E. Pepys to be Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, *vice* Leonard Edmunds, esq., resigned.

29. Anthony Schrack, esq., to be Registrar of Demerara and Essequibo, in the colony of British Guiana.

ARMY APPOINTMENTS.

3. Grenadier Guards, Lieut. and Capt. H. G. Conroy to be Captain and Lieut.-Colonel.—88th, Foot, Major H. Shirley to be Lieut.-Colonel; Capt. W. Irwin, to be Major.

10. 16th Foot, Major R. Luxmoore to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major C. Murray to be Major.—17th Foot, Capt. E. M. Clarke to be Major.—Brevet Lieut.-Col. G. Teulon, of 16th Foot (and late Inspecting Field Officer of Militia in the Ionian Islands), to be Colonel in the Army.

17. 34th Foot, Capt. R. D. Kelly to be Major.

31. 1st or Grenadier Foot Guards, Lieut. and Capt. H. A. R. Mitchell to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—Scots Fusilier Guards, Lieut. and Capt. J. H. Blair to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—Brevet Major W. F. Williams, R. Art., to be Lieut.-Colonel in the Army.

NAVAL PROMOTIONS.

20. Vice-Adm. Sir Adam Drummond, K.C.H., to be Admiral of the Blue; Rear-Admiral J. R. Dacres to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Capt. Charles Sotheby to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

23. Rear-Admiral John Surman Carden to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Capt. Sir Augustus W. J. Clifford, bart., C.B., to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Commanders.—J. A. Macdonald, G. H. Gardiner, W. K. Hale.

To be retired Commanders.—C. Jefferis, W. C. Barker.

Appointments.—Rear-Adm. E. Harvey to be Superintendent of Malta Dockyard; Captains J. E. Erskine, to the *Havana*, 20; H. Smith, C.B., to the *Ganges*, 84; E. J. Bird to the *Investigator*.—Commanders, R. Harris, to the *Ganges*; J. G. Gordon, to the *Wellington*; Lieut. R. M'Kinley Richardson, to command the *Pluto*; Lieut. E. E. Turnour, to command the *Shearwater*; Lieut. J. Smail, to command the *Seagull*.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

Aylesbury.—Quintin Dick, esq.

Devizes.—Lieut.-Col. J. B. B. Estcourt.

Kinsale.—Benjamin Hawes, esq.

Lancaster.—Robt. Baynes Armstrong, esq.

Lincoln.—Thomas Benjamin Hobhouse, esq.

Monmouthshire.—Captain Somerset.

Waterford.—Sir H. W. Barron, bart.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Right Rev. Dr. John Graham to be Bishop of Chester.

PROMOTIONS.

Rev. J. S. Coles to be an Hon. Preb. of Wells Cathedral.

Rev. J. H. Hastings to be an Hon. Canon of Worcester.

APRIL.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

1. The Rev. William Jacobson, M.A., to be Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Canon of Christchurch.

4. John George Shaw Lefevre, esq., to be Clerk Assistant of the Parliaments.

6. Joseph Howe, esq., to be Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, and Clerk to the Executive Council of that province; James Boyle Uniacke, esq., to be Attorney-General, and William Frederick Desbarres, esq., to be Solicitor-General for the said province.

10. The Right Hon. Henry Labouchere to be one of the Commissioners of Railways.

15. His Grace John Bird, Archbishop of Canterbury, sworn of the Privy Council.—Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot, esq., sworn Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Glamorgan.

17. James Miller, M.D. (Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh), to be Surgeon in Ordinary to Her Majesty in Scotland, *vice* James Syme, esq., removed from Edinburgh.

18. Lord Patrick James Herbert Crichton Stuart to be Lieutenant and Sheriff Principal of the shire of Bute.

27. Her Majesty having been pleased to enlarge the Second and Third Classes of the Order of the Bath by the addition of Civil divisions—the Right Hon Henry L. Bulwer, Envoy Extr. and Min. Plenip. to the Queen of Spain, the Right Hon. Henry Ellis, some time employed on a Special Mission to the Court of Brazil, the Right Hon. Richard Pakenham, Envoy Extr. and Min. Plenip. to America, James Brook, esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Labuan, George R. Clerk, esq., Governor of Bombay, Henry Light, esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of British Guiana, George Grey, esq., Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, Charles Edward Trevelyan, esq., Assistant Secretary to the Board of Treasury, Sir Randolph I. Routh, knight, Commissary General, employed on a particular service in Ireland, Rear-Adm. Beaufort, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, the Right Hon. James Stephen, one of the Under-Secretaries of State for the War and Colonial Department, Major-Gen. William Morrison, Madras Art., C.B., and Lieut.-Col. Henry M. Lawrence, Bengal Art., C.B., to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Second Class or Knights Commanders of the Bath.

Major-Gen. William F. P. Napier, C.B., to be an Ordinary Member of the Military division of Knights Commanders.—Lord Bloomfield, Envoy Extr. and Minister Plenip. to Russia, Lord Cowley, Minister Plenip. to the Swiss Cantons, Lord William Hervey, Secretary of Embassy at Paris, the Earl of St. Germans, some time Secretary of Legation at Madrid, Lieut.-Col. Justin Sheil, Envoy Extr. and Min. Plenip. to the Shah of Persia, Sir H. Wheatley, bart., Receiver-Gen. of the Duchy of Cornwall, G. E. Anson, esq., Keeper of Her Majesty's Privy Purse, the Hon. C. A. Murray, late Master of Her Majesty's Household, and now Consul-General in Egypt, G. Nicholls, esq., one of the Secretaries to the Poor Law Board, E. Chadwick, esq., one of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Sanitary Condition of the Metropolis, J. G. S. Lefevre, esq., Clerk Assistant of the Parliaments, A. Milne, one of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests, Sir H. T. De la Beche, knt., Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, Sir W. Symonds, knt., Capt. R N., Lieut.-Col. John Jebb, R.E., Surveyor-Gen. of Prisons, R. Mayne, esq., one of the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis, S. G. Bonham, esq., Governor of Hong Kong, Col. Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke, knt., late Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick, Lieut.-Col. F. H. Robe, now administering the Government of South Australia, Sir R. B. Clarke, knt., Chief Justice of Barbadoes, Sir J. Rowe, knt., Chief Justice of Jamaica, Sir A. Oliphant, knt., Chief Justice of Ceylon, G. Scotland, esq., Chief Justice of Trinidad, and Sir R. D. George, bart., late Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Third Class or Companions of the aforesaid Most Hon. Order.

28. Colonel Sir William M. G. Colebrooke, knight, to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of British Guiana.

29. The Earl of Ellesmere, Lord Seymour, Viscount Canning, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Langdale, Lord Wrottesley, Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, bart., Sir Charles Lemon, bart., Sir R. I. Murchison, knight, Andrew Rutherfurd, esq.,

Joseph Hume, esq., Samuel Rogers, esq., Richard Monckton Milnes, esq., and John George Shaw Lefevre, esq., to be Commissioners for Inquiring into the Constitution and Government of the British Museum.

Army Appointments.

7. 16th Light Dragoons, brevet Major L. Fyler to be Major.—Coldstream Guards, Lieut. and Capt. E. C. W. M. Milman to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—17th Foot, Lieut.-Col. J. Stoyte, from the 24th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. *vice* Lieut.-Col. J. Pennycuick, C.B., who exchanges.—45th Foot, Capt. H. D. Kyle to be Major.—61st Foot, Lieut. Gen. G. G. C. L'Estrange, C.B., 95th Foot, to be Colonel.—95th Foot, Major-Gen. Sir R. Armstrong, C.B., to be Colonel.—Brevet Major H. A. Fraser, of 45th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel in the Army.

14. 81st Foot, Capt. W. H. C. Wellesley to be Major.—1st West India Regiment, Major R. Hughes to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major Clarke to be Major.—Brevet Capt. A. G. Fullerton, of 2nd Guards, to be Major in the Army.

22. Royal Engineers, brevet Major G. C. Page to be Lieut.-Colonel.

25. 14th Light Dragoons, Major J. W. King to be Lieut.-Colonel; Captain C. Steuart to be Major.—Coldstream Guards, Major and brevet Col. T. Chaplain to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. and Lieut.-Col. and brevet Col. C. M. Hay to be Major; Lieut. and Capt. G. A. Vernon, to be Capt. and Lieut.-Col.—34th Foot, Major N. R. Brown to be Lieut.-Colonel; Capt. A. C. Goodenough to be Major.—43rd Foot, brevet Major H. S. Bruere to be Major.

28. Brevet Captain M. Pole, of the 46th Foot, to be Major in the Army.

Naval Promotions.

3. Capt. Sir J. R. Rowley, bart., to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Commanders.—W. Moorsom, V. O. Inglefield, J. Dodd, G. H. Dacre, M. Hewson, J. Waterman, J. Trevor, J. Atkins, H. Conn, and J. Deane, to be retired Commanders, under the regulations of 1830.

Appointments.—Adm. Sir W. H. Gage to be Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth.—Capt. J. W. Morgan, to the *Hastings*.—Commanders W. Moorsom, to the *Howe*; R. R. Quin, to the *Gorgon*.—Lieut. J. C. Bailey, to command the *Sharpshooter*.

Members returned to Parliament.

Carlisle.—Philip Henry Howard, esq.

Devonport.—John Romilly, esq. (Her Majesty's Solicitor-General), re-elected.

Harwich.—Right Hon. Sir J. C. Hobhouse, bart.

Rye.—Herbert M. Curteis, esq.

Sligo.—Charles Towneley, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. W. Warburton to be Dean of Elphin.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. H. G. Liddell, B.D., has been appointed Tutor to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

William Rose, esq., to be Additional Clerk-Assistant of the House of Lords, in the room of Benjamin Currey, esq.; and Leonard Edmonds, esq., to be Clerk of Committees and Reading Clerk, in the room of William Rose, esq.

MAY.

Gazette Promotions.

2. Hugh Houston, esq., to be Registrar of Berbice, in the colony of British Guiana.

3. Lord Belhaven to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

4. The Duke of Norfolk elected K.G.

8. The Right Hon. Edward John Stanley (eldest son of Lord Stanley of Alderley) created Baron Eddisbury, of Winnington, Chester.

— Shepley Watson Hemingway, of Oulton, in Rothwell, co. Cork, esq., grandson of Jos. Hemingway, of Wombwell, gent., by Ann, sister of Shepley Watson, esq., in compliance with the will of his great-uncle the said Shepley Watson, to drop the name of Hemingway and use the surname of Brown only.

15. The Rev. Robert Pennyman Hull, Perp. Curate of Buxton, co. Derby, in compliance with the will of James Brown, of Preston, co. Lanc., gent., to take the surname of Watson only.

16. The Right Hon. John George Brabazon, Earl of Bessborough, to be Master of Her Majesty's Buck Hounds, *vice* Earl Granville.

17. Knighted: John Romilly, esq., M.P., Her Majesty's Solicitor-General; John Liddell, M.D., F.R.S., Chevalier of the Imp. Russian Order of St. Anne, and

PROMOTIONS.

of the Order of the Redeemer of Greece, Medical Inspector of Fleets and Hospitals; Capt. William Bellairs, Senior Exon of Her Majesty's Guard of Yeomen of the Guard, and Matthew Wyatt, esq., Lieut. of the Hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. —Royal Marines, Capt. and Brevet Major H. J. Gillespie to be Lieut.-Colonel; and Adjutant J. R. Jackson to be Capt.

19. The Rev. George Pickard, M.A., of Whitminster House, Glouc., and Bloxworth, Dorset, in compliance with the will of Chas. Owen Cambridge, esq., to take the name of Cambridge after Pickard, and quarter the arms.

— The Earl of Dalhousie and the Earl of Camperdown elected Knights of the Thistle.

23. John Brooke Johnson, esq., Capt. 88th Foot, eldest son of Rev. Francis Charles Johnson, Vicar of White Lackington, Somerset, and Emma Frances, his wife, eldest surviving sister of James Brooke, esq., Rajah of Sarawak, Borneo, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Labuan and its dependencies, and Commissioner and Consul-General to the Sultan and Independent Chiefs of Borneo, to take the surname of Brooke, in addition to that of Johnson: declaration to be registered in Her Majesty's College of Arms.

24. Capt. Granville Gower Loch, R.N., to be Companion of the Bath.

25. William Dougal Christie, esq., to be Agent and Consul-General in the Mosquito Territory; Were Giffard Nicolas, esq., to be Her Majesty's Consul at Mobile.

27. Royal Marines, Brevet Major D. M'Adam to be Lieut.-Colonel.

31. Henry Southern, esq. (now Secretary of Legation at Lisbon), to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Argentine Confederation.

Army Appointments.

12. 68th Foot, Capt. H. Smyth to be Major.

23. 26th Foot, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Hemphill, from 29th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, *vice* brevet Colonel A. S. H. Mountain, C.B., who exchanges.—78th Foot, Capt. J. Burns to be Major.

25. Coldstream Guards, Lieut.-Col. Walter Trevelyan to be Capt. and Lieut.-Col.—2nd Foot, Capt. H. W. Sisted to be Major.—17th Foot, Major D. G. Freer, from 3rd West India Regt., to be Major, *vice* Major E. M. Clarke, who exchanges.—57th Foot, Lieut.-Colonel William Ross, to be Lieut.-Colonel.—Brevet Capt. the Hon. Richard Watson, of 32nd Foot, to be Major.

Naval Promotions.

To be Captain.—A. P. Ryder.

To be Commanders.—V. O. Inglefield, A. G. West, A. S. Booth, C. F. Hilliar.

Appointments.—Captains George Elliot to the *Ocean*; Sir Thomas Maitland, C.B., to the *San Josef* (as Flag-Captain to Sir W. H. Gage), at Devonport.

Members returned to Parliament.

Bewdley.—Viscount Mandeville.

Carlisle.—Wm. Nicholson Hodgson, esq.

Cirencester.—Joseph R. Mullins, esq.

Wicklow (Co.).—Sir Ralph Howard, bart.

York.—Wm. M. E. Milner, esq.

Sir Denis Le Marchant, bart., to be Principal Secretary of the Board of Control; Horatio Waddington, esq., barrister-at-law, to be Under Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Edgar A. Bowring, esq., to be Private Secretary to Earl Granville, Vice President of the Board of Trade.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

The Very Rev. E. D. Ramsay (Dean of Edinburgh) to be Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.

Rev. H. M. Scarth to be a Preb. of Wells Cathedral.

Civil Preferments.

Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L., to be Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

Dr. Heimann to be Professor of German language and literature in the London University College.

JUNE.

Gazette Promotions.

6. Richard Madox Bromley, esq., to be Secretary to the Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts, *vice* J. L. Mallet, esq., retired.

14. James Pulman, esq. (Norroy King of Arms), to be Clarencieux King of Arms.

16. William Smillie, esq., to be Advocate-General and Crown Solicitor for the province of South Australia. — James

Scotland, esq., jun., to be Solicitor-General for Antigua,

17. Thomas William King, esq. (Rouge-Dragon Pursuivant of Arms), to be York Herald.

19. Edward Stephen Dendy, gent., to be Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms.—John Steuart, esq., to be Master of the Supreme Court, and Daniel Jacob Cloete, esq., to be High Sheriff, for the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

22. Sir Thomas Le Breton, knt., to be Bailiff of the island of Jersey.

26. The Hon. Henry George Howard (Secretary of Legation at the Hague) to be Secretary of Legation at Lisbon; the Hon. Henry Elliot (now First Paid Attaché at St. Petersburgh) to be Secretary of Legation at the Hague.

27. Henry Collingwood Selby, esq., to be Advocate of Ceylon.—The Rev. Charles Samuel Twisleton, M. A., Rector of Ashow, Warw., Edward Boyd Turner Twisleton, esq., Chief Commissioner of Poor Laws in Ireland, and Mary Elizabeth, widow of William Gisborne, esq., of the Civil Service in the island of Ceylon, the brothers and sister of Frederick Benjamin now Baron Saye and Sele, to enjoy the same precedence as if their father had succeeded to that dignity.

— The Earl of Bessborough and the Right Hon. S. M. Phillips, sworn of the Privy Council.

Army Appointments.

1. Unattached, Brevet Major W. B. Caldwell, from the 92nd Foot, to be Major.

9. Royal Artillery, Major Gen. J. W. Smith, C.B., to be Colonel Commandant.

10. Corps of R. Sappers and Miners, Capt. J. Walpole, of the Royal Engineers, to be Major of Brigade.

16. 2nd West India Regt., Major-Gen. Sir R. J. Harvey, C.B., to be Colonel.—Brevet Lieut.-Col. G. H. MacKinnon, to have the local rank of Colonel in Kaffraria, Cape of Good Hope; Capt. E. S. N. Campbell, of 90th Foot, to be Major in the Army.

23. 13th Light Dragoons, Major W. Knox to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. C. E. Doherty to be Major.—Coldstream Guards, Lieut. and Capt. S. Perceval to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—35th Foot, Major G. Browne, from 44th Foot, to be Major, *vice* Major J. H. O. Moore, who exchanges.—Brevet Capt. W. H. Sitwell, 35th Foot, and Capt. G. Creswell, 92nd Foot, to be Majors in the Army.

Naval Promotions.

1. Vice-Adm. Sir T. Livingstone, bart., to be Admiral of the Blue; Rear-Adm. J. Sykes to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Capt. A. R. Sharpe, C.B., to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Commanders.—Charles John Austen, John A. S. Wharton.

Appointments. — Commander Lord Francis Russell to the *Tweed*, 18; Comm. Nich. Vansittart to the *Frolic*, 16; Comm. E. M. Lyons to the *Pilot*, 16; Comm. G. W. Smith to the *Helena*, 16; Comm. C. F. Newland, to the *Ranger*, 8.—Lieut. George O. Willes to command the *Spitfire* steam vessel.

Member returned to Parliament.

Cheshire, N.—Geo. Cornwall Legh, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. H. Irwin to be Archdeacon of Elphin.

Rev. Dr. Cowper to be Archdeacon of Cumberland, New South Wales.

Civil Preferments.

C. P. Bousfield, esq., and J. R. Mills, esq., elected Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

C. S. Whitmore, esq., to be Recorder of Lichfield.

JULY.

Gazette Promotions.

7. Dockyard Volunteers, Portsmouth Brigade. To be Colonel Commandant, H. Prescott, esq., C.B.; to be Lieut.-Colonel, J. Fincham, esqs.; to be Majors, J. Davies, C. P. Bellamy, G. Vintner, and W. M'Pherson Rice, esqs.—Devonport Brigade. To be Colonel-Commandant, Sir J. Louis, Bart.; to be Lieut.-Colonels, J. Henderson and W. Edye, esqs.; to be Majors, J. E. Mills, W. Stigant, F. V. Gottleib, and W. Spiller, esqs.—Breakwater Battalion. To be Lieut.-Col., W. Walker, esq.—Sheerness Brigade. To be Colonel-Commandant, Dr. Price, esq.; to be Lieut.-Colonels, R. Easto and S. Read, esqs.; to be Majors, J. Underwood, W. C. Edwards, and W. L. Freeman, esqs.—Chatham Brigade. To be Colonel Commandant, Sir T. Bourchier, K.C.B.; to be Lieut.-Colonels, A. Karley and F. J. Laire, esqs.; to be Majors, J. Miller and T. Baldock, esqs.—Woolwich Brigade.

PROMOTIONS.

To be Colonel-Commandant, Sir J. J. G. Bremer, K.C.B.; to be Lieutenant-Colonels, T. Elson and O. Lang, esqs.; to be Majors, W. Jenkins and F. L. Mouchet, esqs.—Deptford Brigade. To be Colonel-Commandant, Sir J. Hill; to be Lieut.-Colonels, G. F. Morice and C. Willcox, esqs.; to be Majors, Thomas Irving and J. Elliot, esqs.—Pembroke Brigade. To be Colonel-Commandant, G. T. Falcon, esq.; to be Lieut.-Colonel, R. Abethell, esq.; to be Majors, G. Chiles, esq., and R. Weatherley, esq.—Royal Clarence Battalion. To be Colonel-Commandant, Sir W. E. Parry; to be Major, T. F. Grant, esq.—Royal William Battalion. To be Colonel-Commandant, J. T. Nicolas, esq., C.B.; to be Majors, J. W. Armstrong and A. Pike, esqs.

8. John William Dupré, esq., to be Procurator-General in the Island of Jersey; John Hammond, esq., to be Advocate-General of that island.

11. Capt. the Hon. Joseph Denman, R.N., to be one of the Grooms in Waiting in Ordinary to Her Majesty, *vice* Codrington.

17. Robert Claxton, esq., to be Chief Justice; James George Piguenit, esq., to be Puisne Justice; and Henry J. Woodcock, esq., to be Attorney-General for the Island of St. Christopher.

— William Fergusson, esq., to be Colonial Secretary for Sierra Leone.

20. Spencer-Venables Argles, of Torrington-square, gent., eldest son of George Venables, some time of Hackney, Lieut. R.N., by Anne, only daughter and heir of Thomas Venables, of Marden Ash, in High Ongar, Essex, esq., to take the surname of Venables only.

25. John R. Partelow, esq., to be Provincial Secretary, and Lemuel A. Wilmot, esq., to be Attorney-General for the province of New Brunswick.

ARMY APPOINTMENTS.

18. Grenadier Guards, Lieut. and Capt. E. Goulburn to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—70th Foot, Capt. T. C. Timins to be Major, *vice* M'Niven, who retires.

21. 6th Foot, Major Randal Rumley, to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major T. S. Powell to be Major.—Brevet, Capt. John Nembhard Hibbert, 97th Foot, to be Major in the Army.

NAVAL APPOINTMENTS.

Commander Peter Cracroft to the *Reynard*, screw-schooner, at Woolwich.

Commander Lewis De T. Provost to the *Pantaloon*, 8.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT.

Cheltenham.—Hon. Craven F. Berkeley.

Horsham.—W. R. S. Fitzgerald, esq.

Sligo.—John P. Somers, esq.

Yarmouth.—Joseph Sandars, jun., esq., and C. E. Rumbold, esq.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. J. A. Jeremie to be Sub-Dean and a Canon Residentiary of Lincoln.

Rev. H. J. Hastings to be an Hon. Canon of Worcester.

CIVIL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. R. Mitchell, B.D., to be Vice-Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

AUGUST.

GAZETTE PROMOTIONS.

4. Edmund Arnout Grattan, esq., to be Consul for the State of Massachusetts.

11. Colonel Sir William M. G. Colebrooke, knt., and C.B., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Islands of Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, and St. Lucia, and their dependencies.

25. Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. L. Caldwell, K.C.B., to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath; Major-Gen. A. Galloway, C.B., to be Knight Commander of the Bath.—Josiah Napier, esq., to be Consul at the Comoro Islands; and Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, knt., to be Consul to the Dominican Republic in St. Domingo.

ARMY APPOINTMENTS.

1. Scots Fusilier Guards, Lieut. and Capt. C. F. Seymour to be Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel.—2d Foot, Major J. Burns, from 78th Foot, to be Major, *vice* H. W. Stisted, who exchanges.—57th Foot, Lieut.-Col. T. L. Goldie, to be Lieut.-Colonel.—Brevet Capt. W. A. Le Mesurier, 45th Foot, to be Major and Lieut.-Colonel in the Army; Capt. T. Wright, 45th Foot, to be Major in the Army.—Hospital Staff, Assist. Surg. T. G. Balfour, M.D., from the Grenadier Guards, to be Staff Surgeon of the Second Class, and Surgeon of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, *vice* S. G. Lawrence, who resigns.

4. 2nd Foot, Capt. S. W. Jephson to be Major.—30th Foot, Major S. J. L.

Nicoll to be Lieut.-Colonel; Capt. W. F. Hoey to be Major.—77th Foot, Lieut.-Col. N. Wilson to be Lieut.-Col.

11. Royal Engineers, brevet Major H. Sandham to be Lieut.-Col.

15. 77th Foot, Captain R. J. Straton to be Major.—96th Foot, brevet Lieut.-Col. W. Hulme to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major Y. M. Wilson to be Major.—Brevet Capt. Francis Brown, of 52nd Foot, to be Major in the Army.

17. Royal Marines, Col. Second Commandant C. Menzies, K.H., to be Colonel-Commandant; Lieut.-Col. J. M. Pelchirt, to be Colonel Second Commandant; Capt. and brevet Major S. Garmston to be Lieutenant-Colonel; Capt. and brevet Major J. H. Stevens to be Lieut.-Colonel, and attached to the Artillery Companies of the Corps.

18. 27th Foot, Capt. U. Williamson to be Major.

25. 50th Foot, Capt. J. B. Bonham to be Major.—Unattached, brevet Lieut.-Col. T. Peacocke, from Captain on half-pay Portuguese Officers, to be Major.—Brevet Major James Mill, of the 50th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel in the Army.

Naval Promotions.

1. Vice-Adm. Sir F. W. Austen, K.C.B., to be Admiral of the Blue; Rear-Adm. J. Impey, to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; Capt. G. T. Falcon to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Captains.—F. Scott, W. Radcliffe.

To be Commanders.—C. J. F. Ewart, J.A.N. Ledger, Philip Somerville (late acting Commander of the *Collingwood*, 80).

Appointments. — Rear-Admiral Barrington Reynolds, C.B., to be Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope Station; Captain Peter Richards, C.B., to be Captain Superintendent of Pembroke Dockyard; Captain Nicholas Cory to command the *Southampton*, 50, as flag-Captain to Rear-Adm. Reynolds; Capt. Charles Wise (1847), promoted from Commander of the *Hibernia*, to be Captain of that flag ship, *vice* Richards; Commander J. B. West to the *Southampton;* Lieutenant and Commander Edward A. T. Lloyd, to the *Lucifer;* Lieut. and Commander Edward Hall (b), to the *Dart.*

Member returned to Parliament

Thetford.—Hon. Francis Baring.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. Jas. Wilson, D.D., to be Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.

Rev. G. H. Langdon to be an Hon. Preb. of Chichester.

SEPTEMBER.

Gazette Promotions.

1. James Horsfield Peters, esq., to be Assistant Judge and Master of the Rolls for Prince Edward's Island. — Charles Bell, esq., to be Surveyor-General; Murrell Robinson Robinson, esq., to be First Assistant-Surveyor-General; and George Montagu, esq., to be Second Assistant-Surveyor-General, for the Cape of Good Hope.

4. The Marquess of Breadalbane sworn of the Privy Council.

5. John Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T., to be Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, *vice* Earl Spencer.

19. Knighted, Charles Lyell, esq., jun., F.R.S.

23. Lord Ashley and Edwin Chadwick, esq., C.B., to be Members of the General Board of Health.

30. The Rev. Charles Blencowe, Vicar of Marston Saint Lawrence, co. Northampton, in compliance with the will of John Shuckburgh, late of Bourton on Dunsmore, co. Warwick, esq., to take the name of Shuckburgh after Blencowe, and bear the arms of Shuckburgh.

Army Promotions.

12. 25th Foot, brevet Lieut.-Col. J. J. Hollis to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major A. A. Barnes to be Major.—61st Foot, Lieut.-Gen. H. Fraser, C.B., from 83rd Foot, to be Colonel.—83rd Foot, Major-General Sir F. Stovin, K.C.B. and K.C.M.G., to be Colonel.—Unattached, brevet Lieut.-Col. Sir J. S. Lillie to be Lieut.-Col.; brevet Lieut.-Col. A. J. Cloete (Deputy-Quartermaster-General, Cape of Good Hope) to be Major.—Brevet Lieut. H. B. Edwardes, of the 1st European Fusiliers, on the Bengal Establishment, to have the local rank of Major in the Lahore territories.

15. Brevet, to be Lieut.-Colonels in the Army, Majors H. K. Storks, half-pay Unatt.; T. C. Smith, half-pay Unatt.; W. Sutton, Cape Mounted Riflemen; Sir H. Darrell, Bart., 7th Dragoon Guards; and G. T. C. Napier, Cape Mounted Riflemen.—To be Majors in the Army, Capts. G. A. Durnford, 27th

Foot; W. G. Scott, 91st Foot; John Walpole, Royal Engineers; C. H. Burnaby, Royal Artillery; T. Donovan, Cape Mounted Riflemen; C. Seagram, 45th Foot; St. J. T. Browne, Royal Artillery; C. A. F. Berkeley, Scots Fusilier Guards; W. Hogge, 7th Dragoon Guards; C. L. B. Maitland, 1st or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards; C. C. Young, Royal Artillery; and J. J. Bissett, Cape Mounted Riflemen.

19. Royal Horse Guards, brevet Major the Hon. G. C. W. Forester to be Major, with the rank of Lieut.-Col. in the Army.—9th Foot, brevet Major A. Borton to be Major.—46th Foot, Capt. A. Maxwell to be Major.—50th Foot, brevet Lieut.-Col. P. J. Petit to be Lieut.-Col.; brevet Major W. L. Tudor to be Major.—Brevet Lieut.-Col. H. Bristow, half-pay 38th Foot, to be Colonel in the Army; Capt. F. C. Cotton, Madras Eng., to be Major in the East Indies.

26. 6th Foot, brevet Lieut.-Col. John Stuart, from 57th Foot, to be Major, *vice* Major T. S. Powell, who exchanges.

Naval Promotions.

5. Capt. Sir W. O. Pell to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

To be Captains.—Francis Scott, Wm. Rattcliffe.

To be Commanders.—Charles J. F. Ewart, James A. St. Leger.

Appointments.—Commander James B. West to the *Southampton*, 50, flag-ship at the Cape; Lieut. and Commander T. C. Herbert to the *Mohawk*; Lieut. J. C. Sicklemore to command the revenue cruiser *Victoria*.—Rev. David Carson to be Chaplain of the *Howe*, 120.—W. Lindsey, M.D., to be chief medical officer of Malta Hospital.

Members returned to Parliament.

Bolton.—Stephen Blair, esq.

Cheltenham.—C. L. Granville Berkeley, esq.

Derby.—Lawrence Heyworth, esq., and Michael Thomas Bass, esq.

Leicester.—John Ellis, esq., and Rich. Harris, esq.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. W. J. Trower to be Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.

Rev. S. Hinde, D.D., to be Dean of Carlisle.

Rev. W. North to be a Preb. of St. David's.

Rev. H. Fearon to be an Hon. Canon of Peterborough.

Rev. H. Tacey to be an Hon. Canon of Norwich.

Chaplain.

Rev. A. G. Cornwall, to Her Majesty.

Civil Preferments.

Benjamin Chandler, esq., citizen and ironmonger, and Starling Benson, esq., citizen and draper, elected Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

Mr. Barry to be Chief Commissioner to carry out the fishery laws in Ireland.—Mr. Fennell Assistant Commissioner.

OCTOBER.

Gazette Promotions.

2. John Arthur Edward Jones, of Llanarth, Treowen, and Penllwyn, co. Monmouth, esq., eldest son and heir of John Jones, late of the same places, esq., deceased, and Arthur James Jones, of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, Edmund Philip Jones, Gerald Herbert Jones, and Mary Louisa Jones, the only other surviving children of the said John Jones, to take the name of Herbert instead of Jones.

5. Thomas Southwood Smith, M.D., to be the Medical Member of the General Board of Health.

16. James Thomas Hurt, of Shelley Hall, Notts, esq., eldest son of James Hurt, of Wirksworth, co. Derby, esq., late Major 9th Lancers, in compliance with the will of his maternal uncle, Thomas Webb-Edge, of Shelley Hall, esq., to take the surname of Edge only, and quarter the arms of Edge, in the first quarter.—Grant Heatley Tod, of Cumberland-terrace, St. Marylebone, Ensign in the 23rd Bengal Nat. Inf., eldest son of James Tod, esq., late Lieut.-Col. on the Bengal Establishment, and grandson of James Tod, of Burton, co. Southampton, gent., by Mary his wife, sister of Patrick Heatly, of Hertford-street, May-fair, esq., to take the surname of Heatly, in addition to Tod.

20. By special statute, Lieut. Herbert Benjamin Edwards, of the East India Company's Service (having the local rank of Major in the Lahore Territories), to be an Extra Member of the Military Division of the Third Class, or Companions of the Order of the Bath.

Army Promotions.

3. 4th Dragoon Guards, Major E. C. Hodge to be Lieut.-Col.—Capt. W. C.

Forrest to be Major.—Brevet Capt. J. Browne, of the 2nd West India Regt., to be Major in the Army.

6. Cape Mounted Riflemen, brevet Lieut.-Col. W. Sutton to be Major.—Brevet Capt. W. Milligan, of the 38th Foot, to be Major in the Army.

13. 10th Foot, Major G. D. Young to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. T. Miller to be Major.—45th Foot, Major F. Cooper to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. W. R. Preston to be Major.—91st Foot, Major C. C. Yarborough to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. B. E. M. Gordon to be Major.

20. 5th Dragoon Guards, brevet Lieut.-Col. W. M. Balders, from 3rd Light Dragoons, to be Major.—3rd Light Dragoons, Major L. Fyler, from 16th Light Dragoons, to be Major.—16th Light Dragoons, Major W. H. Archer, from 5th Dragoon Guards, to be Major.—21st Foot, Major J. C. Peddie to be Lieut.-Col.; Capt. F. G. Ainslie to be Major.—33rd Foot, Major F. R. Blake to be Lieut.-Col. by Purchase; Capt. J. D. Johnstone to be Major.—60th Foot, Capt. C. H. Spence to be Major.—Unattached, Major T. Crombie, from 60th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. — Hospital Staff, Assistant Surgeon, T. D. Lightbody, M.D., from 25th Foot, to be Assistant Surgeon to the Forces.

27. 21st Foot, Staff Surgeon of the Second Class, Francis Charles Annesley, to be Surgeon.—3rd West India Regiment, Major-Gen. Sir Guy Campbell, Bart., C.B., to be Col.—80th Foot, Major-Gen. Sir E. K. Williams, K.C.B., to be Col.—82nd Foot, Major C. F. Maxwell to be Lieut.-Col.; Brevet Major J. A. Robertson to be Major.—49th Foot, Assistant Staff Surgeon John Stewart Smith, M.D., to be Surgeon.

Naval Preferments.

To be Commanders.—Humphrey J. Julian, Robert Tench Bedford.

Appointments.—Capt. Hon. G. Hope, to the *Raleigh*; Commander Michael de Courcy, to the *Helena*, 16; Lieut. and Commander S. F. L. Crofton, to the *Rifleman*; Lieut. and Commander A. Darby, to the *Medina*.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. J. Hull to be Bishop of Manchester.

Rev. T. H. Greene to be Bishop of Gibraltar.

Rev. J. Brooks to be Archdeacon of Liverpool.

Rev. B. Phipps to be a Canon Residentiary of Chichester.

Rev. C. A. Heurtley to be an Hon. Canon of Worcester.

Rev. W. Marsh to be an Hon. Canon of Worcester.

Rev. J. A. Park to be an Hon. Canon of Durham.

Hon. and Rev. W. H. Scott to be an Hon. Canon of Salisbury.

Chaplain.

Rev. H. U. Tighe, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Civil Preferments.

Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson, esq., to be Advocate-General of Bengal.

Mr. Pierce Mahoney, to be one of the Taxing Masters of the Court of Chancery in Ireland.

Mr. R. Fergusson Thompson, to be third paid Attaché to the British Embassy at the Court of Persia.

NOVEMBER.

Gazette Promotions.

8. Henry Halford Vaughan, esq., M.A., to be Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

9. Thomas Meggison, late of Shilvington Westhouse, and now of Stamfordham Heugh, both co. Northumberland, in compliance with the will of Elizabeth Rochester, of Whalton, in the same county, spinster, to take the name of Rochester only.

21. Major-Gen. Sir Robert William Gardiner, K.C.B., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Gibraltar.—Philip D. Souper, esq., to be Registrar of the Court of First Instance for the Mauritius.—James Stewart, esq., to be Deputy Queen's Advocate for the Island of Ceylon.—Edward Palmer, esq., to be Her Majesty's Solicitor-General for Prince Edward Island.—Paul Edmund de Strzelecki, esq., to be an Ordinary Member of the Civil Division of the Third Class or Companions of the Order of the Bath.—Her Majesty has been pleased to place the Turks and Caicos Islands under the supervision of the Governor of Jamaica, and to appoint Frederick Henry Alexander Forth, esq., to be President of the Council of Government of the said Islands.

PROMOTIONS.

28. H. T. Harrison, esq., to be Secretary to the Treasury of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager.

Army Appointments.

2. Royal Artillery, to be Colonels Commandant, Major-Generals A. Munro and Sir H. D. Ross, K.C.B.; to be Colonels, brevet Colonel Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke, C.B., Lieutenant-Colonels H. W. Gordon, W. D. Jones, W. B. Dundas, C.B., and C. Cruttenden; to be Lieutenant-Colonels, brevet Majors G. James, C. H. Nevitt, J. Bloomfield, H. Palliser, A. Macbean, R. L. Garstin, J. A. Wilson, R. Tomkyns, H. Williams, and R. G. B. Wilson.

3. 81st Foot, Major W. H. C. Wellesley to be Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain H. Farrant to be Major.

10. 69th Foot, Major C. J. Coote to be Lieutenant-Colonel, by purchase.—Captain J. W. L. Paxton to be Major.

17. 81st Foot, Capt. H. Renney to be Major.

24. Scots Fusilier Guards, Lieutenant and Captain W. J. Ridley to be Captain and Lieut.-Colonel.—44th Foot, Major A. H. Ferryman to be Lieut.-Colonel.—Captain N. S. Gardiner to be Major.—Brevet Capt. T. St. George Lister, 6th Dragoon Guards, to be Major in the Army.

Naval Appointments.

Captain E. N. Trowbridge to the *Amazon;* F. A. Fanshawe to the *Daphne.*

Commander H. S. Hawker, to the *Orestes;* Mr. S. Nollath to the *Plumper* steam-schooner.

Lieut. F. S. M'Gregor to be flag-Lieutenant of the *Ocean.*

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

Rev. W. B. Allen to be an Hon. Canon of Bristol.

Rev. F. S. Bevan to be an Hon. Canon of Norwich.

Rev. S. Clissold to be an Hon. Canon of Norwich.

Rev. J. Frampton to be an Hon. Canon of Gloucester.

Rev. J. Garton to be an Hon. Canon of Peterborough.

Rev. J. Jones to be an Hon. Canon of St. David's.

Rev. F. J. Smith to be an Hon. Canon of Wells.

Civil Preferments.

The Rev. F. C. Plumptre, D.D., to be Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

The Rev. H. W. Cookson, D.D., to be Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, esq., to be Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.

David Power, esq., to be Recorder of Ipswich.

DECEMBER.

Gazette Promotions.

5. David Jones, of Stanley St. Leonard's, co. Gloucester, and Brasenose College, Oxford, esq., in compliance with the will of his aunt Caroline Mary Veel, of Stanley St. Leonard's, to take the name and arms of Veel only.

6. William Michael Peacock, of Hackney, Middlesex, and Arlingham, co. Gloucester, gent., in compliance with the will of Dame Dorothy Mill, of Arlingham Court, widow of Sir Richard Mill, of Mottisfont, co. Southampton, bart., to take the name of Yate after Peacock, and bear the arms of Yate quarterly with his own.

9. Knighted by letters patent, James William Colvile, esq., Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta.

12. Henry Barkly, esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of British Guiana.—William Frederick Desbarres, esq., to be Puisne Judge, and Alexander M'Dougall, esq., to be Her Majesty's Solicitor-General for Nova Scotia.

16. John Gregory, esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Bahama Islands and their dependencies.—The Rev. William James Kennedy, M.A., The Rev. Harry Longueville Jones, M.A., and Thomas William Marshall, esq., to be three of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

26. Lieut.-Colonel George Buller, of the Rifle Brigade, to be a Companion of the Bath; Colonel Duncan M'Gregor, Inspector-General of the Constabulary Force of Ireland, and Lieut.-Colonel Charles Rowan, C.B., one of the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis, to be Members of the Civil Division of the Knights Commanders of the Bath.

29. Lieut.-Colonel Ralph Carr Alder-

son, R. E., to be Secretary and Registrar to the Commissioners for the Government of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, *vice* Neave, resigned.

Army Appointments.

1. 10th Foot, Capt. W. Fenwick to be Major.—32nd Foot, Major H. V. Brooke to be Lieut.-Colonel; Capt. W. Case, to be Major.—Staff, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. D'Urban (Deputy Quartermaster-general in the Windward and Leeward Islands), to be Deputy Quartermaster-general in North America; Lieut.-Col. H. J. French (Deputy Quartermaster-general in Jamaica), to be Deputy Quartermaster-general in the Windward and Leeward Islands.—Brevet Capt. Sir C. R. Shakespear, Bengal Artillery, and Capt. H. T. Combe, 1st Bengal Eur. Fusiliers, to be Majors in the Army in East Indies.

8. 4th Foot, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Gold, from 53rd Foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, *vice* brevet Colonel H. W. Breton, who exchanges.

15. 49th Foot, Captain H. G. Hart to be Major.—55th Foot, Lieut.-General J. M. Hamerton, C.B., to be Colonel.—2nd West India Regiment, Major W. R. Faber, from 49th Foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel.

21. 6th Dragoons, Capt. H. D. White to be Major.—12th Light Dragoons, Capt. E. Morant to be Major.—33rd Foot, Capt. T. B. Gough to be Major.—40th Foot, Lieut.-Col. S. W. L. Stretton, from the 64th Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel, *vice* Lieut.-Colonel James Stopford, who exchanges.—64th Foot, Major G. Duberley to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major J. Draper to be Major.—70th Foot, Major J. Galloway, from 33rd Foot, to be Lieut.-Colonel.—71st Foot, Capt. N. M. Stack to be Major.—83rd Foot, Major W. H. Law to be Lieut.-Colonel; brevet Major E. Townsend to be Major.—Depôt Battalion (Isle of Wight), Lieut.-Colonel Jeremiah Taylor, unatt., to be Lieut.-Colonel, *vice* H. Custance, who exchanges, and to be brevet Colonel.—To be Lieut.-Colonels in the Army, Major J. Garvock, 31st Foot; Major F. Eld, 90th Foot; and Major S. Beckwith, Rifle Brigade.—To be Majors in the Army, Capt. J. H. Bringhurst, 90th Foot; Capt. G. A. L. Blenkinsop, 45th Foot; Capt. J. Armstrong, Cape Mounted Riflemen.—Hospital Staff, John Davy, M.D., to be Inspector-General of Hospitals; Alexander Stewart, M.D., to be Inspector-General of Hospitals in the Windward and Leeward Islands only, *vice* Davy; Staff Surgeon W. Munro to be Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals.

29. 61st Foot, Major W. Jones to be Lieut.-Colonel; Capt. F. J. Stevens to be Major.—Rifle Brigade, Capt. W. H. Frankland to be Major.

Naval Preferments.

To be Captains.—Charles Edmunds, John Moore.

To be Commanders.—Benj. H. Bunce, Chas. Phillips, Edmund A. Glynn.

To be retired Commander (1830).—Richard Chegwyn.

Appointments.—Capt. Claude H. M. Buckle to the *Centaur* steam-frigate; Commander Tarleton to the *Vengeance*, 84; Commander Fred. B. P. Seymour to the *Harlequin*, 16; Commander David Robertson to the *Cygnet*, 6.

Members returned to Parliament.

Lynn.—Hon. Edward Henry Stanley.
Yorkshire (*West R.*)—Edmund Denison, esq.

Chaplain.

Rev. G. A. F. Hart, to Her Majesty.

Civil Preferments.

Michael Prendergast, esq., to be Recorder of Norwich.

Thomas Phinn, esq., to be Recorder of Plymouth.

John Greenwood, esq., to be Recorder of Devonport.

Dr. F. Trithen, to be Professor of Modern European Languages in Sir R. Taylor's Institution at Oxford.

FINANCE ACCOUNTS

Class I. Public Income.
II. Public Expenditure.
III. Disposition of Grants.

I.—PUBLIC INCOME of the UNITED KINGDOM

HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT.	Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties in the Nature of Drawbacks; and Allowances for Paper and Parchment to stamp on.	NET RECEIPT within the Year, after deducting REPAYMENTS, &c.
ORDINARY REVENUES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Customs	22,785,941 18 3⅜	191,965 6 10⅜	22,593,976 11 5
Excise	15,556,216 7 10⅜	513,010 14 11⅜	15,043,205 12 11
Stamps	7,016,525 8 11	231,473 4 2	6,785,052 4 9
Taxes, Land and Assessed	4,513,452 12 0	4,991 12 10½	4,508,460 19 1½
—— Income and Property	5,591,759 7 5	106,595 4 5	5,485,164 3 0
Post Office	2,192,478 8 5	48,798 8 11	2,143,679 19 6
One Shilling in the Pound, and Sixpence in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries, and Four Shillings in the Pound on Pensions	4,647 4 4	.. ..	4,647 4 4
Crown Lands	362,500 16 6 4/12	.. ..	362,500 16 6 4/12
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue	9,202 8 9	.. ..	9,202 8 9
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	53,548 3 5	.. ..	53,548 3 5
TOTALS of Ordinary Revenues	58,086,272 15 11 10/12	1,096,834 12 2¾	56,989,438 3 9 1/12
OTHER RESOURCES.			
Money received from the East India Company, on account of Retired Pay, Pensions, &c., of Her Majesty's Forces serving in India, per Act 4 Geo. IV. c. 71	60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0 0
From the Trustees of the King of the Belgians, the Amount repaid into the Exchequer for the use of the Consolidated Fund out of the Annuity granted to Prince Leopold	36,000 0 0	.. ..	36,000 0 0
Imprest Monies repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public	21,853 14 4	.. ..	21,853 14 4
Money received from China, under the Treaty of Peace concluded in 1842	539,305 9 6	.. ..	539,305 9 6
Money arising from the Sale of Old Stores	308,415 14 9	.. ..	308,415 14 9
Money received from the Bank of England, on account of Unclaimed Dividends	803 14 1	.. ..	803 14 1
TOTALS of the Public Income of the United Kingdom, exclusive of Money raised by Sale of Stock	59,052,651 8 7 10/12	1,096,834 12 2¾	57,955,816 16 5 1/12
Money received from the Sale of 3 per Cent. Consols, in part of £2,000,000, per Act 11 & 12 Vict. c. 125	1,604,312 10 0	.. ..	1,604,312 10 0
TOTALS, including Money raised by Sale of Stock	60,656,963 18 7 10/12	1,096,834 12 2¾	59,560,129 6 5 1/12

FOR THE YEAR 1848.

CLASS IV. UNFUNDED DEBT.
V. PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.
VI. TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH JANUARY, 1849.

TOTAL INCOME, including BALANCES.	TOTAL Payments out of the Income, in its Progress to the Exchequer.	PAYMENTS into the EXCHEQUER.	BALANCES and BILLS Outstanding on 5th January, 1848	TOTAL Discharge of the Income.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
23,092,606 8 4½	1,646,360 10 11	20,999,132 3 4	447,113 14 1½	23,092,606 8 4½
15,416,332 1 0½	1,016,778 11 10½	14,154,054 19 9	245,498 9 5	15,416,332 1 0½
6,954,904 11 7	155,701 16 1½	6,643,772 1 11	155,430 13 6¾	6,954,904 11 7
10,077,105 8 2½	356,000 17 10½	4,314,704 8 8 5,347,364 19 9	59,035 1 11½	10,077,105 8 2¾
2,478,851 7 5¾	1,403,250 13 2	815,000 0 0	260,600 14 3¾	2,478,851 7 5¾
4,647 4 4	87 19 4	4,559 5 0	.. ..	4,647 4 4
423,759 11 10 2/12	227,419 1 7 1/12	81,000 0 0	115,340 10 3 1/12	423,759 11 10 2/12
9,202 8 9	.. ..	9,202 8 9	.. ..	9,202 8 9
53,548 3 5	.. ..	53,548 3 5	.. ..	53,548 3 5
58,510,957 5 0 2/12	4,805,599 10 9 10/12	52,422,338 10 7	1,283,019 3 7 4/12	58,510,957 5 0 2/12
60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0 0	.. ..	60,000 0
36,000 0 0	.. ..	36,000 0 0	.. ..	36,000 0 0
21,853 14 4	.. ..	21,853 14 4	.. ..	21,853 14 4
539,305 9 6	.. ..	539,305 9 6	.. ..	539,305 9 6
308,415 14 9	.. ..	308,415 14 9	.. ..	308,415 14 9
803 14 1	.. ..	803 14 1	.. ..	803 14 1
59,477,335 17 8 2/12	4,805,599 10 9 10/12	53,388,717 3 3	1,283,019 3 7 4/12	59,477,335 17 8 2/12
1,604,312 10 0	.. ..	1,604,312 10 0	.. ..	1,604,312 10 0
61,081,648 7 8 2/12	4,805,599 10 9 10/12	54,993,029 13 3	1,283,019 3 7 4/12	61,081,648 7 8 2/12

II.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Of the United Kingdom, exclusive of the Sums applied to the Reduction of the National Debt, in the Year ended 5th January, 1849.

Payments out of the Income in its Progress to the Exchequer.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Charges of Collection	4,154,499	11	6 19/12			
Other Payments	651,099	19	3			
Total Payments out of the Income in its progress to the Exchequer				4,805,599	10	9 19/12
Funded Debt.						
Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt	23,978,113	0	9			
Terminable Annuities	3,795,076	10	11			
Total Charge of the Funded Debt, exclusive of the Interest on Donations and Bequests	27,773,189	11	8			
Unfunded Debt.						
Interest on Exchequer Bills	790,327	16	0			
				28,563,517	7	8
Civil List	395,245	0	0			
Annuities and Pensions for Civil, Naval, Military, and Judicial Services, charged by various Acts of Parliament on the Consolidated Fund	509,762	5	2			
Salaries and Allowances	271,381	4	10			
Diplomatic Salaries and Pensions	166,492	17	9			
Courts of Justice	1,098,403	7	9			
Miscellaneous Charges on the Consolidated Fund	342,549	1	10			
				2,783,833	17	4
Army	6,647,284	4	7			
Navy	7,922,286	19	7			
Ordnance	3,076,124	0	0			
Kaffir War	1,100,000	0	0			
Miscellaneous Charges on the Annual Grants of Parliament, including £276,377 9*s.* 6*d.* for Relief of Distress in Ireland and Scotland	4,092,090	8	7			
				22,837,785	12	9
			£	58,990,736	8	6 1/2

III.

DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

An Account showing how the Monies given for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the Year 1848 have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads; to the 5th January, 1849.

SERVICES.	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
Navy	7,764,020	19	7	6,630,410	19	7
Army	7,037,796	0	0	5,430,000	0	0
Ordnance	2,801,760	0	0	2,365,000	0	0
To defray the Expenses beyond the ordinary Grants for the years 1846-7 and 1847-8 for Army and Ordnance Services occasioned by the Kaffir War	1,100,000	0	0	1,100,000	0	0
To make good the Deficiency in the Sums provided for the Relief of Distress in Ireland and Scotland through the Commissariat Department, to the 30th day of June, 1848; also to make Provision for Grants for distressed Unions, and for rationing School Children, from the 1st day of July, 1848, until the ensuing Harvest	262,545	0	0	262,545	0	0
To defray the Expense incurred in the British North American Provinces on account of Sick and Destitute Emigrants from Ireland in the year 1847	130,965	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge for Civil Contingencies to the 31st day of March, 1849	100,000	0	0	67,900	0	0
Class 1.—Public Works and Buildings:						
To defray the Expense of the Works at the New Houses of Parliament to the 31st day of March, 1849	120,000	0	0	120,000	0	0
To defray, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Expense of Works and Repairs of Public Buildings, for Furniture for various Public Departments, and for certain Charges for Lighting and Watching, and						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	*s.*	*d.*	SUMS Paid. £	*s.*	*d.*
for Rates and Taxes; also for the Maintenance and Repairs of Royal Palaces and Works in the Royal Gardens, formerly charged on the Civil List . .	120,923	0	0	95,000	0	0
To defray, in the year 1848, the Expense of Works, for enlarging and improving Buckingham Palace	30,000	0	0	10,000	0	0
To defray, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Expense of erecting a Palm-house, and for other Works, in the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew . . .	8,410	0	0	8,410	0	0
To defray the Expense of providing temporary accommodation for the Houses of Parliament, Committee-rooms, Offices, and temporary Official Residence for the Speaker of the House of Commons and other Officers of the House; to the 31st day of March, 1849	4,234	0	0	...		...
To defray, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Expense of certain Works and Buildings in the Isle of Man	4,400	0	0	1,500	0	0
For the Services of Holyhead Harbour and Holyhead and Shrewsbury Roads; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	12,792	0	0	...		...
To defray, in the year 1848, the Expense of constructing Harbours of Refuge . .	131,000	0	0	...		...
To defray the Expense of maintaining and repairing the several Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland; also the Expenses of Inland Navigation, and other Services under the direction of the said Commissioners; to the 31st day of March, 1849	23,167	0	0	704	6	0
To defray the Expense of Works and Repairs at Kingstown Harbour; to the 31st day of March, 1849	8,100	0	0	1,100	0	0
Class 2.—Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments.						
To defray the Expenses of Stationery, Printing, and Binding for the several Public Departments, including the Expense of the Stationery Office; to the 31st day of March, 1849	302,362	0	0	206,000	0	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Treasury; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	57,700	0	0	40,075	3	3
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	18,700	0	0	4,609	15	5
To pay the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and also of the						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	*s.*	*d.*	SUMS Paid. £	*s.*	*d.*
Queen's Messengers and Extra Couriers attached to that Department; to the 31st day of March, 1849	72,500	0	0	38,600	0	10
To pay the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies; to the 31st day of March, 1849	27,461	0	0	21,083	1	9
To pay the Salaries and Expenses in the Departments of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council and Committee of Privy Council for Trade; to the 31st day of March, 1849	39,000	0	0	33,098	13	7
To pay the Salary of the Lord Privy Seal; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	2,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Office of Her Majesty's Paymaster-General, including the Salaries and Expenses of the Exchequer Bill Pay Office; to the 31st day of March, 1849	25,000	0	0	19,500	0	0
To defray a portion of the Expenses of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England; to the 31st day of March, 1849 .	3,540	0	0	1,770	0	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses in the Departments of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer and the Paymaster of Civil Services; to the 31st day of March, 1849	11,300	0	0	5,000	0	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses connected with the Public Records, and Compensations to Keepers of Records and others whose Offices have been abolished; to the 31st day of March, 1849	14,023	0	0	5,179	10	1
To defray the Expenditure of the Mint; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	50,268	0	0	40,000	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Office of the Paymaster of Civil Services in Ireland, to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	5,546	0	0	3,355	0	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Public Works in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	40,800	0	0	28,500	0	0
To defray the Charge of Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	39,000	0	0	13,507	12	0
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Two Houses of Parliament and Allowances to retired Officers of the Two Houses; to the 31st day of March, 1849.	30,000	0	0	10,200	0	0
To defray the Salaries and Expenses of the State Paper Office; to the 31st day of March, 1849	2,680	0	0	500	0	0
To defray Expenses connected with the Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor; to the 31st day of March, 1849	236,000	0	0	75,635	17	10
To defray the Charge of the Office of the Commissioners of Railways; to the 31st day of March, 1849	10,670	0	0	7,897	0	8

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted.			SUMS Paid.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Inspectors of Factories, Mines, &c.; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	12,514	0	0	387	16	0
To pay the Salaries of certain Officers in Scotland, and other Charges formerly paid from the Hereditary Revenue; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	1,755	0	0	20	13	6
To defray the Charge of the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	6,464	0	0	1,879	18	4
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in London and Dublin, and the Privy Council Office in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	22,658	0	0	9,824	5	0
Class 3.—Law and Justice.						
To defray the Expenses connected with the Prosecution of Offenders against the Laws relating to the Coin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	9,600	0	0	5,000	0	0
To defray, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Expenses incurred by Sheriffs, the Deficiency in the Fees in the Office of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, the Salaries and Ancient Allowances to certain Officers of the Court of Exchequer, and certain Expenses of the Queen's Prison	16,000	0	0	16,000	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Prison for Juvenile Offenders at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight; to the 31st day of March, 1849	13,155	0	0	10,000	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Prison at Pentonville; to the 31st day of March, 1849	17,204	0	0	15,000	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Milbank Prison; to the 31st day of March, 1849.	45,334	0	0	37,868	12	11
To defray the Expenses of the General Prison at Perth; to the 31st day of March, 1849	8,707	0	0	5,648	0	0
To defray Law Expenses in Scotland; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	63,475	0	0	50,072	17	0
To defray the Expense of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849 .	71,991	0	0	42,922	7	8
Towards defraying the Expense of the Metropolitan Police of Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	36,500	0	0	32,500	0	0
To defray Law Charges, and the Salaries, Allowances, and Incidental Expenses in the Office of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury; to the 31st day of March, 1849	9,000	0	0	9,000	0	0

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
To defray the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of the Insolvent Debtors' Court; to the 31st day of March, 1849 .	10,630	0	0	4,700	0	0
To defray, in the year 1848, certain Charges formerly paid out of the County Rates, &c.	348,000	0	0	40,000	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of maintaining the Convict Depôt of Dublin, and the Constabulary Barracks in the Phœnix Park; to the 31st day of March, 1849 .	679	0	0	...		...
To defray the Expense of confining and maintaining Criminal Lunatics in the Buildings attached to Bethlem Hospital; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	4,202	0	0	...		...
To pay the Salaries and Expenses of the Inspectors of Prisons, of the Prison Board in Scotland, and of the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	10,250	0	0	2,918	10	0
To defray the Expenses of the Convict Establishment at Home, at Bermuda, and at Gibraltar; to the 31st day of March, 1849	151,000	0	0	12,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of Convicts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	217,000	0	0	15,000	0	0
To defray further Expenses that will probably be incurred for the maintenance of Convicts in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	10,000	0	0	1,800	0	0
Class 4.—Education, Science, and Art.						
To enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to issue Money for the advancement of Education in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	120,000	0	0	55,000	0	0
To defray the Expense of the School of Design, and for Aid to Provincial Schools; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	10,000	0	0	4,250	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of the Royal Dublin Society; to the 31st day of March, 1849	6,000	0	0	4,500	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland, the Museum of Practical Geology in London, and the Museum of Irish Industry in Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849.	10,798	0	0	10,798	0	0
To defray the Charges of the British Museum, for the year ending on the 25th of day of March, 1849	48,445	0	0	36,333	15	0
For Public Education in Great Britain, in in the year 1848	125,000	0	0	...		...
To defray the Charge of the Salaries and Allowances to certain Professors in						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; to the 31st day of March, 1849 .	2,006	0	0	2,006	0	0
To defray the Expenses of the University of London; to the 31st day of March, 1849	4,178	0	0	662	5	4
To pay, to the 31st day of March, 1849, Grants to Scottish Universities, formerly defrayed from the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown	7,480	0	0	2,206	16	8
Towards defraying the Expense of the Royal Irish Academy; to the 31st day of March, 1849	300	0	0	300	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of the Royal Hibernian Academy; to the 31st day of March, 1849	300	0	0	300	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of the Belfast Academical Institution; to the 31st day of March, 1849	3,442	0	0	2,466	13	4
To defray the Expense of New Buildings and Fittings at the British Museum; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	42,038	0	0	30,000	0	0
To enable the Trustees of the British Museum to defray Expenses incurred in procuring Antiquities and Works of Art for the Museum	8,766	0	0	8,766	0	0
To defray, in the year 1848, the Expenses of the National Gallery . . .	1,500	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Expense of Magnetic Observatories at Toronto, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's Land; also for Observations and Services carrying on under the direction of the Astronomer Royal, and other Scientific Works and Publications; to the 31st day of March, 1849	5,267	0	0	2,153	13	3
Towards defraying, in the year 1848-9, the Expense of completing the Monument erected in Trafalgar-square to the Memory of Lord Nelson	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Class 5.—COLONIAL and CONSULAR SERVICES.						
To defray the Charge of the Consular Establishment Abroad; to the 31st day of March, 1849	123,190	0	0	95,000	0	0
For extraordinary Disbursements of Her Majesty's Missions Abroad; to the 31st day of March, 1849	20,000	0	0	12,500	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of the Bahama Islands; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	3,410	0	0	600	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of the Bermudas; to the 31st day of March, 1849	4,049	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of Prince Edward's Island; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	3,070	0	0	800	0	0

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
To defray the Charge of the Establishment of Sable Island, for the Relief of Shipwrecked Persons; to the 31st day of March, 1849	400	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment on the Western Coast of Africa; to the 31st day of March, 1849	13,680	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of St. Helena; to the 31st day of March, 1849	11,500	0	0	3,200	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Settlement of Western Australia; to the 31st day of March, 1849	7,538	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Settlement of Port Essington; to the 31st day of March, 1849	2,725	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of the Falkland Islands; to the 31st day of March, 1849	5,040	0	0	1,720	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Colony of New Zealand; to the 31st day of March, 1849	20,000	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Government of Labuan; to the 31st day of March, 1849	9,827	0	0	9,827	0	0
To defray the Charge of the Civil Establishment of Heligoland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	1,023	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Salaries of the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and others in the West India Colonies; to the 31st day of March, 1849	18,028	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Expense of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the British North American Colonies; to the 31st day of March, 1849	11,578	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Indian Department in Canada; to the 31st day of March, 1849	14,308	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board, and other Expenses connected with Emigration; to the 31st day of March, 1849	13,451	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Charge of the Salaries, Allowances, and Contingencies of the Stipendiary Justices in the West India Colonies and the Mauritius; to the 31st day of March, 1849	41,150	0	0	...	...	
To defray Expenses incurred for the support of Captured Negroes and Liberated Africans, and other Charges under the Acts for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to the 31st day of March, 1849	30,000	0	0	4,200	0	0
To pay, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Salaries and Contingent Expenses of the Mixed Commissions established						

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
on the part of Her Majesty, under the Treaties with Foreign Powers, for suppressing the Traffic in Slaves . .	23,000	0	0	1,500	0	0
To defray the Charge of the British Settlement at Hong Kong, and the Consular Establishments at the Five Ports open to British Trade in China; to the 31st day of March, 1849	49,400	0	0	...	...	
Class 6.—SUPERANNUATIONS AND CHARITIES.						
To defray the Charge of Superannuation Allowances and Compensations to Persons formerly employed in the Public Service; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . .	77,200	0	0	28,600	0	0
To defray the Expense of Non-conforming, Seceding, and Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland; to the 31st day of March, 1849	36,837	0	0	17,306	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of the House of Industry, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	14,975	0	0	11,256	0	0
To pay, to the 31st day of March, 1849, Charitable Allowances charged on the Concordatum Fund in Ireland, and other Allowances and Bounties . . .	7,177	0	0	5,799	6	1
To enable Her Majesty to grant Relief, to the 31st day of March, 1849, to Toulonese and Corsican Emigrants, St. Domingo Sufferers, American Loyalists, and others who have heretofore received Allowances from Her Majesty	4,400	0	0	...	...	
To defray the expense of the National Vaccine Establishment; for the year 1848 .	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Towards the support of the Refuge for the Destitute; in the year 1848 . .	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
For payment of the Subsistence of the Polish Refugees, and Allowances to Distressed Spaniards; to the 31st day of March, 1849	10,700	0	0	484	0	0
To pay, to the 31st day of March, 1849, Miscellaneous Allowances formerly defrayed from the Civil List, the Hereditary Revenues, &c., for which no permanent provision has been made by Parliament .	6,669	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Expense of the Foundling Hospital, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	3,000	0	0	451	18	3
Towards defraying the Expense of the Female Orphan House, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	1,000	0	0	500	0	0
To defray the Expense of the Westmoreland Lock Hospital, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	2,500	0	0	1,298	17	10
Towards defraying the Expense of the Lying-in Hospital, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0

SERVICES—*continued.*	SUMS Voted or Granted. £	s.	d.	SUMS Paid. £	s.	d.
Towards defraying the Expense of Doctor Stevens's Hospital, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Towards defraying the Expense of the House of Recovery and Fever Hospital, Cork-street, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849	3,800	0	0	1,725	13	10
Towards defraying the Expense of the Hospital for Incurables, Dublin; to the 31st day of March, 1849 . . .	500	0	0	500	0	0
Class 7.—Special and Temporary Objects.						
Towards defraying the Expense of Steam Communication to India by way of the Red Sea; to the 31st day of March, 1849	50,000	0	0	25,000	0	0
To defray, for one year, the Expense of the Commission for digesting the Criminal Law	3,400	0	0	10	4	9
To defray the Expenses of the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission	2,500	0	0	...	...	
To defray, to the 31st day of March, 1849, one Moiety of the Cost of Certain Works of Navigation connected with Drainage in Ireland	32,000	0	0	..	...	
To defray, in the year 1848-49, the Charge of Works and Repairs to the British Ambassador's House at Paris . .	1,184	0	0	1,184	0	0
To defray, in the year 1848-49, the Charge of Works and Repairs to the British Ambassador's House at Madrid . . .	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
To defray, in the year 1848-49, the Expense of Militia and Volunteers in Canada	16,000	0	0	...	...	
To defray, in the year 1848, the Expense of erecting a Lighthouse at Barbadoes .	2,000	0	0	...	...	
To defray the Expense of Medals to record the Services of the British Army and Navy from the commencement of the War 1793, down to the Peace of 1814 .	22,500	0	0	10,000	0	0
For remuneration to Lieutenant Waghorn, of the Royal Navy, for his services in ascertaining the practicability of the Route to Alexandria, *viâ* Trieste, for the Conveyance of the Indian Mails . . .	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Towards defraying, to the 31st day of March, 1849, the Expenses of rebuilding ing the British Ambassador's House at Constantinople	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0
	22,880,658	19	7	17,379,831	5	9
To pay off and discharge any Exchequer Bills charged on the Aids or Supplies for the year 1848	17,946,500	0	0	9,202,300	0	0
	40,827,158	19	7	26,582,131	0	0

PAYMENTS FOR OTHER SERVICES,

NOT BEING PART OF THE SUPPLIES GRANTED FOR THE SERVICE OF THE YEAR.

	PAID.	Estimated further Payments.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners for Building additional Churches, per Act 58 Geo. III. c. 45	3,000 0 0	
For Interest on Exchequer Bills charged on the Aids or Supplies	418,081 16 0	328,510 0 0
	421,081 16 0	328,510 0 0
		421,081 16 0
Total Services not voted		749,591 16 0
Amount of Sums voted		40,827,158 19 7
		41,576,750 15 7

WAYS AND MEANS

FOR ANSWERING THE FOREGOING SERVICES.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Sums to be brought from the Consolidated Fund, per Act 11 Vict., c. 4	.....	8,000,000 0 0
Ditto, per Act 11 & 12 Vict., c. 33	.....	3,000,000 0 0
Ditto, per Act 11 & 12 Vict., c. 126	.....	10,584,871 19 10
In Aid of Money Grants, per Act 11 & 12 Vict., c. 125. . . .	.....	2,000,000 0 0
Surplus of Ways and Means . .	.....	41,786 19 9
		23,626,658 19 7
Exchequer Bills voted in Ways and Means, per Act 11 Vict., c. 16	.....	17,946,500 0 0
		41,573,158 19 7
Total Grants, and other Services not voted .		41,576,750 15 7
Deficiency of Ways and Means		3,591 16 0

IV.—UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the Unfunded Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Demands Outstanding on the 5th January, 1849.

	Provided.	Unprovided.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Exchequer Bills	.....	17,786,700 0 0	17,786,700 0 0
Sums remaining unpaid charged upon Aids granted by Parliament	5,983,511 9 0	.....	5,983,511 9 0
Total Unfunded Debt and Demands Outstanding	5,983,511 9 0	17,786,700 0 0	23,770,211 9 0
Ways and Means	6,265,829 15 0		
Surplus of Ways and Means	282,318 6 0		
Deduct the Amount of Exchequer Bills paid off out of Ways and Means, Money Grants, but which it is not proposed to replace by the issue of Exchequer Bills	159,800 0 0		
Surplus of Ways and Means remaining at the disposal of Parliament	122,518 6 0		
Exchequer Bills to be issued to complete the Charge upon the Consolidated Fund		.....	.....

V.—PUBLIC

Of Great Britain and Ireland, and the

DEBT.

	CAPITALS.	CAPITALS Transferred to the Commissioners.	CAPITALS UNREDEEMED.
GREAT BRITAIN.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Debt due to the South Sea Company . . at 3 per cent.	3,662,784 8 6½	.. ..	3,662,784 8 6½
Old South Sea Annuities ditto.	3,204,578 9 10	9,417 12 1	3,195,160 17 9
New South Sea Annuities ditto.	2,203,784 9 5	8,064 2 8	2,195,720 6 9
South Sea Annuities, 1751 ditto.	504,000 0 0	3,219 8 3	500,780 11 9
Debt due to the Bank of England . . . . ditto.	11,015,100 0 0	.. ..	11,015,100 0 0
Bank Annuities created in 1726 . . . . . ditto.	751,275 1 7	931 2 7	750,343 19 0
Consolidated Annuities . ditto.	375,183,494 6 1¼	870,146 11 5	374,313,347 14 8¼
Reduced Annuities . . . ditto.	122,869,471 5 9	1,189,654 14 1	121,679,816 11 8
Total at 3 per cent. . . .	519,394,488 1 2¾	2,081,433 11 1	517,313,054 10 1¾
Annuities at 3½ per cent.	215,141,575 1 10	360,738 17 4	214,780,836 4 6
New 5 per cent. Annuities . . .	430,076 3 2	624 15 0	429,451 8 2
Total, Great Britain . . .	734,966,139 6 2¾	2,442,797 3 5	732,523,342 2 9¾
IN IRELAND.			
Irish Consolidated Annuities, at 3 per cent.	5,620,886 14 5	.. ..	5,620,886 14 5
Irish Reduced Annuities, ditto .	120,295 16 9	.. ..	120,295 16 9
Annuities at 3½ per cent.	33,123,671 2 3	.. ..	33,123,671 2 3
Debt due to the Bank of Ireland, at 3½ per cent.	2,630,769 4 8	.. ..	2,630,769 4 8
New 5 per cent. Annuities	3,673 11 2	.. ..	3,673 11 2
Total, Ireland	41,499,296 9 3	.. ..	41,499,296 6 3
Total, United Kingdom .	776,465,435 15 5¾	2,442,797 3 5	774,022,638 12 0¾

The Act 10 Geo. 4, c. 27, which came into operation at the 5th July, 1829, enacts, "That the Sum thenceforth annually applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt of the United Kingdom, shall be the Sum which shall appear to be the amount of the whole actual annual surplus Revenue, beyond the Expenditure of the said United Kingdom; and the following sums have been accordingly received by the Commissioners, to be applied to the Reduction of the said Debt, including Sums on account of Donations and Bequests," viz.:—

ON ACCOUNT OF

	The Sinking Fund.	Donations and Bequests.
Applicable between		£ s. d.
5th April and 5th July, 1848	.. ..	1,523 10 5
5th July and 10th October, 1848	.. ..	3,615 1 0
10th October, 1848, and 5th January, 1849	.. ..	1,613 19 5
5th January and 5th April, 1849	.. ..	3,615 1 0
	.. ..	10,367 11 10

FUNDED DEBT

Charge thereupon, at the 5th Jan. 1849.

CHARGE.

	IN GREAT BRITAIN.	IN IRELAND.	TOTAL ANNUAL CHARGE of Unredeemed Debt.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£ s. d.
Due to the Public Creditor. — Annual Interest on unredeemed Capital	22,521,241 7 7¾	1,341,015 7 9	
Long Annuities, expire 1860	1,247,750 17 5	45,817 14 10	
Annuities per 4 Geo. 4, c. 22, expire 1867	585,740 0 0		
Annuities for a limited term of years, per 59 Geo. 3, c. 34, 10 Geo. 4, c. 24, and 3 Will. 4, c. 14, which expire at various periods	869,097 9 2	49,750 0 0	
Payable at the National Debt Office. — Life Annuities, per 48 Geo. 3 c. 142, 10 Geo. 4, c. 24, and 3 Will. 4, c. 14	886,038 13 0		
Tontine and other Life Annuities, per various Acts. English	17,792 12 6		
Tontine and other Life Annuities, per various Acts. Irish	34,230 8 7	6,524 2 3	
	26,161,891 13 3¾	1,443,107 4 10	
Management	94,741 7 4		
Total Annual Charge	26,256,633 0 7¾	1,443,107 4 10	27,699,740 5 5¾

ABSTRACT.

**** *Shillings and Pence omitted.*

	CAPITALS.	CAPITALS transferred to the Commissioners.	CAPITALS unredeemed.	ANNUAL CHARGE. Due to the Public Creditor.	Management.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Great Britain	734,966,139	2,442,797	732,523,242	26,161,891	94,741	26,256,633
Ireland	41,499,296	..	41,499,296	1,443,107	..	1,443,107
Total	776,465,435	* 2,442,797	774,022,638	27,604,998	94,741	27,699,740

	£ s. d.
* On account of Donations and Bequests	350,517 6 0
Ditto of Stock Unclaimed 10 years or upwards — Bank	451,886 12 8
Ditto of Stock Unclaimed 10 years or upwards — South Sea	20,701 3 0
Ditto of Unclaimed Dividends — Bank	1,576,590 0 0
Ditto of Unclaimed Dividends — South Sea	40,102 1 0
	£2,442,797 3 5

TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

An Account of the Value of the Imports into, and of the Exports from, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, during each of the three Years ending the 5th of January, 1849; calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported:—Also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	VALUE OF EXPORTS from the UNITED KINGDOM, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.			VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.	TOTAL EXPORTS.	
	£	£	£	£	£
1847	75,953,875	132,288,345	16,296,162	148,584,507	57,786,875
1848	90,921,866	126,157,919	20,036,160	146,194,079	58,971,166
1849	93,547,134	132,904,407	18,368,113	151,272,520	53,083,344

TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH FOREIGN PARTS.

An Account of the Value of the Imports into, and of the Exports from, Great Britain, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th of January, 1849; calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated exclusively of the Trade with Ireland; distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported:—Also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from Great Britain, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

YEARS ending 5th January.	VALUE OF IMPORTS into Great Britain, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	VALUE OF EXPORTS from GREAT BRITAIN, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.			VALUE of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, Exported from Great Britain, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.	TOTAL EXPORTS.	
	£	£	£	£	£
1847	73,057,696	132,041,651	16,291,204	148,332,855	57,545,985
1848	82,886,971	125,907,063	19,999,344	145,906,407	58,738,945
1849	89,253,156	132,617,681	18,360,026	150,977,707	52,849,445

NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NEW VESSELS BUILT.—AN ACCOUNT of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, that were Built and Registered in the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, in the Years ending 5th January, 1847, 1848, and 1849 respectively.

	Year ending 5th January, 1847.		Year ending 5th January, 1848.		Year ending 5th January, 1849.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom	809	125,350	933	145,834	847	122,552
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man .	32	2,148	48	4,090	31	3,388
British Plantations	745	113,558	756	155,313	503	82,465
TOTAL	1,586	241,056	1,737	305,237	1,381	208,435

Note.—The Account rendered for the Plantations for the Year ending 5th January, 1848, is now corrected; and, as several Returns for that part of the Empire are not yet received for the last Year, a similar correction will be necessary when the next Account is made up.

X 2

VESSELS REGISTERED.—AN ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS usually employed in Navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the BRITISH EMPIRE, on the 31st December, 1846, 1847, and 1848 respectively.

	On the 31st December, 1846.			On the 31st December, 1847.			On the 31st December, 1848.		
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.
United Kingdom	24,002	3,148,323	180,653	24,409	3,254,353	183,278	24,832	3,344,764	185,826
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man .	769	51,462	5,516	791	53,568	5,706	806	56,045	5,651
British Plantations	7,728	617,327	43,107	7,788	644,603	43,906	8,034	651,351	44,592
TOTAL	32,499	3,817,112	229,276	32,988	3,952,524	232,890	33,672	4,052,160	236,069

VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE.

AN ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated voyages), that entered Inwards and cleared Outwards at the several Ports of Great Britain, from and to all parts of the World, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th of January, 1849:—Also showing the Number and Tonnage of Shipping entered Inwards and cleared Outwards, during the same Period, exclusive of the Intercourse with IRELAND.

Years ending 5th Jan.	Shipping entered Inwards in Great Britain, from all parts of the World.									Shipping entered Inwards in Great Britain, from all parts, except Ireland.								
	British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.			British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.		
	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.
1847 ..	29,166	5,444,220	297,618	12,170	1,731,016	94,984	41,336	7,175,236	392,602	20,033	4,028,090	212,548	12,170	1,731,016	94,984	32,203	5,759,106	307,532
1848 ..	29,694	5,842,969	311,281	13,636	2,013,651	107,413	43,330	7,856,620	418,694	21,908	4,549,027	234,684	13,636	2,013,651	107,413	35,544	6,562,678	342,097
1849 ..	29,550	5,751,648	306,634	12,498	1,850,255	98,006	42,048	7,601,903	404,640	20,441	4,281,339	221,292	12,498	1,850,255	98,006	32,939	6,131,594	319,298
	Shipping cleared Outwards from Great Britain, to all parts of the World.									Shipping cleared Outwards from Great Britain, to all parts, except Ireland.								
1847 ..	39,278	6,362,175	352,473	13,059	1,869,496	100,931	52,827	8,231,671	453,404	20,144	4,150,479	223,065	13,059	1,869,496	100,931	33,202	6,019,975	323,996
1848 ..	38,750	6,453,015	352,163	14,352	2,113,870	110,469	53,102	8,566,885	462,632	20,984	4,410,097	233,054	14,352	2,113,870	110,469	35,336	6,523,967	343,523
1849 ..	39,301	6,645,242	360,360	13,208	1,977,791	102,801	52,509	8,623,033	463,161	20,360	4,492,187	235,028	13,208	1,977,791	102,801	33,568	6,469,978	337,829

THE SAME RETURN FOR IRELAND.

Years ending 5th Jan.	Shipping entered Inwards in Ireland, from all parts of the World.									Shipping entered Inwards in Ireland, from all parts, except Great Britain.								
	British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.			British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.		
	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.	Vessls.	Tons.	Men.
1847 ..	21,575	2,544,387	145,057	378	75,266	3,468	21,953	2,619,653	148,525	1,240	266,643	11,751	378	75,266	3,468	1,618	341,909	15,219
1848 ..	19,620	2,393,075	131,420	1,153	240,288	10,913	20,773	2,633,363	142,333	2,109	393,067	18,124	1,153	240,288	10,913	3,262	633,355	29,037
1849 ..	20,338	2,460,247	133,608	602	110,157	5,526	20,940	2,570,404	139,134	1,342	284,194	12,640	602	110,157	5,526	1,944	394,351	18,166
	Shipping cleared Outwards from Ireland, to all parts of the World.									Shipping cleared Outwards from Ireland, to all parts, except Great Britain.								
1847 ..	10,477	1,699,173	99,157	264	51,660	2,270	10,741	1,750,833	101,427	935	242,936	10,497	264	51,660	2,270	1,199	294,596	12,767
1848 ..	10,110	1,678,414	95,592	904	198,923	8,995	11,014	1,877,337	104,587	1,685	360,273	16,764	904	198,923	8,995	2,589	559,196	25,759
1849 ..	10,506	1,720,296	93,567	437	78,863	4,021	10,943	1,799,159	97,588	817	231,840	9,943	437	78,863	4,021	1,254	310,703	13,964

A TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES

Passed in the FIRST *Session of the* FIFTEENTH *Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

11° & 12° *VICT.*

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

I. AN Act to facilitate the Completion, in certain Cases, of Public Works in *Ireland*.

II. An Act for the better Prevention of Crime and Outrage in certain Parts of *Ireland* until the First Day of *December* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament.

III. An Act to give further time for making certain Railways.

IV. An Act to apply the Sum of Eight Millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

V. An Act to suspend for Five Years the Operation of certain Parts of an Act of the Tenth Year of Her present Majesty, for making further Provision for the Government of the *New Zealand* Islands; and to make other Provision in lieu thereof.

VI. An Act to make further Provision for One Year, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, for the Carriage of Passengers by Sea to *North America*.

VII. An Act to amend an Act for consolidating the Queen's Bench, Fleet, and Marshalsea Prison, and for regulating the Queen's Prison.

VIII. An Act to continue for Three Years the Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices.

IX. An Act to continue for Three Years the Stamp Duties granted by an Act of the Fifth and Sixth Years of Her present Majesty, to assimilate the Stamp Duties in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to make Regulations for collecting and managing the same.

X. An Act for empowering certain Officers of the High Court of Chancery to administer Oaths and take Declarations and Affirmations.

XI. An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

XII. An Act for the better Security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom.

XIII. An Act for amending the Law for the leasing of Mines in *Ireland*.

XIV. An Act for authorizing a Borough Police Superannuation Fund.

XV. An Act for the Regulation of Her Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on shore.

XVI. An Act for raising the Sum of Seventeen millions nine hundred and forty-six thousand five hundred Pounds by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

XVII. An Act to amend the Act of the present Session to facilitate the Completion of Public Works in *Ireland*.

XVIII. An Act to remove certain Doubts as to the Law for the Trial of controverted Elections.

XIX. An Act to indemnify such Persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, and to extend the Time limited for those Purposes respectively until the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine.

XX. An Act to authorize for One Year, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, the Removal of Aliens from the Realm.

XXI. An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Insolvent Debtors in *India*.

XXII. An Act for granting Relief to the Island of *Tobago*, and for aiding the Colonies of *British Guiana* and *Trinidad* in raising Money for the Promotion of Immigration of free Labourers.

XXIII. An Act to alter and amend an Act passed in the Third Year of the

Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act to incorporate the Contributors for the Erection of a National Monument in* Scotland *to commemorate the Naval and Military Victories obtained during the late War.*

XXIV. An Act for disfranchising the Freemen of the Borough of *Great Yarmouth.*

XXV. An Act to extend the Powers given by former Acts for purchasing or hiring Land in connexion with or for the Use of Workhouses in *Ireland;* and for providing for the Burial of the Poor.

XXVI. An Act to remove Difficulties in the Appointment of Collectors of Grand Jury Cess in *Ireland* in certain cases, and to remove Doubts as to the Jurisdiction of the Divisional Justices of the Police District of *Dublin* Metropolis relating to the Recovery of Poor Rates, and other Cases.

XXVII. An Act to authorize the Inclosure of certain Lands, in pursuance of the Third and also of a Special Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for *England* and *Wales.*

XXVIII. An Act to amend the Law of Imprisonment for Debt in *Ireland,* and to improve the Remedies for the Recovery of Debts and of the Possession of Tenements situate in Cities and Towns, in certain Cases.

XXIX. An Act to enable Persons having a Right to kill Hares in *England* and *Wales* to do so, by themselves or Persons authorized by them, without being required to take out a Game Certificate.

XXX. An Act to enable all Persons having at present a Right to kill Hares in *Scotland* to do so themselves, or by Persons authorized by them, without being required to take out a Game Certificate.

XXXI. An Act to amend the Procedure in respect of Orders for the Removal of the Poor in *England* and *Wales,* and Appeals therefrom.

XXXII. An Act to facilitate the Collection of County Cess in *Ireland.*

XXXIII. An Act to apply the Sum of Three Millions out of the Consolidated Fund to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

XXXIV. An Act to amend certain Acts in force in *Ireland* in relation to Appeals from Decrees and Dismisses on Civil Bills in the County of *Dublin* and County of the City of *Dublin.*

XXXV. An Act to empower the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of *Ireland* to apprehend, and detain until the First Day of *March* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, such Persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against Her Majesty's Person and Government.

XXXVI. An Act for the Amendment of the Law of Entail in *Scotland.*

XXXVII. An Act to amend the Law relative to the Assignment of Ecclesiastical Districts.

XXXVIII. An Act to authorize the *West India* Relief Commissioners to grant further time for the Repayment of Monies advanced by them in certain Cases.

XXXIX. An Act to facilitate the raising of Money by Corporate Bodies for building or repairing Prisons.

XL. An Act to alter the Mode of assessing the Funds leviable in the County of *Inverness,* for making and maintaining certain Roads and Bridges and other Works in the Highlands of *Scotland.*

XLI. An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Ecclesiastical Unions and Divisions of Parishes in *Ireland.*

XLII. An Act to facilitate the Performance of the Duties of Justices of the Peace out of Sessions within *England* and *Wales* with respect to Persons charged with indictable Offences.

XLIII. An Act to facilitate the Performance of the Duties of Justices of the Peace out of Sessions, within *England* and *Wales,* with respect to summary Convictions and Orders.

XLIV. An Act to protect Justices of the Peace from vexatious Actions for Acts done by them in execution of their Office.

XLV. An Act to amend the Acts for facilitating the winding up the Affairs of Joint Stock Companies unable to meet their pecuniary Engagements; and also to facilitate the dissolution and winding up of Joint Stock Companies and other Partnerships.

XLVI. An Act for the Removal of Defects in the Administration of Criminal Justice.

XLVII. An Act for the Protection and Relief of the destitute Poor evicted from their Dwellings in *Ireland.*

XLVIII. An Act to facilitate the Sale of Incumbered Estates in *Ireland.*

XLIX. An Act for regulating the Sale of Beer and other Liquors on the Lord's Day.

L. An Act to empower the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods to remove the Colonnade in the *Regent's Quadrant.*

LI. An Act to provide additional Funds for Loans for Drainage and other Works of public Utility in *Ireland.*

LII. An Act to explain the Acts for preventing the Destruction of the Breed of Salmon and Fish of the Salmon Kind.

LIII. An Act to empower the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods to make certain Alterations and Improvements in the Approaches to the Castle and Town of *Windsor*.

LIV. An Act for incorporating the Commissioners of the *Caledonian* Canal, and for vesting the *Crinan* Canal in the said Commissioners.

LV. An Act for consolidating the Offices of Paymasters of Exchequer Bills and Paymaster of Civil Services with the Office of Paymaster General, and for making other Provisions in regard to the consolidated Offices.

LVI. An Act to repeal so much of an Act of the Third and Fourth Years of Her present Majesty, to reunite the Provinces of *Upper* and *Lower Canada*, and for the Government of *Canada*, as relates to the Use of the *English* Language in Instruments relating to the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of *Canada*.

LVII. An Act to enable Her Majesty to exchange the Advowson of the Vicarage of *Stoneleigh* in the County of *Warwick* for the Advowsons of the Rectory of *Yoxall* in the County of *Stafford* and the Perpetual Curacy of *Hunningham* in the County of *Warwick*.

LVIII. An Act to authorize for Ten Years, and to the end of the then next Session of Parliament, the Regulation of the Annuities and Premiums of the Naval Medical Supplemental Fund Society.

LIX. An Act for the more speedy Trial and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders in *Ireland*.

LX. An Act to alter the Duties payable upon the Importation of Spirits or Strong Waters.

LXI. An Act to effect an Exchange of Ecclesiastical Patronage between Her Majesty and the Earl of *Leicester*, and for the Severance and Consolidation of certain Benefices in the Diocese of *Norwich*, and for other Ecclesiastical Purposes.

LXII. An Act to appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts for granting a Land Tax and other Rates and Taxes.

LXIII. An Act for promoting the Public Health.

LXIV. An Act to continue until the First Day of *October* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act to amend the Laws relating to Loan Societies.

LXV. An Act to suspend until the First Day of *October* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine the making of Lists and the Ballots and Enrolments for the Militia of the United Kingdom.

LXVI. An Act to continue to the First Day of *October* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act for authorizing the Application of Highway Rates to Turnpike Roads.

LXVII. An Act for further continuing until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, certain temporary Provisions concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in *England*.

LXVIII. An Act for extending to *Ireland* an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled *An Act for better securing Trust Funds, and for the Relief of Trustees*.

LXIX. An Act to repeal so much of an Act of the Parliament of *Ireland* of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Years of King *George* the Third, "for the more "effectually punishing such Persons as "shall by Violence obstruct the Freedom "of Corn Markets and the Corn Trade, "and who shall be guilty of other Offences "therein mentioned, and for making Sa- "tisfaction to the Parties injured," as relates to the making of Satisfaction to the Parties injured; and to substitute other Provisions in lieu thereof; and to repeal the Provisions of the Acts which give Remedies against any Hundreds or Baronies in *Ireland* in respect of Robbery.

LXX. An Act for dispensing with the Evidence of the Proclamations on Fines levied in the Court of Common Pleas at *Westminster*.

LXXI. An Act to continue to the Twentieth Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, Her Majesty's Commission for building new Churches.

LXXII. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the Constabulary Force in *Ireland*, and to amend the Provisions for the Payment of Special Constables.

LXXIII. An Act to continue until the Thirty-first Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then Session of Parliament,

certain Acts for regulating Turnpike Roads in *Ireland*.

LXXIV. An Act to authorize the Lords of Council and Session to regulate the Rates or Dues of Registration to be charged by the Keepers of the Registers of Sasines, Reversions, &c., in *Scotland*.

LXXV. An Act to defray until the First Day of *August* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine the Charge of the Pay, Clothing, and contingent and other Expenses of the Disembodied Militia in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; to grant Allowances in certain Cases to Subaltern Officers, Adjutants, Paymasters, Quartermasters, Surgeons, Assistant Surgeons, Surgeons' Mates, and Serjeant Majors of the Militia; and to authorize the Employment of the Non-commissioned Officers.

LXXVI. An Act to enable Archbishops and Bishops and other Persons in *Ireland* to compromise Suits touching their Rights of Patronage as to Ecclesiastical Benefices, in certain Cases.

LXXVII. An Act to authorize the Application of Part of the unclaimed Money in the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in enlarging the Court House of the said Court.

LXXVIII. An Act for the further Amendment of the Administration of the Criminal Law.

LXXIX. An Act to facilitate and simplify Procedure in the Court of Justiciary in *Scotland*.

LXXX. An Act to empower Lessees of Tithe Rent-charge in *Ireland* to deduct a Proportion of Poor Rate Poundage from Rent; and also to empower the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in *Ireland* to allow Sums paid for Poor Rate or County Cess, or Poundage deducted from Ecclesiastical Persons on account of Poor Rate, among the Deductions from the Valuation of Ecclesiastical Property directed to be made under an Act of the Third and Fourth Years of His late Majesty, for the Purpose of a certain Tax thereby imposed upon such Property in *Ireland*.

LXXXI. An Act for the further Regulation of Steam Navigation, and for limiting in certain Cases the Number of Passengers to be conveyed in Steam Vessels.

LXXXII. An Act to amend the Law for the Formation of Districts for the Education of Infant Poor.

LXXXIII. An Act to confirm the Awards of Assessionable Manors Commissioners, and for other Purposes relating to the Duchies of *Cornwall* and *Lancaster*.

LXXXIV. An Act to amend the Acts for rendering effective the Service of the *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* Out-Pensioners, and to extend them to the Pensioners of the *East India* Company.

LXXXV. An Act to continue to the First Day of *October* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, the Exemption of Inhabitants from Liability to be rated as such in respect of Stock in Trade or other Property to the Relief of the Poor.

LXXXVI. An Act to empower Commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy to order the Release of Bankrupts from Prison in certain Cases.

LXXXVII. An Act to extend the Provisions of an Act passed in the First Year of His late Majesty King *William* the Fourth, intituled *An Act for consolidating and amending the Laws for facilitating the Payment of Debts out of Real Estate*.

LXXXVIII. An Act for further regulating the Money Order Department of the Post Office.

LXXXIX. An Act to continue for Two Years, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, and to amend an Act of the Second and Third Years of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act to extend and render more effectual for Five Years an Act passed in the Fourth Year of His late Majesty* George *the Fourth, to amend an Act passed in the Fiftieth Year of His Majesty* George *the Third, for preventiny the administering and taking unlawful Oaths in* Ireland.

XC. An Act to regulate the Times of Payment of Rates and Taxes by Parliamentary Electors.

XCI. An Act to make Provision for the Payment of Parish Debts, the Audit of Parochial and Union Accounts, and the Allowance of certain Charges therein.

XCII. An Act for the Protection and Improvement of the Salmon, Trout, and other Inland Fisheries of *Ireland*.

XCIII. An Act to confirm the Incorporation of certain Boroughs.

XCIV. An Act to regulate certain Offices in the Petty Bag in the High Court of Chancery, the Practice of the Common-Law Side of that Court, and the Enrolment Office of the said Court.

XCV. An Act to carry into effect the Arrangements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for *England* for making better

Provision for the Cure of Souls in the Parish of *Wolverhampton* in the County of *Stafford* and Diocese of *Lichfield*.

XCVI. An Act to continue certain Turnpike Acts for limited Periods.

XCVII. An Act to repeal the Duties of Customs upon the Importation of Sugar, and to impose new Duties in lieu thereof.

XCVIII. An Act to amend the Law for the Trial of Election Petitions.

XCIX. An Act to further extend the Provisions of the Act for the Inclosure and Improvement of Commons.

C. An Act to permit the Distillation of Spirits from Sugar, Molasses, and Treacle in the United Kingdom.

CI. An Act to provide for the Expenses of erecting and maintaining Lock-up Houses on the Borders of Counties.

CII. An Act to enlarge the Powers of an Act empowering the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods to form a Royal Park in *Battersea Fields;* to facilitate the raising of Monies authorized to be raised by the said Commissioners for Metropolitan Improvements; and to regulate and simplify the Mode of keeping the Accounts of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods.

CIII. An Act to authorize the Application of a Sum of Money out of the forfeited and unclaimed Army Prize Fund in purchasing the site of the Royal Military Asylum, and in improving such Asylum.

CIV. An Act for amending the Act for regulating the Prison at *Millbank*.

CV. An Act to prohibit the Importation of Sheep, Cattle, or other Animals, for the Purpose of preventing the Introduction of contagious or infectious Disorders.

CVI. An Act to amend an Act of the Tenth year of Her present Majesty, for rendering valid certain Proceedings for the Relief of Distress in *Ireland* by Employment of the Labouring Poor, and to indemnify those who have acted in such Proceedings.

CVII. An Act to prevent, until the First Day of *September* One thousand eight hundred and fifty, and to the End of the then Session of Parliament, the spreading of contagious or infectious Disorders among Sheep, Cattle, and other Animals.

CVIII. An Act for enabling Her Majesty to establish and maintain Diplomatic Relations with the Sovereign of the *Roman* States.

CIX. An Act to authorize the Inclosure of certain Lands in pursuance of a Special Report of the Inclosure Commissioners for *England* and *Wales*.

CX. An Act to alter the Provisions relating to the Charges for the Relief of the Poor in Unions.

CXI. An Act to amend an Act of the Tenth Year of Her present Majesty, for amending the Laws relating to the Removal of the Poor.

CXII. An Act to consolidate, and continue in force for Two Years and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, the Metropolitan Commissions of Sewers.

CXIII. An Act for the further Amendment of the Acts relating to the *Dublin* Police.

CXIV. An Act to prevent District Auditors from taking Proceedings in certain Cases.

CXV. An Act to vest in Her Majesty the Property of the *Irish* Reproductive Loan Fund Institution, and to dissolve the said Institution.

CXVI. An Act for carrying into Effect the Treaty between Her Majesty and the Republic of the *Equator* for the Abolition of the Traffic in Slaves.

CXVII. An Act for rendering certain Newspapers published in the *Channel Islands* and the *Isle of Man* liable to Postage.

CXVIII. An Act to explain and amend the Law as to the Licence required for the letting of Post Horses to Hire in *Ireland*, and the Law respecting Proceedings for Duties and Penalties under the Post Horse, Stage, and Hackney Carriage Acts in the United Kingdom.

CXIX. An Act to simplify the Forms of Certificates under the Act authorizing the Advance of Money for the Improvement of Land by Drainage in *Great Britain*.

CXX. An Act to facilitate the Transfer of Landed Property in *Ireland*.

CXXI. An Act to alter the Laws and Regulations of Excise respecting the Survey of Dealers in and Retailers of Spirits, and respecting the Sale and Removal of Spirits by Permit from the Stock of such Traders; and respecting the Distribution of Penalties and Forfeitures recovered under the Laws of Excise.

CXXII. An Act to amend the Laws respecting the Warehousing of *British* Spirits in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* respectively, and to permit Spirits made from Malt only, and Spirits made from Malt and other Grain, and Rectified Spirits, to be exported on Drawback from any Part of the United Kingdom; and respecting certain Spirit Mixtures, and the Removal of Goods subject to Excise Regulations from Customs Warehouse.

CXXIII. An Act to renew and amend an Act of the Tenth Year of Her present Majesty, for the more speedy Removal of certain Nuisances, and the Prevention of contagious and epidemic Diseases.

CXXIV. An Act to amend an Act of the last Session, for varying the Priorities of the Charges made on "The *London Bridge* Approaches Fund," and to facilitate the Completion of certain Improvements in the City of *Westminster*.

CXXV. An Act for raising the Sum of Two Millions by Exchequer Bills, or by the Creation of Annuities, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

CXXVI. An Act to supply a Sum out of the Consolidated Fund, and certain other Sums, to the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-eight; and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

CXXVII. An Act to reduce the Duties on Copper and Lead.

CXXVIII. An Act for carrying into effect the Agreement between Her Majesty and the Imaum of *Muscat* for the more effectual Suppression of the Slave Trade.

CXXIX. An Act for amending an Act passed in the Ninth and Tenth Years of Her present Majesty for making preliminary Inquiries in certain Cases of Applications for Local Acts.

CXXX. An Act for guaranteeing the Interest on such Loans, not exceeding Five hundred thousand Pounds, as may be raised by the *British* Colonies on the Continent of *South America*, in the *West Indies* and the *Mauritius*, for certain Purposes.

CXXXI. An Act to amend, and continue until the First Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, an Act to make Provision for the Treatment of poor Persons afflicted with Fever in *Ireland*.

CXXXII. An Act for the appointment of additional Taxing Masters for the High Court of Chancery in *Ireland*, and to regulate the Appointment of the Principal Assistants to the Masters in the Superior Courts of Law in *Ireland*.

CXXXIII. An Act to amend the Laws relating to Savings Banks in *Ireland*.

LOCAL AND PERSONAL ACTS,

Declared Public, and to be judicially noticed.

i. An Act for better assessing and collecting the Poor Rates, Lighting, Watching, and Highway Rates, in the Parish of *Kettering* in the County of *Northampton*.

ii. An Act for enabling the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of *Leicester* to establish a general Cemetery for such Borough.

iii. An Act for the Consecration of a Portion of the *Manchester* General Cemetery.

iv. An Act for extending the Time for building a Bridge over the River *Avon* from *Clifton* to the opposite Side of the River in the County of *Somerset*.

v. An Act to authorize the Company of Proprietors of the *Leicester* Navigation to abandon the Railways or Stone Roads and Water Levels commonly known as "The Forest Line," and to enable them to sell the Lands over which the same passes, and the Reservoir and other Works connected therewith.

vi. An Act for supplying the Parish and Township or Borough of *Folkestone* with Water.

vii. An Act to enable the Company of Proprietors of *Lambeth* Waterworks to construct additional Works, and for better supplying the Inhabitants of the Parish of *Lambeth* in the County of *Surrey* and other Parishes and Places with Water.

viii. An Act for the better supplying with Water the Royal Burgh of *Stirling* and Suburbs thereof.

ix. An Act to enable the *Birkenhead* Dock Company to sell or lease their Land.

x. An Act to authorize the Trustees of the *Liverpool* Docks to build Warehouses, to construct additional Wet Docks and other Works, and for other purposes.

xi. An Act for constructing and maintaining a Pier, Jetty, or Stage, with necessary approaches thereto, at *Dover* in the County of Kent.

xii. An Act for lighting with Gas the Township of *Morley* in the Parish of *Batley* in the West Riding of the County of *York*.

xiii. An Act for amending "The *Bristol and Clifton* Gaslight Act, 1847."

xiv. An Act for incorporating the *Southampton* Gaslight Company, and for supplying at a limited Price the Town and Neighbourhood of *Southampton* with Gas.

xv. An Act to amend and enlarge the Provisions of an Act passed in the Ninth and Tenth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for better supplying with Gas the City of* Worcester *and the Suburbs thereof*, and to enable the *Worcester* New Gaslight Company incorporated by the said Act to raise a further Sum of Money.

xvi. An Act for providing a Market for the Sale of Cattle and other Animals in the Borough of *Shrewsbury* in the County of *Salop*.

xvii. An Act to alter, amend, and enlarge the Powers and Provisions of an Act passed in the Ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Third, for establishing and governing the *Magdalen* Hospital.

xviii. An Act for the Regulation of certain public Sufferance Wharves in the Port of *London*.

xix. An Act to effect an Agreement between the Visitors of the Lunatic Asylum for the County of *Leicester* and the Corporation of the Borough of *Leicester*, for the Admission of Lunatic Paupers from the said Borough into the said Asylum.

xx. An Act for the Incorporation, Establishment, and Regulation of "*Price's* Patent Candle Company," and for enabling the said Company to purchase and work Letters Patent.

xxi. An Act to authorize certain Alterations in the *Hitchin, Northampton, and Huntingdon* Extension of the *Midland* Railways; and for other Purposes.

xxii. An Act for enabling the *North-Western* Railway Company to make certain Alterations and Diversions in the main Line of their Railway at *Skipton*, *Casterton*, and *Sedbergh*, and in the *Lancaster* Branch of their Railway at *Bulk*.

xxiii. An Act to authorize the leasing of the *Aberdare* Railway, with the Branch Railway and works connected therewith, to the *Taff Vale* Railway Company.

xxiv. An Act for enabling the *York, Newcastle, and Berwick* Railway Company to improve their Main Line of Railway, and to make certain Branches in the County of *Durham;* and for other Purposes.

xxv. An Act to empower the *North British* Railway Company to raise additional Capital for certain Purposes.

xxvi. An Act to enable the *Kendal and Windermere* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money, and to amend the Act relating to such Railway.

xxvii. An Act for enabling the *South Wales* Railway Company to hold Shares in the Undertaking of the *Vale of Neath* Railway Company; and for other Purposes.

xxviii. An Act for enabling the *Bristol and Exeter* Railway Company to purchase the *Glastonbury* Navigation and Canal, and for amending the Acts relating to such Railway and Canal.

xxix. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow, and Dublin* Railway, and to enable the *South Wales* Railway Company to subscribe thereto.

xxx. An Act to enable the *Norfolk* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money, and for other Purposes.

xxxi. An Act for abolishing the Duties now payable under the Act of 7 *George* I., commonly called *Saint George's* Chapel Act, and for otherwise varying the Provisions thereof, and enacting other Duties and Provisions in lieu thereof.

xxxii. An Act to raise a further Sum of Money for the Court House and Offices at *Hamilton*, and to alter the Mode of assessing and levying certain Rates and Assessments in the County of *Lanark*.

xxxiii. An Act for removing and regulating the Markets and Fairs held in the Borough and Liberties of *Oswestry*, and for completing and providing convenient Market Places and Places for Fairs, with proper Approaches thereto.

xxxiv. An Act for maintaining and improving the Harbour of *Looe* in the County of *Cornwall*, and for taking down the present Bridge between *East* and *West Looe* across the said Harbour, and erecting a new Bridge instead thereof.

xxxv. An Act for maintaining, regulating, and improving the Harbour of *Barrow* in the County Palatine of Lancaster.

xxxvi. An Act for better supplying with Water the Borough of *Derby*, and certain Parishes and Places adjacent thereto, in the County of *Derby*.

xxxvii. An Act to amend three Acts of His Majesty King *George* the Third, and another Act of His late Majesty King *William* the Fourth, for amending certain Mileways leading to *Oxford*, and making Improvements in the University and City of *Oxford*, the Suburbs thereof, and adjoining Parish of *Saint Clement;* and for other Purposes.

xxxviii. An Act to amalgamate the *Liverpool* Gaslight Company and the *Liverpool* New Gas and Coke Company.

xxxix. An Act to amend and enlarge the

Powers of an Act passed in the Second Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, and of an Act passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, for supplying the Towns of *Old* and *New Brentford* in the County of *Middlesex*, and other Places therein mentioned, with Gas.

xl. An Act to repeal the Provisions of Two several Acts for lighting with Gas the Town of *Brighthelmstone* in the County of *Sussex*, and for making other Provisions in lieu thereof.

xli. An Act to authorize the Company of Proprietors of the *Forth and Clyde* Navigation and the *Airdrie and Coatbridge* Water Company to enter into Agreements for certain Purposes.

xlii. An Act to enable the *Herculaneum* Dock Company to sell or lease Lands at *Toxteth Park* in the County of *Lancaster*.

xliii. An Act for facilitating the Transfer of the *Bristol* Docks to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City of *Bristol*, and for other Purposes.

xliv. An Act for the further Extension and Improvement of the Ferry, Harbours, Piers, and other Works at *Queensferry* on the *Frith of Forth*; and for certain other Purposes connected therewith.

xlv. An Act for establishing direct Steam Communications across the River *Tyne* between the Towns of *North* and *South Shields*, and between other Places in the Counties of *Durham* and *Northumberland*.

xlvi. An Act for incorporating the *North of Scotland* Fire and Life Assurance Company, under the Name of "The *Northern* Assurance Company;" for enabling the said Company to sue and be sued, and to take, hold and transfer Property; for confirming the Rules and Regulations of the said Company; and for other Purposes relating thereto.

xlvii. An Act for enabling "The Patent Galvanized Iron Company" to purchase and work certain Letters Patent.

xlviii. An Act for repealing an Act passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, for making a Road from *Battle Bridge* to *Holloway* in the County of *Middlesex*.

xlix. An Act for repairing the Road from *Nantwich* to *Wheelock Wharf* in the County Palatine of *Chester;* and to repeal an Act passed in the Fifty-sixth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Third; and to continue and extend the Trust.

l. An Act to amend an Act passed in the Eleventh Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act for repairing and maintaining the Roads from the Town of* Dundalk *in the County of* Louth *to the Towns of* Castle Blayney *and* Carrickmacross *in the County of* Monaghan.

li. An Act for repealing an Act of the Ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act for making, repairing, and improving certain Roads leading to and from* Truro *in the County of* Cornwall, and for making other Provisions in lieu thereof; for forming, vesting and improving certain Roads; and for continuing and extending the *Truro* Turnpike Trust.

lii. An Act to enable the *Dundee and Perth* Railway Company to make a Junction Line of Railway into the Royal Burgh of *Dundee*.

liii. An Act to continue and amend the Act relating to the *Drumpeller* Railway.

liv. An Act to enable the *Arbroath and Forfar* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money.

lv. An Act for enabling the *York, Newcastle, and Berwick* Railway Company to deviate or alter part of their *Thirsk and Malton* Branch Railway, and to abandon Part of the same; and for other Purposes.

lvi. An Act for enabling the *Leeds and Thirsk* Railway Company to make a Railway from *Melmerby* to *Northallerton*, and to form a Junction with the *York and Newcastle* Railway.

lvii. An Act for enabling the *Leeds and Thirsk* Railway Company to alter the Levels of certain portions of the *Leeds and Hartlepool* Railway, and to alter the proposed Junctions with the *Stockton and Darlington* Railway in *Eaglescliffe;* and for other Purposes.

lviii. An Act for enabling the *Manchester South Junction and Altrinham* Railway Company to provide additional Station Accommodation in *Manchester;* and for other Purposes.

lix. An Act to authorize the *Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money; and for other Purposes.

lx. An Act to enable the *Chester and Holyhead* Railway Company to purchase, hire, and use Steam Boats; and for other Purposes.

lxi. An Act to enable the *Waterford and Kilkenny* Railway Company to make certain Deviations in the authorized line

of the said Railway; and to amend the Act relating thereto.

lxii. An Act to alter the Line of the *Great Grimsby* Branch of the *East Lincolnshire* Railway, and to amend and enlarge the Provisions of the Acts relating to the *East Lincolnshire* Railway.

lxiii. An Act for enabling the *Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire* Railway Company to make a Railway to *Barnsley*, with Branches therefrom, all in the West Riding of the County of *York*.

lxiv. An Act for enabling the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company to make improved Communications to their Station in *Manchester*.

lxv. An Act to authorize the *South Yorkshire, Doncaster, and Goole* Railway Company to construct a Branch Railway to the *Great Northern* Railway at *Doncaster*.

lxvi. An Act to authorize certain Alterations of the *North Staffordshire* Railway.

lxvii. An Act to enable the *Aberdeen* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money.

lxviii. An Act for enabling the *Leeds and Thirsk* Railway Company to make a Railway by *Harrogate* to *Pateley;* and for other Purposes.

lxix. An Act to enable the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company to carry the Line of their Railway across *Sheffield Street* in *Manchester*, to increase their Station Accommodation at *Manchester* and *Stalybridge*, and for other Purposes.

lxx. An Act to enable the *Edinburgh and Glasgow* Railway Company to make certain Branches, and to alter the Tunnel at *Glasgow;* and for other Purposes.

lxxi. An Act for making a Railway Station on the North Side of the River *Aire* in *Leeds* in the West Riding of the County of *York*, to be called "The *Leeds* Central Railway Station."

lxxii. An Act to enable the *Scottish Midland Junction* Railway Company to make Branch Railways to *Birnam* and to the *Dunkeld* Branch of the *Scottish Midland Junction* Railway, and also to abandon a Portion of the original Line of the said *Dunkeld* Branch.

lxxiii. An Act to enable the *Caledonian* Railway Company to improve the *Glasgow, Garnkirk, and Coatbridge*, and the *Clydesdale Junction* Railways.

lxxiv. An Act for making a Railway from the *Berks and Hants* Railway at *Hungerford* to join the Line of the *Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth* Railway at *Westbury* and *Devizes*.

lxxv. An Act for authorizing certain Deviations in the Line of the *Windsor, Staines, and South-Western* Railway.

lxxvi. An Act to make a Deviation in the authorized Line of the *Midland Great Western* Railway of *Ireland*, and to amend the Acts relating to the Company.

lxxvii. An Act to enable the *Bristol and Exeter Railway* Company to make a Branch Railway from the *Bristol and Exeter* Railway in the Parish of *Bleadon* to the City of *Wells*, the Town of *Glastonbury*, and the Parish of *Street*, all in County of *Somerset*.

lxxviii. An Act to enable the *Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock* Railway Company to make a certain Branch Railway; and to amend the Acts relating to the said Railway.

lxxix. An Act to authorize the Abandonment of a Portion of the *Londonderry and Enniskillen* Railway, and the Enlargement of the intended Station at *Londonderry;* and for other Purposes.

lxxx. An Act to enable the *Whitehaven Junction* Railway Company to extend their Railway from the present Terminus thereof at *Whitehaven* to the Patent Slip Yard in *Whitehaven*, to make Branches to *Whitehaven* Harbour, to deviate the Line at *Parton*, and to alter, enlarge, and extend the Company's Stations, Railways, and Works; and for other Purposes.

lxxxi. An Act for enabling the *Hartlepool* Dock and Railway Company and the *Great North of England, Clarence, and Hartlepool Junction* Railway Company to lease their respective Railways and Works to the *York, Newcastle, and Berwick* Railway Company.

lxxxii. An Act to enable the *Bristol and Exeter* Railway Company to make a Branch Railway from the Parish of *Lyng*, near the Town of *Taunton*, to join the *Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth* Railway near *Castle Cary* in the County of *Somerset*.

lxxxiii. An Act for making a Branch Railway from the *Churnet Valley* Line of the *North Staffordshire* Railway in the Parish of *Rocester* in the County of *Stafford* to *Ashbourne* in the County of *Derby*.

lxxxiv. An Act to regulate the Charges for the Conveyance of Traffic on the *Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, and Ayr* Railway, and for other Purposes.

lxxxv. An Act for making a Railway from *Exeter* to *Yeovil*, with Branches and an Extension therefrom, to be called "The

Exeter, Yeovil, and Dorchester Railway."

lxxxvi. An Act for vesting in the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company the Canal Navigation from *Manchester* to or near *Ashton-under-Lyne* and *Oldham*.

lxxxvii. An Act to enable the *London and South-western* Railway Company to make a Railway from *Salisbury* to *Yeovil*, with Branches to *Shaftesbury*, and to the *Exeter, Yeovil, and Dorchester*, and *Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth* Railways.

lxxxviii. An Act to enable the *Midland* Railway Company to make certain Branches from and Enlargements of their Railway; and for other Purposes.

lxxxix. An Act for amalgamating the *Southampton and Dorchester* Railway Company with the *London and South-western* Railway Company.

xc. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *London and Blackwall* Railway, and to authorize the Company to alter the Gauge of their Railway, and to make certain Improvements in the Approaches to the said Railway, and to make Branches to the *London* and *Saint Katherine's* Docks.

xci. An Act to enable the *Whitehaven Junction* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money; and to amend the Act relating to the said Railway.

xcii. An Act for improving the Steam Communication across the River *Humber* belonging to the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company; for erecting a Pier at *Kingston-upon-Hull*, and enlarging the Works at *New Holland;* for making a connecting Line near *Harbrough* in the County of *Lincoln;* for regulating the Pilotage of the Port of *Great Grimsby;* and for amending the Acts relating to the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company.

xciii. An Act to enable the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company to construct an additional or enlarged Station at *Sheffield*, and to make a Branch Railway to the *Sheffield* Canal.

xciv. An Act for vesting in the *Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire* Railway Company the *Sheffield* Canal.

xcv. An Act to enable the *Plymouth Great Western* Dock Company to raise further Capital, and to authorize the *Great Western*, the *Bristol and Exeter*, and *South Devon* Railway Companies to subscribe to the *Plymouth Great Western* Docks; and for other Purposes.

xcvi. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *Newry* Navigation.

xcvii. An Act to enable the Warden and Assistants of the Harbour of *Dover* in the County of *Kent* to raise a further Sum of Money.

xcviii. An Act to improve the Harbour of *Burntisland* in the County of *Fife*.

xcix. An Act for constructing a harbour at *Leck Robie*, and for maintaining the Harbour of *Little Ferry*, both in the County of *Sutherland*.

c. An Act for establishing a general Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead in the Parish of *Saint Mary-on-the-Hill* in the City of *Chester*.

ci. An Act to alter, amend, and enlarge the Powers and Provisions of "The "*Manchester* Corporation Waterworks "Act, 1847."

cii. An Act to amend, extend, and enlarge the Powers of an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for better lighting, cleansing, sewering, and improving the Borough of* Leeds *in the County of* York; and to give to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the said Borough further and more effectual Powers for draining and sewering the said Borough.

ciii. An Act for dissolving and facilitating the winding-up of the Affairs of "The "Patent Galvanized Iron Company," trading under the Firm or Style of *Malins* and *Rawlinsons*.

civ. An Act to amend the Acts for improving the Drainage and Navigation of the Middle Level of the Fens, and for other Purposes connected therewith.

cv. An Act to enable *Low's* Patent Copper Company to work certain Letters Patent.

cvi. An Act for incorporating the *Scottish* Provident Institution, for confirming the Laws and Regulations thereof, for enabling the said Society to sue and be sued, to take and to hold Property; and for other Purposes relating to said Society.

cvii. An Act to amend and continue the Term of an Act passed in the Fifty-seventh Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act to continue the Term of an Act passed in the Parliament of* Ireland *in the Thirty-fifth Year of His present Majesty, for improving and repairing the Turnpike Road leading from* Dublin

to Mullingar, *and for repealing the several Laws heretofore made relating to the said Road.*

cviii. An Act for authorizing the Trustees of the *Tadcaster and Halton Dial* Turnpike Road to make a Diversion or Alteration of such Part of the Line of the *Tadcaster and Halton Dial* Turnpike Road as lies in the Parish of *Tadcaster* in the West Riding of the County of *York.*

cix. An Act to enable the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Members of the Philanthropic Society to sell and grant Leases of the Lands belonging to them, and to purchase other Lands; and for other Purposes relating to the said Society.

cx. An Act to incorporate the Members of the Institution called "The Orphan Working School," now established at *Haverstock Hill, Hampstead Road,* in the County of *Middlesex,* and to enable them the better to carry on their charitable Designs.

cxi. An Act to alter and amend some of the Provisions of the Acts relating to the *London and Blackwall* Railway Company.

cxii. An Act to enable the *Edinburgh and Northern* Railway Company to make Branch Railways to *Roscobie, Keltyhead,* and *Glencraig;* and for certain other Purposes.

cxiii. An Act for more effectually watching, cleansing, and lighting the Streets of the City of *Edinburgh* and adjoining Districts, for regulating the Police thereof, and for other Purposes relating thereto.

cxiv. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *Great Northern* Railway Company; and to enable the Company to make an Extension of their Railway from the Parish of *Saundby* in *Nottinghamshire* to the *Askern* Branch of the *Wakefield, Pontefract, and Goole* Railway in the Parish of *Owston* in the West Riding of *Yorkshire,* with a Branch to rejoin the *Great Northern* Railway in the Parish of *Snaith* in the said West Riding.

cxv. An Act for enabling the *Lancashire and Yorkshire* Railway Company to make certain Modifications of their Share Capital; and for other Purposes.

cxvi. An Act to enable the *Edinburgh and Bathgate* Railway Company to extend their *Whitburn* Branch, and to alter or deviate their *Uphall and Binnie* Branch.

cxvii. An Act to authorize a Deviation in the Line of the *Londonderry and Coleraine* Railway, and to amend the Act relating thereto.

cxviii. An Act to facilitate the Construction of the *Cowlairs* Branch of the *Glasgow, Airdrie, and Monklands Junction* Railway by the *Edinburgh and Glasgow* Railway Company, and to grant further Powers to that Company.

cxix. An Act to enable the *Royston and Hitchin* Railway Company to extend their Line of Railway from *Royston* to *Shepresh,* and to make a Deviation of the authorized Line at *Hitchin.*

cxx. An Act to amend the Provisions of the *Newport and Pontypool* Railway Act, 1845.

cxxi. An Act to enable the *Caledonian* Railway Company to extend their Railway across the River *Clyde* at *Glasgow,* and to form a Station in that City.

cxxii. An Act for the Amendment and Continuation of the Burgh Customs, and Water, Shore, and Harbour Rates, of the Burgh of *Dunbar,* and for other Purposes connected with the said Burgh, and the Supply of Water to the same and the Harbour thereof.

cxxiii. An Act to provide for the Municipal and Police Government of the Burgh of *Leith,* and for other Purposes relating thereto.

cxxiv. An Act for the better carrying on the Affairs of the Grand Canal Company.

cxxv. An Act for enabling the *London and South-western* Railway Company to effect certain Extensions and Deviations at *Godalming, Cosham, London Bridge, Southampton,* and *Poole,* and certain Arrangements respecting Steam Packets; and for other Purposes.

cxxvi. An Act to enable the *Furness* Railway Company to raise a further Sum of Money, and to purchase Steam Vessels; and for the Amendment of the Acts relating to the said Company.

cxxvii. An Act to authorize certain Deviations in the Main Line of the *Stirling and Dunfermline* Railway, and for other Purposes.

cxxviii. An Act to enable the *Whitehaven and Furness Junction* Railway Company to deviate or extend their Line of Railway from *Silecroft* to *Foxfield,* and to abandon a Portion of their Line between *Silecroft* and *Ireleth;* to make Branches to *Whitehaven* Harbour; and for other Purposes.

cxxix. An Act to enable the *Dundee and Arbroath* Railway Company to make a Junction Line of Railway into the Royal Burgh of *Dundee.*

cxxx. An Act for enabling the *London and North-western* Railway Company to make a Branch Railway from the *Coventry and Nuneaton* Line in the Parish of *Exhall* to the *Craven* Colliery, and another Branch Railway from the same *Coventry and Nuneaton* Line at *Bedworth* to the *Mount Pleasant* Colliery, to construct a new Approach Road to the Station of the *London and North-western* Railway at *Tamworth*, and to enlarge the *Rugby* Station of the last-mentioned Railway, all in the County of *Warwick;* and for other Purposes.

cxxxi. An Act to enable the *Midland* Railway Company to construct a Railway from *Gloucester* to *Stonehouse*, and for other Purposes connected with the *Bristol and Gloucester* Line of the *Midland* Railway.

cxxxii. An Act to alter and amend the Acts relating to the *Newry and Enniskillen* Railway Company, and to enable them to make Arrangements with other Railway Companies.

cxxxiii. An Act to authorize an Alteration of the Line of the *Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton* Railway; and for other Purposes.

cxxxiv. An Act to amalgamate the *Monkland and Kirkintilloch, Ballochney*, and *Slamannan* Railways.

cxxxv. An Act for making a Railway from the *Great Western* Railway near *Slough* to the Town of *New Windsor* in the County of *Berks*.

cxxxvi. An Act for making an Alteration in the *New Cross* Station; and for amending the Powers and Provisions of the several Acts relating to the *London, Brighton, and South Coast* Railway.

cxxxvii. An Act to enable the Trustees of the *Worcester* Turnpike Road to make certain new Roads, and to improve and more effectually maintain the several Roads leading into and from the City of *Worcester*.

cxxxviii. An Act for establishing a Market and Fair in the Borough of *Avon* otherwise *Aberavon* in the County of *Glamorgan*.

cxxxix. An Act for the better regulating and improving the Port and Harbour of *New Ross* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Kilkenny*.

cxl. An Act for better paving, lighting, watching, sewering, draining, cleansing, and otherwise improving the Town and Neighbourhood of *Huddersfield* in the West Riding of the County of *York*, for maintaining an efficient Police, and removing and preventing Nuisances and Annoyances therein.

cxli. An Act for the Improvement of the Borough of *Londonderry*.

cxlii. An Act for incorporating "The *West of England* and *South Wales* Land Draining Company;" and for enabling Owners of limited Interests in Land to charge the same for the Purposes of Drainage, Irrigation, Warping, Embankment, Reclamation, Inclosure, and Improvement.

cxliii. An Act to improve the River *Nene* and *Wisbech* River, and the Drainage of Lands discharging their Waters into the same.

cxliv. An Act to alter and amend the several Acts relating to the *Birkenhead* Commissioners Docks, and to transfer the several Powers of the said Commissioners to a Corporate Body to be entitled "The Trustees of the *Birkenhead* Docks;" and for other Purposes.

cxlv. An Act for continuing the Term of an Act passed in the Eighth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act for more effectually repairing and maintaining the Road from* Hulme *across the River* Irwell, *through* Salford, *to* Eccles, *in the County Palatine of* Lancaster, *and a Branch of Road communicating therewith*, so far as relates to the Road from *Hulme* to *Eccles*, for the Purpose of enabling the Trustees to pay off the Debt now due on the said Roads.

cxlvi. An Act for altering and amending an Act passed for maintaining the Road from *Crossford Bridge* to *Manchester*, and a Branch connected therewith.

cxlvii. An Act for more effectually repairing and maintaining the Road from *Richmond* to *Reeth* in the County of *York*.

cxlviii. An Act to enable the *Wishaw and Coltness* Railway Company to divert and improve certain Portions of their Line.

cxlix. An Act to enable "The Timber Preserving Company" to purchase and work certain Letters Patent, and for confirming the same.

cl. An Act for draining, warping, and otherwise improving *Thorne Moor* in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*.

cli. An Act to authorize the Endowment and Consecration of a new Chapel at *Marlborough*, and the Annexation of the same to *Marlborough* College.

clii. An Act to amend the Act for the more easy Recovery of Small Debts and De-

mands within the City of *London* and the Liberties thereof.

cliii. An Act for the Establishment of the Farmers Estate Society, *Ireland*.

cliv. An Act to enable the *Dundee and Perth* Railway Company to take a Lease of the Undertaking of the *Dundee and Arbroath* Railway Company, and to amend the Acts relating to such Companies respectively.

clv. An Act for making a Railway from *Paisley* to *Barrhead*, with certain Branch Railways therewith connected, to be called "The *Paisley, Barrhead, and Hurlet* Railway."

clvi. An Act to make a Deviation in the authorized Line of the *Manchester, Buxton, Matlock, and Midlands Junction* Railway, together with a Branch to *Bakewell*.

clvii. An Act to amend the Acts relating to the *Exeter and Exmouth* Railway Company.

clviii. An Act to enable the *Great Western* Railway Company to construct a Loop Line from the *Birmingham and Oxford Junction* Railway through the Town of *Leamington*; and for other Purposes.

clix. An Act to confer additional Powers on the *Great Western* Railway Company with reference to an Agreement of the Twelfth of *November*, 1846, for the Purchase by them of the *Birmingham and Oxford Junction*, and *Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Dudley* Railways.

clx. An Act to enable the *Edinburgh and Glasgow* Railway Company to hold Shares in the *Edinburgh and Bathgate* Railway Company; and for other Purposes.

clxi. An Act for the more effectually paving, lighting, watching, draining, cleansing, and otherwise improving the Town and Neighbourhood of *Walsall* in the County of *Stafford*, for improving the Markets, and for the better assessing the Poor's Rates, Highway Rates, Church Rates, and other Local Rates within the Parish of *Walsall* in the said County.

clxii. An Act for granting further Powers to the *Clerkenwell* Improvement Commissioners for the Purpose of enabling them to complete the new Street and the Improvements connected therewith.

clxiii. An Act to provide for the Sanatory Improvement of the City of *London* and the Liberties thereof, and for the better cleansing, sewering, paving, and lighting the same.

PRIVATE ACTS,

Printed by the Queen's Printer, and whereof the Printed Copies may be given in Evidence.

1. AN Act to authorize the feuing of the Glebe Lands of the Parish of *Govan* in the County of *Lanark*.
2. An Act for authorizing the Trustees of the Will of the late *Calmady Pollexfen Hamlyn* Esquire, under the Direction of the Court of Chancery, to pull down the Mansion or Dwelling-House at *Paschoe* in the County of *Devon*, Part of the Estates devised by the said Will, and to rebuild the same, and to raise Money for those Purposes by Mortgage of the said Estates; and for making Provision for the Payment of the Principal Monies so raised; and for other Purposes.
3. An Act for confirming an Exchange of certain Lands in the Parish of *Wilton* in the County of *Somerset*, heretofore Part of the Augmentation of the Perpetual Curacy of *Hill Bishops* otherwise *Bishops Hull* in the same County, for certain Lands in the Parish of *Staplegrove* in the same County; and for other Purposes.
4. An Act to authorize the Sale to the Right Honourable *George Harry* Earl of *Stamford and Warrington* of certain Freehold and Leasehold Hereditaments in the County of *Salop* devised by the Will of *Polly Hale* Widow, deceased, and for directing the Investment of the Purchase Money in other Hereditaments, to be settled in like Manner.
5. An Act to authorize Grants in Fee and Leases for Long Terms of Years, for Building Purposes, of the devised Estate of *John Newton* Esquire, deceased, situate at *Gorton* in the Parish of *Manchester* in the County of *Lancaster*.
6. An Act for enabling Sales, Leases, and Mortgages to be made of certain Estates in the County of *York*, heretofore belonging to *John Fullerton*.
7. An Act to enable the Trustees of the Will of *Edward Jessop* the elder to sell the Estates devised by such Will, and to lay out the Money to arise therefrom in the Purchase of other Estates under the Direction of the Court of Chancery.
8. An Act for enabling Leases and Sales to be made of an Estate at *Horton* in the Parish of *Bradford* in the County

of *York*, holden upon the Trusts of the Will of *Jacob Hudson* deceased.

9. An Act to enable Sir *William Miller* of *Glenlee* and *Barskimming*, Baronet, Heir of Entail in possession of the Lands and Estates of *Glenlee, Barskimming*, and others, lying in the Stewartry of *Kirkcudbright* and County of *Ayr*, to exchange certain Portions of the said Estates, and to sell certain Parts thereof, for the Payment and Extinction of the Debts, Obligations, and Burdens affecting the same.

10. An Act for incorporating the Governors and Trustees of the united Charities of *Nathaniel Waterhouse*, appointed by virtue of an Act passed in the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act for uniting and better regulating the Charities of* Nathaniel Waterhouse *within the Town and Parish of* Halifax *in the West Riding of the County of* York; and amending the Powers and Provisions of the said Act, and granting other Powers and Provisions enabling the Governors and Trustees of the said united Charities, when incorporated, to sell and to convey Parts of the Lands of the Charity Estates, make Exchanges of the Lands of the said Estates for other Lands, lease Mines, fell Timber, and effect Improvements; and for regulating the Application of the Revenues, Rents, and Income of the said Estates, and enlarging the charitable Uses of the said Charities; and for other Purposes concerning the same.

11. An Act to provide for the better Administration of certain Charities in the Parish of *Sandbach* in the County of *Chester*, and the Distribution of the Income thereof, and for vesting the Estates and Property belonging to the Charities in new Trustees, and to enable the Trustees to grant Leases of the Charity Estates; and for other Purposes.

12. An Act to alter and amend an Act passed in the Eighth and Ninth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, for enabling the Trustees of the Will of *Francis* late Duke of *Bridgewater* to carry into execution certain Articles of Agreement entered into by them with the Right Honourable *Francis Egerton* now Earl of *Ellesmere*.

13. An Act for the Sale of the Glebe Lands belonging to the Rectory of *Woolwich* and the Parish Church of *Saint Mary Woolwich* in the County of *Kent*, and to confirm the Building Leases of such Lands, and for Endowment of a new Ecclesiastical District; and for other Purposes.

14. An Act for extending certain Powers of an Act passed in the Eighth Year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for enlarging the Powers contained in the Will of Sir* John Ramsden *Baronet, deceased, to grant Leases of the Hereditaments in the Townships of* Huddersfield, Honley, Dalton, *and* Almondbury *devised by such Will, and for other Purposes*, to the Hereditaments in the Parishes of *Almondbury, Kirkheaton*, and *Huddersfield* comprised in the Settlement made on the Marriage of *John Charles Ramsden* Esquire, deceased; and for other Purposes.

15. An Act to authorize the granting of Building Leases for Ninety-nine Years of Parts of the Trust Estates of the Will of the late *Charles Robert Blundell* Esquire, situate in the Parishes of *Sefton, Walton on the Hill*, and *North Meols* in the County of *Lancaster*, and to lease Waste Lands and Coal and other Mines, and to exchange certain detached and intermixed Lands, other Parts of the said Trust Estates.

16. An Act for granting Building and other Improvement Leases of the Settled Estates of the Right Honourable *George Augustus Frederick Charles* Earl of *Sheffield*, situate in the Parishes of *Newhaven* and *Bishopstone* in the County of *Sussex*.

17. An Act to amend a Settlement made by the Most Honourable the Marquess and Marchioness of *Londonderry* and the Honourable Viscount *Seaham*; and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

18. An Act for compromising certain Suits and Claims affecting Parts of the Estates of the late Marquess of *Antrim*, and for settling certain Lands intermixed with Parts of such Estates.

19. An Act for vesting the Two undivided Sixth Shares of *Christopher Alderson*, a Lunatic, and *Mary Alderson* Spinster, a Person of unsound Mind, as Two of the Six Children of *Christopher Alderson Alderson* deceased, in certain Freehold Estates in the Counties of *Middlesex, Hertford*, and *York*, in Trustees, in whom the other Four undivided Sixth Shares are now vested, upon trust for Sale.

20. An Act to alter and amend certain Powers of leasing contained in the last

Will and Testament of the late Most Honourable *John Crichton Stuart* Marquess of *Bute* and Earl of *Dumfries* deceased.

21. An Act for altering an Act made and passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Ninth and Tenth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen *Victoria*, for enabling the Masters and Brethren of the Hospital of *Saint Mary the Virgin* within the Borough of *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* to grant Leases of their Estates; and for other Purposes.

22. An Act for the Relief of the Right Honourable *Richard* Earl of *Glengall*, in respect of his Estates in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary* in *Ireland*, and for vesting the same Estates in Trustees for effecting such Relief.

PRIVATE ACTS,

Not printed.

23. An Act for the Restitution in Blood of *William Constable Maxwell* Esquire.

24. An Act to dissolve the Marriage of *Edward Heneage* Esquire with *Charlotte Frances Ann Heneage* his now Wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other Purposes.

25. An Act to dissolve the Marriage of *Robert Nicholson* Esquire with *Frances Nicholson* his now Wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

26. An Act to dissolve the Marriage of the Reverend *Frederick Grueber Lugard* Clerk with *Grace Price Lugard* his now Wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other Purposes.

27. An Act to dissolve the Marriage of *William Jervis*, a Captain in the Forty-Second Regiment of *Bengal* Native Infantry, and Paymaster and Superintendent of Native Pensioners at *Barrackpore* in the Province of *Bengal* in the *East Indies*, with *Mary Amelia* his now Wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

PRICES OF STOCK IN EACH MONTH IN 1848.

HIGHEST AND LOWEST.

	Bank Stock.	3 per Cent. Reduced.	3 per Cent. Consols.	3½ per Cent.	Long Annuities.	O. S. S. Annuities.	S. S. Stock.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Ex. Bills £1000.
January . . .	202 186½	90 85	89⅞ 86⅛	91 86⅜	9⅛ 8⅝	... ...	98 97½	243 222	24 pm. 1 dis.	38 pm. 9 pm.
February . . .	202 195	90⅛ 82½	90 83	91 83½	9⅛ 8⅛	87 80½	96½ 95¾	245 230	32 pm. 5 pm.	41 pm. 4 pm.
March	195 190	83½ 81½	83⅞ 80⅞	84⅝ 83⅜	8⅞ 8¼	... ...	89¾ 86	232 ...	18 pm. 2 pm.	35 pm. 7 pm.
April	189 183	81⅝ 79½	83⅛ 80⅜	83⅛ 80⅜	8⅜ 8¼	78¼ ...	90½ 85	231½ 227	24 pm. 16 pm.	49 pm. 33 pm.
May	193 189½	83⅛ 81½	84⅝ 83¼	84⅝ 82⅝	8⅞ 8½	81⅜ 79¾	92⅝ 90	234 229	27 pm. 17 pm.	49 pm. 30 pm.
June	193 189	84½ 82½	84¾ 84	85 83⅜	8¾ 8½	81⅞ 81	92⅛ 90⅛	234 ...	22 pm. 16 pm.	42 pm. 28 pm.
July	200 191	89 85	89 86⅜	89⅛ 84⅜	9⅛ 8¾	... ...	97½ 96⅜	245 239	38 pm. 16 pm.	48 pm. 24 pm.
August	199 197½	87⅝ 86⅛	89 86	87⅞ 86¾	9 8¾	... ...	97¼ ...	243 238	38 pm. 19 pm.	40 pm. 21 pm.
September . . .	198 196	86⅝ 86¾	86⅞ 85⅞	87¼ 86¾	9 8⅞	85 ...	... ...	240 235	33 pm. 19 pm.	37 pm. 22 pm.
October	190 183	85 83⅜	86⅜ 84½	85½ 84	8½ 8⅜	80⅝ ...	95¼ 92⅜	237 234	45 pm. 28 pm.	45 pm. 25 pm.
November . . .	190 188	86⅜ 84⅞	87¾ 86	86⅞ 85½	8¾ 8½	84¼ 83⅜	95⅞ 94¾	237 232½	46 pm. 34 pm.	43 pm. 34 pm.
December . . .	192 189	89 86⅛	88¼ 87½	89⅝ 86⅞	8¾ 8⅝	85 83⅞	96¾ 96⅜	241 237	42 pm. 35 pm.	43 pm. 37 pm.

AVERAGE PRICES OF BRITISH CORN.

FROM THE RETURNS.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Rye.		Beans.		Peas.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January	53	5	30	6	21	0	29	2	39	1	46	4
February	52	10	32	4	22	0	32	4	37	10	48	11
March	50	4	30	5	20	4	28	6	36	2	39	10
April	49	7	32	2	19	11	28	10	35	6	36	11
May	51	4	34	1	21	7	27	9	33	3	33	3
June	46	10	30	10	20	8	31	7	37	8	38	0
July	49	1	29	0	20	9	31	0	36	6	37	3
August	51	0	29	10	20	11	30	1	36	2	35	11
September	55	0	34	10	23	4	34	9	33	9	38	1
October	51	4	33	4	21	0	33	0	33	4	42	2
November	52	3	34	1	20	5	30	10	38	1	40	6
December	48	9	32	1	19	10	26	6	31	1	39	6

AVERAGE PRICES OF HAY, STRAW, & CLOVER, ℔ LOAD.

		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
		s.	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*
Hay .	from	50	55	55	65	60	60	50	45	48	50	48	48
	to	75	74	75	80	75	70	80	80	74	72	73	73
Straw	from	24	24	23	28	26	24	24	24	26	24	22	22
	to	30	28	29	30	30	29	30	29	30	28	28	28
Clover	from	70	75	75	75	80	80	75	75	75	70	70	70
	to	95	95	95	100	95	90	100	100	100	96	97	94

AVERAGE PRICES OF BUTCHERS' MEAT.

Average Prices per Stone of 8 lbs. in Smithfield Market, in 1848.

	Beef.				Mutton.				Veal.				Pork.			
	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
January	3	6	to	5	0	3	8	to	5	0	4	6	to	5	6	4	0	to	5	0
February	3	4	...	4	6	3	8	...	5	6	4	4	...	5	6	4	0	...	5	0
March	3	2	...	4	4	3	8	...	5	4	4	0	...	5	0	4	0	...	5	0
April	3	2	...	4	4	3	10	...	5	4	4	0	...	5	0	4	0	...	5	0
May	3	0	...	4	0	4	0	...	5	2	3	10	...	5	0	4	0	...	5	0
June	2	10	...	4	0	3	10	...	5	0	3	4	...	4	2	3	10	...	4	6
July	3	2	...	4	4	3	10	...	5	0	3	6	...	4	6	3	10	...	4	6
August	3	2	...	4	2	3	10	...	5	0	3	6	...	4	6	3	10	...	4	6
September	2	6	...	4	0	3	4	...	5	0	3	2	...	4	0	3	10	...	5	0
October	2	4	...	4	0	3	2	...	4	10	3	2	...	4	0	3	10	...	4	10
November	2	6	...	4	2	3	0	...	5	0	3	4	...	4	4	3	10	...	4	8
December	3	2	...	4	2	3	0	...	5	0	4	0	...	5	0	3	10	...	4	8

SUMMARY of the WEEKLY TABLES of MORTALITY in the METROPOLIS for 1848.—*Published by Authority of the Registrar General.*

Population, 1841.		Number of Deaths Registered in the				
Males	912,001					
Females	1,036,368					
Total	1,948,369	Quarter ending April 1st.	Quarter ending July 1st.	Quarter ending Sept. 30th.	Quarter ending Dec. 30th.	Year.
Increase of Population per cent., 1831—1841	1·55	91 Days.	91 Days.	91 Days.	91 Days.	364 Days.
Districts. West Districts		2316	1934	1906	2123	8279
Districts. North Districts		2946	2431	2609	2641	10627
Districts. Central Districts		2892	2152	2388	2366	9798
Districts. East Districts		3786	2972	3052	3329	13139
Districts. South Districts		4515	3456	3548	4266	15785
Ages. 0 to 15		7481	6235	7207	7455	28378
Ages. 15 to 60		5488	4366	4097	4716	18667
Ages. 60 and upwards		3426	2296	2158	2521	10401
Males		8360	6570	6985	7414	29329
Females		8095	6375	6518	7311	28299
Total		16455	12945	13503	14725	57628

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, and DEATHS, in the Years 1838—1848, in ENGLAND.

Years.	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
Marriages	118,067	123,166	122,665	122,496	118,825	123,818	132,249	143,743	145,664	135,170	137,135
Births	463,787	492,574	502,303	512,158	517,739	527,325	540,763	543,521	572,625	539,258	563,462
Deaths	342,760	338,984	359,687	343,847	349,519	346,445	356,933	349,366	390,315	423,687	399,815

Total Number of BANKRUPTS and DECLARATIONS of INSOLVENCY.

1848.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Total.	Declarations of Insolvency.
January	201	4	74	279	1
February	194	10	70	274	0
March	223	8	55	286	0
April	163	2	49	214	1
May	158	5	47	210	0
June	141	5	36	182	0
July	90	7	35	132	0
August	131	1	41	173	1
September	92	6	41	139	1
October	88	1	27	116	1
November	161	2	26	189	1
December	119	5	52	176	1
Total	1761	56	553	2370	7

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1848.

Quarters.	Barometer.	Thermometer.				Wind.			Rain.
	Mean.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest in the sun.	Lowest on the grass.	General direction.	Pressure in lbs. on square foot.		In inches.
							Greatest.	Mean.	
Winter	29·615	73·0	16·08	89·5	12·5	—	13·0	0·6	6·43
Spring	29·717	83·0	30·03	103·0	25·0	—	13·0	0·3	7·30
Summer	29·800	84·5	33·2	91·8	23·0	S.W.	9·0	0·2	9·10
Autumn	29·747	58·8	22·4	103·08	18·0	S.W.	12·0	0·5	7·24
YEAR		84·5	16·8	103·08	12·5				30·07
—— Mean	29·720	58·8	42·6	68·4	36·7			0·4	

UNIVERSITY HONOURS.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

EXAMINATIONS. TERM,—PASCHAL, 1848.

In Literis Humanioribus.

CLASSIS I.

Fisher, Herbert W. *Christ Church.*
Karslake, William H. *Balliol.*
Ogle, Richard J. *Lincoln.*
Palin, Edward. *St. John's.*
Parry, Edward St. J. *Balliol.*
Stowe, William H. *Wadham.*
Stubbs William. *Christ Church.*

CLASSIS II.

Backhouse, John H. *Brasenose.*
Collyns, John M. *Christ Church.*
Cox, Joseph M. *Lincoln.*
Hall, Edward D. *Pembroke.*
Hunt, George W. *Christ Church.*
Irvine, Alexander C. *Exeter.*
Lawley, Hon. Francis C. *Balliol.*
Mackonochie, Alexander H. *Wadham.*
Morris, William. *Oriel.*
Philpot, William B. *Worcester.*
Poulter, Brownlow. *New College.*
Shuttleworth, Phillip U. *Christ Church.*
Stillingfleet, Henry J. W. *Brasenose.*
Winder, John S. *Oriel.*
Wood, Henry H. *Queen's.*

CLASSIS III.

Barker, Thomas. *Queen's.*
Bayley, Henry E. *Corpus.*
Blackett, Montague. *Christ Church.*
Crapper, John L. *Wadham.*
Coldwell, William E. *Christ Church.*
Fearson, Samuel. *Queen's.*
Fox, Edward. *New College.*
Gale, Isaac S. *Wadham.*
Guy, Frederick B. *Lincoln.*
Hillyar, William, J. M. *Brasenose.*
Hulton, Robert R. *Trinity.*
Jones, David. *Brasenose.*
Kendall, Walter. *Oriel.*
Knight, Valentine C. *University.*
Langhorne, Thomas. *St. John's.*
Mason, Henry W. *Christ Church.*
Norris, William F. *Trinity.*
Owen, Edward. *Jesus.*
Poole, Alfred. *St. Edmund's Hall.*
Poole, Samuel. *Pembroke.*
Powles, Henry C. *Oriel.*
Stanley, Edward J. *Christ Church.*
Williams, Philip. *New College.*
Wilson, Arthur C. *Christ Church.*

CLASSIS IV.

Barrow, John S. *Wadham.*
Blayds, Henry C. *Corpus.*
De Putron, Peter. *Pembroke.*
Egerton, Hon. A. F. *Christ Church.*
Finch, Hatton E. H. *Christ Church.*
Garnsey, Henry E. F. *Magdalen.*
Hill, Alexander S. *Exeter.*
Macray, William D. *Magdalen.*
Papillon, Philip O. *University.*
Plumptre, Robert W. *University.*
Robins, Charles M. *Oriel.*
Tuting, Thomas. *Lincoln.*
Utermack, Charles. *Exeter.*

CLASSIS V.

CVI.

Examiners.

R. Mucleston.
M. Pattison.
J. E. Bode.
J. T. B. Landon.

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

CLASSIS I.

Backhouse, John H. *Brasenose.*
Crapper, John L. *Brasenose.*
Otley, Francis J. *Oriel.*

CLASSIS II.

Barker, Thomas. *Queen's.*
Papillon, Philip O. *University.*

Classis III.

Rich, John. *Christ Church.*
Stubbs, William. *Christ Church.*

Classis IV.

Hulbert, George A. *Trinity.*
Ingilby, Henry D. *Magdalen.*
Mather, Edward L. *Brasenose.*
Tink, Charles F. *Exeter.*
Utermarck, Charles. *Exeter.*
Wilson, Arthur C. *Christ Church.*

Examiners.

B. Price. W. Hedley. G. Buckle.

EXAMINATIONS. Term,—Michaelmas, 1848.

In Literis Humanioribus.

Classis I.

Brady, Edward H. *Balliol.*
Hessey, Robert F. *Magdalen.*

Classis II.

Bateman, Rowland L. J. *New College.*
Cox, George W. *Trinity.*
Dart, Charles L. *Exeter.*
Edwardes, Stephen. *Merton.*
Foster, Frederic W. *Trinity.*
Grant, Alexander. *Balliol.*
Pattison, John C. *Balliol.*
Smith, Isaac G. *Trinity.*
White, Lewis B. *Queen's.*
Willis, Charles F. *Corpus.*

Classis III.

Aitken, Charles S. *St. John's.*
Arnold, Edward P. *Balliol.*
Bosworth, Frederick W. *Merton.*
Bubb, William H. *Wadham.*
Fort, Charles. *Corpus.*
Freer, William T. *Trinity.*
Kennard, Robert B. *St. John's.*
Powell, Edmund. *Lincoln.*
Rotton, William. *Wadham.*
Shand, Thomas H. R. *Brasenose.*
Sidebottom, Alfred K. *Christ Church.*
Stanton, Charles H. *Balliol.*
Turrell, Henry J. *Lincoln.*
Wharton, Joseph C. *Worcester.*

Classis IV.

Baumgartner, Charles A. O. *Oriel.*
Charsley, William H. *St. Mary's Hall.*
Evans, Gowen E. *Lincoln.*
Hampden, Edward R. *New Inn Hall.*
Heelis, John. *Queen's.*
Parkinson, Charles L. *Brasenose.*
Richardson, William B. *University.*
Venables, A. R. P. *Exeter.*

Examiners.

R. Muckleston. M. Pattison.
O. Gordon. J. T. B. Landon.

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

Classis I.

Edwardes, Stephen. *Merton.*
Evans, Gowen E. *Lincoln.*
Shand, Thomas H. R. *Brasenose.*
Spencer-Stanhope, Walter T. W. *Christ Church.*

Classis II.

Bubb, William, H. *Wadham.*
Svaby, Henry. *Pembroke.*
White, Lewis B. *Queen's.*

Classis III.

Classis IV.

Charsley, William H. *St. Mary's Hall.*
Goss, John. *St. Mary's Hall.*
Lawrence, James. *Brasenose.*
Windle, William. *Magdalen Hall.*

Classis V.

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Examiners.

N. Pocock. B. Price. W. Hedley.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

EXAMINATIONS. Mathematical Tripos, 1848.

Moderators { George Gabriel Stokes, M. A., *Pembroke.*
Thomas Gaskin, M. A., *Jesus.*

Examiners { William Nathaniel Griffin, M. A., *St. John's.*
Charles Octavus Budd, M. A., *Pembroke.*

Wranglers.

Ds. Todhunter.....*John's.*
Mackenzie.....*Caius.*
Scott.....*Sidney.*
Barry α... } Æq. { *Trinity.*
Dusautoy } { *John's.*
Glover.....*John's.*
Twisden.....*Trinity.*
Wisken.....*Caius.*
Humber.....*John's.*
Hanson.....*Caius.*
Lamb.....*Caius.*
Ramadge.....*Caius.*
Gibson.....*Queen's.*
Compton, Lord A.....*Trinity.*
Pearson.....*Trinity.*
Watson.....*Corpus.*
Rogerson } Æq. { *John's.*
Turner... } { *Caius.*
Lyde.....*Jesus.*
Leake..... } Æq. { *John's.*
Pearse β... } { *John's.*
Scott, C. B. α.....*Trinity.*
Dunn.....*John's.*
Westcott α.....*Trinity.*
Bainbridge.....*Caius.*
Deacon.....*Queen's.*
Noel β.....*Trinity.*
Hernaman.....*John's.*
Horley.....*Emmanuel.*
Berry α.....*Trinity.*
Watson, A. E.....*Queen's.*
Carr.....*John's.*
Hardy.....*Trinity.*
Arnold.....*Caius.*
Chilton.....*Trinity.*
Carrington.....*Trinity.*
Caldecott.....*Trinity.*
Ripley.....*Caius.*

Senior Optimes.

Ds. Clark.....*John's*
Vallings.....*Trinity.*
Kingsford α.....*John's.*
Cutts.....*Queen's.*
Stephen, W. R.....*John's*
Blenkiron.....*Christ's.*
Graves.....*John's.*
Lee, J. M.....*John's.*
Frost, P. α.....*John's.*
Knapp.....*John's.*
Turing.....*Trinity.*
Hervey.....*Clare.*
Harvey.....*John's.*
Dale.....*Trinity.*
Streatfield.....*Christ's.*
Dent, M.....*Trinity.*
Pratt.....*Trinity.*
Dyer.....*Emmanuel.*
Grainger.....*Caius.*
Lewis.....*Emmanuel.*
Blenkin.....*Caius.*
Rawlinson.....*Trinity.*
Burn.....*John's.*
Vaughan α.....*Trinity.*
Adams γ.....*Trinity.*
Gee β.....*John's.*
Lee.....*Queen's.*
Allen.....*Christ's.*
Davies ... } Æq. { *Christ's.*
Rumsey... } { *John's.*
Male.....*Emmanuel.*
Heygate γ.....*Queen's.*
Campbell.....*Queen's*
Fuller.....*Clare.*
Burrell.....*Christ's.*
Davies, J. L. α.....*Trinity.*
Appach.....*Trinity.*
White.....*Clare.*

Junior Optimes.

Ds. Cridge.....*Peter's.*
Jones β.....*Caius.*
Corry.....*Emmanuel.*
Swain.....*Pembroke.*
Taylor.....*John's.*
Woodhouse.....*Christ's.*
Stanley.....*Emmanuel.*
Fenn, T. F. γ.....*Trinity.*
Binder.....*Caius.*
Heath.....*Corpus.*
Leighton.....*John's.*
Rutland.....*Emmanuel.*
Hudson β.....*Trinity.*
Fendall.....*Sidney.*
Smith, T.....*Queen's.*
Wilson W.....*John's.*

Ds. Little, Wilson } Æq. { Sidney. Emmanuel.
Soames C. γ ..... Caius.
Smith J. ..... Queen's.
Mayor α ..... John's.
Turner R. O. ..... Trinity.
Hughes ..... Corpus.
Hammond ..... Trinity.
Martin ..... John's.
Smyth ..... Trinity.
Bowes, Stanley Hon., E. H. α } Æq. { Corpus. Trinity.
Bridgewater, Smith, O. A. β, Wiglesworth α } Æq. { Magdalen. Trinity. Caius.
Pengelly γ ..... Corpus.
Smith J. B. ..... Trinity.
Marston γ ..... Caius.
Norton ..... John's.
Bishop ..... Trinity.
Hayward ..... Trinity.

Ds. Green ..... Trinity.
Dewes ..... Queen's.
Russell β ..... Trinity.
Hodgson γ ..... Corpus.
Partridge ..... Queen's.
Vincent β ..... Trinity.
Dasent γ, Holme, Richards } Æq. { Trinity. Emmanuel. Christ's.
Eustace ..... Peter's.
Bird ..... Trinity.
Howson α ..... Christ's.
Moncrieff ..... Trinity.
Weston C. C. ..... Trin. H.
Paley, Phillips β } Æq. { Christ's. Trinity.
Heaven ..... Trinity.
Hughes ..... John's.
Klugh β ..... Clare.
Williams F. γ ..... Trinity.
Jones, R. D. ..... John's.
Richards β ..... Queen's.

Classical Tripos. 1848.

Examiners. { Edward Atkinson, M.A., *Clare Hall.*
Benjamin Wrigglesworth Beatson, M.A., *Pembroke.*
Francis France, M.A., *St. John's.*
Francis Whaley Harper, M.A., *St. John's.*

First Class.

Ds. Scott C. B., Westcott } Æq. { Trinity. Trinity.
Mayor ..... John's.
Frost, P. ..... John's.
Davies, J. L., Vaughan, D. J. } Æq. { Trinity. Trinity.
Barry ..... Trinity.
Howson ..... Christ's.
Kingsford ..... John's.
Stanley, Hon. E. H. ... Trinity.
Berry ..... Trinity.
Wiglesworth ..... Caius.

Second Class.

Ds. Vincent ..... Trinity.
Smith, O. A. ..... Trinity.
Hudson ..... Trinity.
Gee ..... John's.
Jones, Russell } Æq. { Caius. Trinity.
Phillips ..... Trinity.
Noel ..... Trinity.
Klugh ..... Clare.
Richards ..... Queen's.
Pearse ..... John's.

Third Class.

Ds. Williams, F. G. A. ..... Trinity.
Dasent, Fenn, T. F. } Æq. { Trinity. Trinity.

Ds. Heygate ..... Queen's.
Adams ..... Trinity.
Paley, Soames C. } Æq. { Christ's. Caius.
Marston ..... Caius.
Hodgson ..... Corpus.
Pengelly ..... Corpus.

Chancellor's Medallists.

C. B. Scott ..... Trinity.
B. F. Westcott ..... Trinity.

Smith's Prizemen.

I. Todhunter ..... John's.
A. Barry ..... Trinity.

Bell's Scholars.

J. D. Williams ..... Trinity.
G. Burn ..... Trinity.

Porson's Prize.

E. H. Perowne ..... Corpus.

Brown's Medallists.

Greek Ode, C. Shreiber ..... Trinity.
Latin Ode, W. S. Collett ... Clare.
Epigrams, H. C. A. Tayler Trinity.
Seatonian Prize. No Prize adjudged.

Camden's Medal.

A. F. Birch ..... King's.

Craven's Scholars.

R. Day ..... King's.
R. Elwin ..... Trinity.

Chancellor's English Medallist.

G. J. Cayley .. .. Trinity.

TRIALS, LAW CASES, &c.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.—IRELAND.

THE fearful state of assassination and crime which had for some time past converted the southern counties of Ireland into an Aceldama (some of the more striking incidents of which are recorded in the *Chronicle* as they occurred) rendered an extraordinary degree of vigour on the part of the Executive desirable, as well for restoring confidence and security to the well-disposed, and to punish the perpetrators of these diabolical acts, as to teach the Irish people by examples too terrible to be mistaken, that the law cannot be invaded without risk, and that its punishments are not only certain but terrible. For this purpose, as the speedy punishment of offenders is ever the most effectual repression of crime, the Government directed a Special Commission to issue to try offenders in those districts in which the bonds of social order were most relaxed.

LIMERICK.

The Special Commission for the county of Limerick was opened by the Right Honourable Chief Justice Blackburne, and the Right Honourable Chief Baron Pigot, on the 4th January. A special jury consisting of some of the principal resident gentry of the county was summoned, and it is a proof of how much confidence was restored by the mere announcement of vigorous measures, that all these gentlemen attended without any exception.

After the Grand Jury were sworn,

The Chief Justice addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the county of Limerick,—You are apprized by Her Majesty's Commission, and by the oath you have taken, that you are now about to perform your part in the administration of the criminal law of the country. Your duty, at all times of importance, must be regarded with peculiar interest and with deep anxiety at a crisis of great public danger. Her Majesty has called upon her subjects to assist in vindicating the violated laws of the land, and to be themselves the instruments of restoring to the country the blessings of order and tranquillity. That we are in such a crisis there is, unfortunately, no reason to doubt. The Legislature, by an Act of Parliament which has recently received the Royal Assent, and become the law of Ireland, contains a recital in these words:—'Whereas, in consequence of the prevalence of crime and outrage in certain parts of Ireland, it is necessary to make provision for the better prevention thereof.' His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant has, in the execution of the power committed to him by that Act, issued his proclamation, with the advice and assistance of the Privy Council, by which the whole of your county, together with very extensive districts in Ireland, is made subject to the provisions of

that Act, which are now binding upon every inhabitant, every inmate, and every stranger within its precincts. Her Majesty's Government, on full and mature consideration of the actual state of things, has issued a special Commission, in order that justice may be speedily administered, and that the urgency of the case may not be delayed till the ordinary period of administering the criminal law. This showed that great danger existed; and, unless this frightful calamity could be arrested, the very bonds of our social system would be dissolved. The principal object of the combination which exists is the destruction of the rights of the landlords, and, if it succeeds, the occupiers of land will become its proprietors. But the combination does not confine itself to these classes. The peace and property of all individuals of all classes are indiscriminately assailed and plundered, and, if these practices be not arrested and prevented, it is impossible to say there can exist in this country either the dominion of the law or the safety of person or property.

"Gentlemen, according to my means of information, it does appear to me that the actual perpetrators of these outrages are comparatively limited in number, and I believe their spirit is as dastardly as their numbers are limited; and that it requires but a steady administration of the law and a decided opposition by those who value the safety of person and property, shortly and effectually to extinguish this evil. But we can form a very imperfect idea of the actual state of the country if we look merely to the number of those who are the actual disturbers of the public peace. Unfortunately, I believe they are abetted by persons who hope to profit by their crimes, and I do believe, also, that a much larger number of persons connive at their crimes, either in the hope of benefiting in the common fund, or from actual apprehension and terror they forbear to give to the law that support and assistance which it is equally their duty and interest to afford, and that they actually contribute to a state of things which must end, in my apprehension, in their own subjugation to that tyranny, for I can call it by no other name, which covers the country, and which must involve all in common misery. But there is another class of persons who, though neither abetting nor conniving at these practices, appear to me not at such a crisis to have remembered their bounden duty. I am afraid that such a state of things as we witness is a decisive proof of apathy and indifference on the part of a large class of Her Majesty's subjects from whom activity and support of the law might be fairly expected. Persons of that description are too apt to complain that the law and the Government have not afforded them all the assistance which it was the duty and in the power of both to afford. But they should recollect that, without the co-operation and assistance of Her Majesty's subjects, and which it is their own duty to give, the law must remain a dead letter, unexecuted and unequal to afford all that is expected in return for the protection which every man in his own sphere, and to the utmost of his influence, ought to give to the execution of the law, and that assistance to the preservation of the public peace. In considering how far that calamity

under which this country has by the Providence of God been lately placed may have been in any way the cause of these dreadful outrages, I am bound here to say that the patience, the fortitude, the enduring fortitude, with which the calamity has been submitted to and borne by a large part of our destitute poor, appears to have been in general in the highest degree exemplary, and I do not find in the calendar before me, nor, after the experience of the last two circuits, have I been able to find a single case in which destitution or distress arising from the visitation of God has in the remotest degree influenced this illegal confederacy, or stimulated any of those outrages. Gentlemen, the deplorable state of things which has obliged us to assemble has been ascribed to various causes of a social and political character. With the investigation of those causes, and with the reasonableness of these opinions, we have now nothing to do. We have no power to investigate; no power to redress. The only redress which this Court can administer is redress to the peaceable, the loyal, and industrious, by putting an end to the system by which they are held in thraldom, and by which their property is rendered insecure and their persons liable to be assailed in all directions.

"The law cannot tolerate its own violation. Wrongs there may be—injuries and sufferings there may be—all forming a just ground for complaint; but it is perfectly plain that, however those sufferings may be aggravated, they never can be alleviated or redressed by a violation of the law. If there be any such who disseminate such an opinion, or who give advice in opposition to these simple truths, they incur in my mind a most serious responsibility; and in my opinion the responsibility and the danger of that advice are not the less pernicious when the crimes are stimulated by, and the criminal has the object of exciting the commiseration of the public, than if the violation of the law were in express terms inculcated by them."

The Chief Justice then called the attention of the Grand Jury to the laws relating to such offences now in operation—to the Whiteboy Acts, the Arms Acts, the Acts relating to accessories and to conspiracies to murder, and other statutes, and then proceeded:—"I have now called your attention to these several statutes, to show you what the crimes are, the punishments which attend them, and the means provided for preventing them. I have not myself the least doubt that the exercise of these powers will have the effect of restoring order and tranquillity. I speak from very good experience. This is not the first time that conflicts such as we now witness have taken place between incendiaries and the law of the land; but the result has always been the same—the law has ultimately triumphed, and their designs have been frustrated. What has happened before will happen again. The law is the same; nor is there less zeal or anxiety on the part of those who administer the law to give it effect. Can culprits who commit crimes hope for impunity when those who preceded them have become the victims of their own violation of the law? Every person who trusts to impunity will, sooner or later, find that he has become amenable to the law, and may find himself betrayed by his associates,

and that he has become the victim of the treachery of those in whom he has confided. It is now for you to proceed to the discharge of your duties, to the firm, faithful, and true discharge of which all hopes for the tranquillity of the country are directed. I trust that the result will be such as to realize those hopes, and that we shall eventually see the country arrested from dishonour, and our common nature freed from the disgrace of such atrocities."

January 5th.

William Ryan, *alias* Puck, one of the most notorious and ill-looking ruffians that ever disgraced this country, was placed at the bar, charged with the murder of a man named John Kelly, in the month of September last, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

The Court was crowded to the utmost possible extent, the culprit being known throughout the whole of the country as one of the worst desperadoes it ever produced.

The Attorney-General, in his address, said, the prisoner stood charged with the wilful and deliberate murder of an unoffending fellow-creature, without one particle of provocation, and almost without a motive. The prisoner and his father held land at Knocksantry, on the confines of this county, partly in Limerick and partly in Tipperary, in partnership with a person named Michael Kelly, as tenants to a Mr. Biggs. About twelve months since, Mr. Biggs thought it right to dispossess the Ryans, and wished Kelly, who was an industrious man, and punctual in his rent, to take the entire farm, as the Ryans, who held only some three or four acres, were not so punctual in their rent. Accordingly Mr. Biggs dispossessed the Ryans, and immediately a hostile feeling sprang up between them and Kelly. A complete separation, a "cool," took place between them, and they passed without speaking to each other. On the 17th of September last, Michael Kelly was shot at and wounded, but not killed. A few days afterwards, the 22nd, John Kelly, the man who was murdered, and brother to Michael Kelly, the co-tenant of the Ryans, was sitting at nightfall in his own house. There was a good fire in the kitchen, and the inmates of the house on that occasion were John Kelly, his wife, his nephew, a boy about fourteen or fifteen years of age, his niece, and a servant boy, also named Michael Kelly. About half an hour before the murder, the prisoner and another man, a stranger, were seen going in the direction of Kelly's house by a woman who knew the prisoner well. The prisoner was not armed, but the stranger carried a blunderbluss. When they first saw her, they separated, but after she had passed they joined again, and went towards Kelly's house. The persons in the house heard footsteps approaching, the dog outside began to bark, and they heard a man whistling as if to quiet him. It was then about seven in the evening, and almost immediately afterwards the door was opened, the prisoner came in, and, without opening his lips, levelled his piece at John Kelly, and shot him dead on the spot. Of the identity of the murderer there could be no doubt, for by the light of the fire he was recognised by every person then in the house. Immediately after the murder the prisoner decamped, and was not captured until the 14th of October.

The facts, as stated by the Attorney-General, were proved by the evidence.

There was one circumstance worth mentioning in relation to this murder. Only one shot was fired. The murdered man died instantly; and, on examination of his body, it was found to have been perforated by eleven bullets, one or two of which afterwards hit the nephew, and wounded him. The blunderbuss which the prisoner had at the time of his apprehension was loaded with precisely the same number of bullets and of the same description, and in his pocket were found eleven more, probably intended for a second charge.

[It is usual and desirable in an account of a trial to give such a summary of the evidence as suffices to show the nature and precision of the testimony upon which the accused has been convicted. In the instance of the trials under the Special Commission such a summary would be not only satisfactory, but interesting. Unfortunately the great extent of the "HISTORY" of the present volume, and the great length and importance of the "STATE TRIALS," contained in this volume, render the omission of this part of the cases unavoidable. This, however, is to a great degree remedied by the clear and impartial manner in which the counsel for the Crown stated the cases against the prisoners. In fact the crimes for which these men were now placed on their trial were so deliberate, and were perpetrated so openly, that it only required that the witnesses should be assured of security, to procure the most direct and certain evidence of the prisoners' guilt. No evidence will therefore be given here, except such as may appear to afford a striking picture of the state of feeling among the peasantry in Ireland.]

Mr. O'Hea, for the prisoner, commented on the inconclusiveness of the evidence.

The Lord Chief Justice summed up the evidence, leaving it to the jury to say whether there was any doubt of the prisoner's guilt.

The jury, after few minutes' consultation, returned a verdict of "Guilty." The prisoner heard it pronounced without the slightest evident emotion.

The prisoner was brought up to receive judgment on the following day. On being asked whether he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he said he had always got his living honestly, whilst those who had been his prosecutors were stealing sheep and geese; that he had never eaten stolen bread; that he had never handled a gun in his life; that he had never been arrested before, and was now prosecuted for nothing at all. If he was to die, the only request he had to make was, that he might be buried with his parents. He was then sentenced to be hanged, which was carried into execution on the 8th of February. This wretch is said to have been the principal in nine murders in the course of last year.

January 6th.

The Court next proceeded to the trial of a man named William Frewin, a small, and hitherto considered a respectable, farmer, in the neighbourhood of the spot where the murder was committed by Ryan, for sheltering, harbouring,

and endeavouring to defeat the ends of justice by screening Ryan, knowing him to have been guilty of the murder. The general circumstances of the case were stated on Ryan's trial.

The prisoner was ably defended by Mr. O'Hea; but the jury, without any hesitation, returned a verdict of *Guilty*, and the prisoner was immediately sentenced by the Court to transportation for life.

This sentence struck such a terror into the peasantry, that they refused to harbour any longer criminals who were in concealment, and many wretches were driven by hunger to deliver themselves up, and take the chance of the law.

Six ill-looking young ruffians, named Michael Lorney, Jeremiah Gavin, Michael Madigan, Daniel Lorney, Patrick Gleeson, all of whom appeared to be about twenty years of age, were then placed at the bar, charged with having appeared in arms on the 14th of November last; but the actual offence was that on that night they attacked the house of a respectable farmer, named Molony, and by force carried his daughter away. There was a separate indictment for the abduction, but the former charge was the only one now proceeded with.

Catherine Molony, the daughter, a pretty-looking girl, about nineteen years of age, and whose appearance and manner indicated that the position of her family was very respectable, stated that, on the night of Sunday, the 14th of November last, about ten o'clock, after she had retired to bed, she heard some steps at the door. A window was broken, and she then got up, and, throwing some clothes over her shoulders, came out of her room to the top of the stairs. She there saw two or three men coming up stairs, and immediately ran into another room, and got into her sister's bed. Some of the men followed her, and one of them put his arm round her, and asked her name. Three or four of them pulled her out of bed—one of them taking her by the hair of the head. She caught hold of the bed, and was dragged with it to the door. She then let go, and, on the stairs, seized and held four of the balusters, until they gave way. They then forced her down stairs to the door, where a man, not in custody, was standing with an umbrella open and a gun in his hand. Two of them then put their hands under her arms, and took her away. She had nothing on but a frock, thrown loosely over her shoulders, no shoes or stockings. They dragged her along a field to a bog, and then she recognised and called some of them by their names. [The witness here pointed out some of the prisoners, who politely bowed their heads in acknowledgment of the distinction.] They were all armed. She had known the prisoners before, as they all lived in the neighbourhood of her father's, and worked for him. They afterwards took her to the house of a Mr. Creagh, a farmer, who was represented to be wishing to marry her, and on imploring him to take her home he did so. She was out until half-past eight the following morning. The country was at the time disturbed. Her father's house had been attacked before.

They were all found guilty.

January 7th.

Andrew Dea was this morning

tried for killing one Edmund Murphy; the Court was occupied during the greater part of the day in hearing the sickening details of this most cold-blooded murder.

The prisoner is about nineteen years of age, but looks considerably younger. He is of small stature, with fine features and an intelligent and pleasing countenance. He evinced not the slightest emotion.

From the statement of the Attorney-General, it appeared that the prisoner's father held some land in the county under the Court of Chancery, but in the latter part of May, or early in June last, he was put out of possession for non-payment of rent. A man named Nornan became the tenant of the land, and immediately there sprang up, as usual in such cases, a feeling of extreme hostility on the part of the Deas towards Nornan and his family. On the 9th of June, within ten days from the time of Nornan's becoming tenant of the land, he and the man who was murdered were walking together towards Galbally, and when within a mile of that town, in the open day, it being then three o'clock in the afternoon, they were waylaid by the prisoner and his brother, Patrick Dea. Until Nornan and Murphy approached they concealed themselves in a ditch. On Nornan and Murphy coming withing six yards of them, they stood up from their hiding place and presented a pistol at each. The pistol of Patrick Dea, which was aimed at Nornan, hung fire; he snapped it again, and again it missed, but the pistol of the prisoner was sure and fatal in its aim. A ball from it struck Murphy in the head; he fell, and was dead in a few moments. The two brothers instantly fled. Patrick was captured, tried, and found guilty; but as it was proved that he had not fired the pistol by which Murphy was killed, his sentence was commuted from death to transportation for life. The prisoner was pursued, but was not captured until the month of November. The jury, without the least hesitation, returned a verdict of "Guilty."

The prisoner heard the fearful announcement without moving a muscle or the slightest change of countenance. He was hanged with Ryan on the 7th of February.

The Court was then occupied for some days in trying prisoners charged with Whiteboy offences, of the most audacious character. In some the prisoners were capitally convicted; in others, on the prisoners pleading guilty to the minor offence, the Attorney-General did not proceed with the capital indictments.

January 10th.

Upon the learned Judges entering the court the different prisoners, who had been convicted, but had not received the sentence of the Court, were ordered to be placed in the dock. They were accordingly put forward together, to the number of between twenty and thirty, and it would be difficult to believe there could be collected in the same space a more ill-looking or desperate set.

The Lord Chief Justice:—"Prisoners at the bar, you have all, with one exception, been found guilty, without any recommendation by the jury to mercy, of various offences—offences partaking of the character of those outrages which have been so prevalent in this country, which have disgraced

its character and destroyed its peace. You have been found guilty upon evidence which all persons who heard it must be perfectly convinced left the jury no alternative but to find you guilty. You are brought here to receive your sentence; and it is no part of my duty to rebuke or to insult you. God knows there is enough before me to prevent every feeling of resentment, and to extend to you motives of compassion and mercy, if your guilt did not forbid it."

The learned Judge continued a most impressive address, well calculated to convey to the peasantry of the country the enormity of the crimes committed and the certainty of punishment.

The learned Judge then proceeded to pronounce sentence on the different prisoners. J. Farrell, who was convicted of an assault in a dwelling-house, with violence, was transported for fourteen years. The men who attacked the house of Molony, and carried away his daughter, were, with one exception, transported for fourteen years. Four other men, for attacking the house of a man named Slattery, were transported for ten years. In the next case, John Collins, for robbery, in which the only mitigating circumstance was that he had no fire-arms, was transported for seven years. Three others, for attacking a house, received a similar sentence. Denis Flyn, who had pleaded guilty to a charge of the like offence, received the same amount of punishment. Thomas Hickey, a man who was convicted of attacking a house and discharging a pistol through the window, and who had been secured by the intrepidity of a young girl in the house, was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, with hard labour in alternate months. Four other men, for attacking a house, received the same sentence. Eight or nine others, who had pleaded guilty to an indictment for stealing cattle, were sentenced to imprisonment for nine months. Three others, for attacking a house and stealing a gun and money, were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with hard labour in alternate months.

The whole of the prisoners, who heard their sentences pronounced with the greatest indifference, were then removed from the dock, and placed in vans that were in readiness, to be immediately conveyed to Dublin, from which port they are to be transported forthwith.

The Court then proceeded with the trial of a man named John Renihan, for the murder of a respectable small farmer, named John M'Eniry, on the 3rd of October last, at Adams-town. The prisoner was arraigned with nine others for this deed of blood, but, as they refused to join in their challenges, they were tried separately.

The facts were stated by the Attorney-General: of all the sanguinary crimes contained in the calendar, this, perhaps, is the most atrocious.

On the night of Sunday, the 3rd of October, a party of armed men came to the house of M'Eniry. The motive that induced them to commit the crime it might be difficult to show, for the only evidence upon it was so slight and trivial that it was almost impossible to suppose that any human being could by such a motive and provocation be induced to commit so horrible a deed; but it appeared that the prisoner was summoned

by, or had had some dispute with, the family of M'Eniry at the petty sessions, a few days before, and the only supposition was that that petty squabble had given rise to the painful transaction which the jury had now to investigate as to the share, if any, which the pisoner had had in it. In the middle of the Sunday night in question, when the murdered man and the different members of his family were in bed, and some of them asleep, the party commenced firing into the house. M'Eniry had arms in his house, endeavoured to resist the attack, and fired some shots from the window; but seeing the number of men outside, and that they were armed, he saw his danger, and having ceased to fire, he endeavoured to hide himself, and did, in fact, hide himself under his daughter's bed. The party at length broke into the kitchen, and one of the first who entered was the prisoner. He came with his armed companions to a settle-bed in the kitchen, in which one of the servants was sleeping, and taking from it a quantity of straw, lighted it, and tried to blacken his face. The servant who was sleeping in that bed, and another who slept in an adjoining room, the door of which opened on the kitchen, saw the prisoner, and he was identified by no less than three inmates of the house. The wife of M'Enity came to the men, and from her they demanded the arms and money of her husband. She gave them a gun, but knowing that M'Eniry had a pistol, they asked for that too. She sent for it, and, as she had given them some 25*s.* of money, she thought they would then have left the house; and they were in the act of leaving when one of the party asked where was her husband. She answered that he was not at home. They insisted that he was, and that they would not leave it until they had had his life. They then began to search for the unfortunate man, and having lighted a candle, found him in the place where he was concealed. They dragged him from his hiding-place to a yard before the house, and there they brutally murdered him. On examination he was found to have received two gun-shot wounds, his skull was fractured in two places, and his back broken.

The horrible details were proved by the widow and daughter of the poor man; and as they gave their evidence a thrill of horror ran through the court at the brutal manner in which the murder was committed.

The jury, without retiring from the box, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

The prisoner heard it with the greatest indifference.

On the following morning the prisoner was sentenced to be hanged on the 11th of February, four days after Ryan and Dea. The prisoner heard the sentence with the same perfect coolness. On retiring from the dock he took a piece of bread from his pocket, and, laughing, said to the other prisoners, "By Gor, boys, we must eat whilst we live at any rate."

The Commission was then adjourned to the 20th of January, and the Judges proceeded to Ennis, to try the prisoners for the county of Clare. They returned to Limerick, and resumed their sittings on the 20th of January.

January 20.

James Skeehan was indicted for

the murder of Mr. Ralph Hill, on the 18th of November last, at Rathard, near Limerick. It appeared from the statement of the Attorney-General that a person named Quaine, who held some land at Rathard under Mr. Frend, being considerably in arrear, Mr. Fitzgerald, the agent, was at length obliged to resort to the law to recover payment of the rent, and in October some corn was accordingly distrained. The day before the murder it was sold, and a person named Flannery, who was in the employ of Mr. Fitzgerald, was the person who purchased it at the sale. A portion of it was removed immediately; the rest was left on the land, and keepers were placed over it to watch it. At that time the prisoner was in some way or other employed by Quaine about his place. Flannery, who had been engaged in making the distress, and who had purchased the corn, wishing at the time of the sale to remove all the corn that was thrashed, asked Skeehan, whom he saw about the place, for the key of the barn, where it was kept. The prisoner answered, "Mrs. Quaine has it, and you cannot get it." Flannery replied, "You must try and get it;" but, not getting it, he pushed in the door of the barn to take the corn. Skeehan saw it, and said, "You shall suffer for this." A woman, a daughter of Quaine's, who was there, came to the door, and said she would take the life of any person who took the corn. Hill, who was a sub-agent to Mr. Fitzgerald, was on the spot assisting Flannery, and, anticipating violence, told him to go for some police. Quaine himself said they might take all the corn that was in the bags, but the rest they should not touch. They accordingly took that corn, and arranged to remove the rest on the following day. On the morning of that day Hill went again with Flannery to remove the corn. When they first came up near the house, Mrs. Quaine caught Flannery by the collar, and there was some struggle between them; but Daniel Quaine, her son, pulled Mrs. Quaine away, saying, "We will soon let them know they shall not take the corn." She and her son then left Flannery, and at that moment he heard a shot fired. Hill, who was a little in advance, fell; he was shot dead, and a man named M'Mahon, who was near him, was also wounded, the shot, before it struck Hill, passing through his hat and part of his scalp. A second shot was fired, and another of the assistants, named M'Mahon, was wounded; the shot went through his jaw and tore away part of the roof of his mouth. Both these shots proceeded from the haggard where the corn was kept, and at that time the prisoner was there. Shortly before he had been seen putting some bushes at the corner, near the spot whence the shots proceeded. Flannery became alarmed, and tried to make off. He had a pistol in his hand, but in his hurry he dropped it, and in picking it up he distinctly saw the prisoner coming out of the haggard. The prisoner had at that time a gun in his hand, he fired, and Flannery was wounded; fortunately the wound was slight. He instantly ran off, came into Limerick, and told Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Cripps, a magistrate, immediately went off with some police, and when within about 100 yards of the spot where the murder took place, they saw a man running along a hedge. They

pursued and captured him. That man was the prisoner. At that time he had but one shoe on, but the fellow to it was afterwards found near the place. At first he denied that it was his, but subsequently admitted it. He was seen to load a gun the night before the murder, and just after it was committed, as he was running away, he told a woman whom he met not to say that she had met him. Before the murder the Quaines had been heard talking about shooting Hill, and a double-barrelled gun had been seen in the house. The police searched the haggard, and there they found a single-barrelled gun loaded with five slugs, and having the appearance of having been recently discharged. The gun had been borrowed the night before from a person named M'Namara by one of the Quaines. A remarkable piece of circumstantial evidence was the fact that, when the prisoner was captured, on one of his hands was a mark as if he had placed his hand on the mouth of a recently discharged gun. About a month before the murder, a double-barrelled gun had been seen in the house, and Skeehan had been seen making some bullets, by pouring some lead into a hole in the floor, and knocking off the rough particles with a hammer. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty."

January 21.

Michael Howard, about thirty years of age, was indicted for the murder of Johanna Hourigan. There was another victim of his bloodthirsty rage.

In November, 1846, a small farmer, named Hourigan, who resided at Ballycullen, in Limerick, was met by a party of five or six men, and so violently assaulted and beaten by them, that his life was in danger. As soon as he had recovered a little from the effects of the beating, he appealed to the law, and swore informations against the parties concerned in the outrage. Three of them were prosecuted at the Spring Assizes in 1847, and on the clearest evidence were convicted and transported. A fourth of the party, named Rourke, contrived to escape from justice and remained at large. In consequence of Hourigan's coming forward to prosecute at those assizes, it became necessary that he should have the protection of some police in his house. He accordingly applied to the authorities, and they allowed him a sufficient number to protect him from outrage. The barrack to which the party of police belonged was not very far from the residence of Hourigan, and the police were in the habit of going to the barrack to take their meals with their comrades. Rourke, and two men named Howard, one of whom was the prisoner at the bar, being aware of this fact, determined to take advantage of an opportunity of the kind for killing Hourigan. They accordingly watched the police leaving the house, and about eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, 1847, having seen the police leave as usual, those three men, armed, two with blunderbusses and the third with a gun, went to Hourigan's house. Fortunately for himself, but unfortunately for his unoffending wife, he happened to be out at the time; he was in an adjacent haggard. They did not see him, but he had the fullest opportunity of seeing them; and although their faces

were partially blackened he was able to identify them all. At the time they arrived at the house, the only inmates were Hourigan's wife, Johanna; his son, a boy of nineteen, who was confined to his bed with fever; and a daughter, a married woman, who had gone to keep her mother company. They looked for Hourigan, and not finding him they were determined to have some victim of their rage; they accordingly shot the poor fellow's wife; but, not content with that, they went into the bedroom inside the kitchen, where the sick boy was lying, dragged him from the bed, and shot him dead on the floor. For this most barbarous murder, one of the Howards, who was a brother-in-law of Hayes, was tried, convicted, and executed at the last assizes. Rourke had eluded all the efforts of the police to capture him. The other Howard, who was a cousin of Marten's, was now put upon his trial. Hourigan proved that part of the horrible transaction of which he was a witness. The married daughter said that she was in the kitchen when the prisoner and three men entered. They asked for her father, and when they found he was not there, one of them presented a gun at her mother and fired. The poor woman fell across the fender, and the men then struck her a blow on the head. They then found their way into the bedroom. She heard her poor brother call out, and then a shot was fired. She ran out of the house, but, the men leaving directly afterwards, she returned, and found her mother lying actually on the fire with her clothes burning. She immediately dragged her off the fire, and at that time she was alive, but she died within a few minutes. The daughter identified the Howards as two of the men that entered the house. A little girl, a daughter of Hourigan, and a boy named Kellehan, deposed to circumstances by which the prisoners were further identified.

There were some discrepancies in the evidence as to time, and of these Mr. O'Hea, the prisoner's counsel, did not fail to take advantage; but the jury entertained no doubt of the identity of the prisoner, and returned a verdict of "Guilty."

January 25.

James Quaine, about 40 years of age, was charged, first, with the wilful murder of Mr. Ralph Hill in November last, and, secondly, with aiding and abetting in its perpetration.

The particulars of this murder were detailed in the trial of James Skeehan, and the case was but a repetition of that which was investigated on the occasion of Skeehan's trial. The only additional evidence being the fact that the prisoner had borrowed, on the night before the murder, a single-barrelled gun from a person named M'Namara, and that on the day after the murder was committed he told him that unfortunately Mr. Hill was shot—that what was done could not be undone, and that he had concealed the gun in a pigstye near the haggard, whence the shots were fired. It was also proved that the gun was found by the police in the very spot where the prisoner said he had concealed it.

The jury found the prisoner "Guilty."

Two men, John and Thomas Frewin, who had pleaded "Guilty" to the charge of harbouring William Frewin, the notorious Ryan

(Puck), were then placed in the dock.

The Attorney-General said, he had read the affidavits made by the prisoners in extenuation of their guilt, in which they stated they were ignorant of the law relating to the crime of which they had been convicted. The Lord-Lieutenant had done all in his power to make known the law upon the subject, but, under the circumstances to which he had referred on the preceding evening, he would ask their Lordships to inflict such a measure of punishment short of transportation as their Lorships should think fit.

Thomas Frewin was sentenced to imprisonment for six months from the date of his committal; John to imprisonment for twelve months.

James Skeehan, James Quaine, and Michael Howard, were then placed in the dock, and the Lord Chief Baron passed upon them sentence of death, and they were ordered for execution on the 22nd of February.

ENNIS—COUNTY OF CLARE.

January 12.

The learned Judges opened the Commission at Ennis. The grand Jurors summoned attended, as at Limerick, without a single exception. The foreman was Sir Lucius O'Brien, brother of Mr. Smith O'Brien.

The Chief Baron addressed the Grand Jury in a most impressive speech, insisting upon the same topics as those adverted to by the Chief Justice at Limerick, and which indeed are too prominent to be avoided.

January 13.

Patrick Ryan and James Hayes were indicted for the murder of Mr. Watson, near O'Brien's bridge, in May last.

The Attorney-General, after some preliminary remarks on the nature of the commission, said:—For a considerable time portions of this county have been disgraced with murders of the most awful character. We are now about to investigate one of those cases. It will, unfortunately, appear that most of the outrages that have been committed in this country have more or less been the result of a combination or feeling that has existed connected in some way or another with the possession of land. In the present instance those two men before you stand charged with the murder of a gentleman named Watson, in the month of May last. It appears that Mr. Watson was the agent of a Mr. Arthur, a gentleman of considerable property in your county. As such agent it was his duty to collect and enforce, when necessary, the payment of rent by the tenants of Mr. Arthur. It will appear that a person named Crowe, who held a farm under Mr. Arthur, in consequence of being in arrear or otherwise, had his property distrained. From that circumstance Crowe entertained a feeling of hostility and ill-will towards Mr. Watson, and he was induced to hire and engage the two prisoners, and another person named William Ryan (Puck), to perpetrate the murder you are now called upon to investigate. It will appear in the evidence before you that on the 17th of May those two persons and another were seen coming from

the direction of Crowe's house. That house was so situated that from it a view could be had of Mr. Watson's residence and the road leading from it to the house of Mr. Arthur. Mr. Watson was in the habit of going, in the discharge of his duty as agent, from his own house to Mr. Arthur's, and he was proceeding, on the day in question, in that direction, when, immediately or shortly after he left his own house, three men were seen coming together across a field with the apparent object of meeting him upon the road; and from the direction of Crowe's house. Evidence will be laid before you, and probably you will come to the conclusion, that the two prisoners and the person named William Ryan (Puck), who is charged in the present indictment, but whom it is unnecessary to try, are the three who came upon that occasion. It will appear that, when they arrived at the road where they were looking to meetMr. Watson, they separated, two of them coming out on the road, and the third being left behind. As they were going in the direction of meeting Mr. Watson, the two contrived it so that one got behind and the other before him. The three men were armed. Immediately upon the two coming on the road and meeting Mr. Watson, he appeared to fear the object for which they were come, and endeavoured to turn back to his own house; but, in turning his horse, the man behind seized it by the bridle and stopped it. Mr. Watson fell to the ground, but he had arms, and he discharged a pistol at one of the three men. It would appear that one of them received a wound from the shot; but immediately after Mr. Watson so discharged it, the person holding his horse and the other attacked him in the most brutal manner, and in a very few moments he was almost deprived of life, The two men had scarcely done so when they were joined by the third, who was keeping watch at a little distance, and the charge which you will have to investigate is whether the prisoners who now stand before you are or are not two of the three who were present on that occasion.

Dennis Flynn, a youth about sixteen. His father's house was near Mr. Watson's. On the 17th of May last he heard a noise in the road. He ran out, and when coming towards the gate leading to the road he heard a shot fired. On reaching the gate he saw three men. One of them was down, and one of the others was "drawing" a blow at him with a gun, but he could not say he saw the man strike him. He ran away, but returned, and then saw that the man on the ground was Mr. Watson.

A little boy named Barton, about eleven years of age, said he remembered the day Mr. Watson was killed. He was at school, but one of the boys called him out, saying, "There were Terries coming with guns." He saw two men on the road, and had never seen either of them before. They were going towards where Mr. Watson was killed. One of them had a gun, and he was putting the barrel down his trousers and the stock under his arm. The boy was asked whether either of the prisoners was one of the two men, but he did not identify them. Two months after the murder he was in Limerick, and he was then shown several men by Mr. Browne, the magistrate, and from them he pointed out one as one of the two men he saw on the day of the murder.

The man he pointed out said his name was Hayes. He knew him on account of his carrying a gun —that made him look sharper at him.

James Lacy said he lived between the place where Mr. Watson was killed and the school-house. On the morning of the murder, as he was going to his breakfast, he saw two men coming up from the road where the murder was committed. One had the barrel of a gun in his hand. The stock was gone. At that time Mr. Watson had, in fact, been killed, but he did not know it. The men went on a field, and were then joined by a third party. Witness identified the prisoner Ryan (Small) as the man he saw with the barrel of the gun. The party who joined the two men in the field was the prisoner Hayes. He had known him before. The third man he did not know at the time, but he had since heard that he was William Ryan (Puck). (This is the man who was convicted at Limerick, and is now under sentence of death for the murder of John Kelly). Dennis Flynn called him. He ran up to him, and then saw Mr. Watson lying on the road, and a stock of a gun under him, broken. The barrel was gone.

James Crowe, a lad of sixteen years of age, remarkably shrewd and intelligent. He said that John Crowe was his uncle; the murder was committed about half a mile from his uncle's house. He had then known William Ryan (Puck) and Ryan (Small) about two months. He saw them at his uncle's house a fortnight or three weeks before Mr. Watson was killed. He also knew the prisoner Hayes. On the morning it occurred he saw the prisoners, with William Ryan (Puck) coming down the side road towards the high road. They crossed a field, and he lost sight of them in a hollow. Mr. Watson came riding up the road, about thirty or forty yards from him; his horse was walking; and the witness then saw Ryan (Puck) jump over a ditch and cock a gun at him. Mr. Watson was at that time about three yards only from Ryan (Puck). The gun hung fire. Mr. Watson saw it, and directly turned round his horse, and was going down the road back to his own house, when Ryan (Small) stopped him on his way. Ryan (Small) had come out of a field into the road, having a pistol in his hand. He seized the horse by the bridle. The horse made a couple of springs, and doubling round, threw his unfortunate rider. When Mr. Watson was down, the witness saw Ryan (Puck) go up to him. Mr. Watson immediately took from his pocket a pistol, and fired. It appeared to miss, and Ryan (Puck) then struck him on his head with the butt-end of a gun. Ryan (Small) also struck him with a pistol. He called out for mercy, but Ryan (Puck) struck him again on the head with the gun. Both the men then ran away together. He saw Hayes standing still in a field, and the two Ryans went up to him. Hayes at the time had something in his hand, but he could not say whether it was a gun or a blunderbuss.

Dr. Parker, who attended William Ryan (Puck) in Limerick gaol for fever, said he had observed a scar on his shoulder, such as would be occasioned by a slight gun-shot wound.

Mr. O'Hea addressed the jury for the prisoners, urging that the evidence was inconclusive.

The Solicitor-General replied.

The Lord Chief Justice summed up. The prisoners were indicted for the murder of Mr. Watson on the 17th May, 1847. There was a difference between the cases of the two prisoners Hayes and Ryan, with regard to their being present at the time the murder was committed. If the jury believed the evidence, there could be no doubt whatever that Ryan was one of the persons actually engaged in and assisting William Ryan (Puck) in the attack upon the unfortunate gentleman. It had been suggested that Hayes was not so far present as to be brought within the indictment; but he must tell the jury that if Hayes were not on the spot, yet if he were one of the armed party assembled, and had, without being one of the two by whom the crime was perpetrated, placed himself in a contiguous position, where he kept watch for the purpose of aiding the perpetrators of the crime, he was, in the eye of the law, present so as to justify the jury in finding him a principal in the commission of the murder. The questions upon which their judgment was to be exercised were two:—first, whether the witnesses had detailed what they had observed so consistently, that it could be made a ground of a certain and satisfactory conclusion; secondly, whether those witnesses were faithworthy, or had given perjured evidence. The learned Chief Justice went over the evidence at length, and put it to the judgment of the jury to give credence or not to the evidence of Lacy; the evidence of Lacy as to the identity of Hayes was insufficient, if unsupported, and it would be unsafe to act upon it; the evidence of the boy Barton who identified Hayes at Liverpool, but was unable to do so there, though admissible, would not by itself warrant the conviction of Hayes; but surely that evidence was supported by that of Crowe. If Crowe's evidence was to be believed, then the statements both of Lacy and Barton were true. Crowe had exhibited some hostile feeling towards Hayes, but it was for the jury to say whether it was such as to render his evidence untrustworthy. As to the prisoner Ryan, Lacy and Crowe were both positive that he was one of the two men who were seen returning from the scene of the murder—who the other was it did not matter. If they thought the witnesses were at all mistaken as to the identity of either of the prisoners, it would be their duty to acquit such prisoner; but if, on the other hand, they believed the evidence, it would be their duty to find a verdict of guilty.

The Jury were absent ten minutes, when they pronounced a verdict of "Guilty" against both the prisoners.

Hayes betrayed considerable emotion, but the prisoner Ryan exhibited the greatest indifference.

Two men, named Shaughnessy and Hassett, were then put on their trial for a robbery of arms, which, from the daring shown in the commission of the outrage, deserves a more special notice than the general run of Whiteboy offences.

In the month of October last, a gentleman named Mead, who had taken a cottage at Cavan, as a shooting-box, for the season, returned home after a day's sport, accompanied by three friends, and, as it was late in the evening, it was arranged that they should all

remain with him that night. He slept in his own room, and in it were placed by the side of his bed three double-barrelled guns. The other gentlemen slept in a parlour. The night passed without their being molested, but at eight o'clock on the following morning the hall door was burst open by a party of six or eight men, who proceeded at once to the bedroom of Mr. Mead and fired a shot. Fortunately he was not struck by it, and he instantly seized one of the guns by his side, and attempted to fire, but, although he had loaded it only the evening before, it missed fire. He, without a second's delay, took up the others, levelled them, but they each missed fire also. The men then struck him on the head with a blunderbuss, and he became insensible, and was in consequence unable to identify any of the assailants. Three other men rushed into the parlour where the other gentlemen were sleeping, but having been seen approaching by one of them, they endeavoured to conceal themselves, but had not sufficient time to do so. The party then demanded money and arms, and upon the three gentleman giving up what they had, they left the house without further mischief. The prisoners were afterwards captured, and having been fully identified by two of the three gentlemen who slept in the parlour, were now tried for the outrage.

From the evidence it was evident that the guns had been tampered with by one of the servants after Mr. Mead and his friends had retired to bed.

The Jury found the prisoners "Guilty," and they were sentenced to transportation for life.

January 19.

Two men, named Butler and Hourigan, were indicted for the murder of a man named Patrick Cleary, in the month of November last. The prisoner Butler is a man about forty-five years of age, of small frame, and emaciated in appearance. Hourigan is considerably younger, and a fine-looking, powerful man.

The unfortunate victim was a respectable locksmith and pedler, residing in Limerick, and the only ground that has been suggested for the murder is, that he and his wife had given evidence in certain causes at the last spring and summer assizes, and that he was suspected of being in the pay of the police.

It appeared that on the 6th of November last he had occasion to go to Broadfoot, a short distance from Limerick, and having transacted his business, he was returning home at about six o'clock in the evening. The night was dark but starlight. A policeman named M'Wheeny deposed that he left Broadfoot soon after six o'clock; that, walking fast, he overtook and passed a man whom he recognised as Butler, and a few paces further on he passed another man, whom he knew to be Cleary. He had walked about ninety yards on, when he heard a shot fired, and a cry of "Murder!" Some policemen were approaching at the moment; he waited for them, and they then went together to the spot where the shot appeared to have been fired. He there found Cleary lying on the ground wounded, and on their raising him up he said he had been shot, and believed he was dying. At that moment M'Wheeny saw the "shadow of two men flitting

across the field." Poor Cleary was taken to the police barrack, and remained there that night, and on the following day he was removed to Sir M. Barrington's Hospital, in Limerick, and there, on the 21st of the same month, he died.

Dr. Gleston, the surgeon of the police barrack, stated that he examined the poor man when he was brought in, and had some difficulty in discovering the orifice of the wound, so charred was it all round —a proof that the fatal weapon had been placed almost close to the intended victim before it was fired.

It appeared that on the poor fellow being found by the policemen, he immediately declared Butler to have been the man who fired the shot, and that Hourigan was with him at the time. The declaration was afterwards twice taken down by a magistrate, but it did not clearly appear that Cleary knew that he was dying; they were consequently informal.

But there was another declaration of the dying man, made to his wife just before his death, and that was now deposed to by her. The description which the poor woman gave of the last melancholy scene in which that declaration was made was most simple and affecting:— "I went to him," said she, "about a quarter of an hour before his death; he took my hand in his, and asked where the children were —we had three. I said, they are with their uncle O'Brien." "Oh! Jenny," says he, "O'Brien will take Mike, and you and the two little ones must go to the poor-house, and may God help you." "Oh! Paddy," says I, "God will help me, but you'll help me too." "Oh! no," says he, "I cannot help you, for I'm dying." "Oh! Paddy," says I, "you say that to frighten me, because it is dark." "Oh! no," says he, "I don't mean to frighten you; I am ralely dying." I then called the nurse to bring a candle, and I says, "Oh! Paddy, if you are dying, if you have any doubt about the men who killed you, don't criminate Mike Butler and Hourigan;" and says he, "It was Butler who shot the pistol, and Hourigan was with him; but I forgive them," and then the nurse brought a candle, and he died five minutes after.

The Jury found a verdict of "Guilty" against both the prisoners.

January 20.

Michael Butler and Matthew Hourigan were placed in the dock, and were asked the usual question why sentence of death and execution should not be passed upon them, but they did not utter a word.

The Lord Chief Baron then, in a most impressive manner, pronounced upon them the last sentence of the law, and named the 17th day of February for their execution.

The prisoners coolly took up their hats, and as they were leaving the dock, turned round and together declared that they were innocent of the crime for which they were to die.

The sentence on Hourigan was ultimately commuted into transportation for life.

John Crowe, James Kelly, and Michael Wilkinson were then tried for conspiring together to accomplish the murder of Mr. Watson. Crowe was a respectable looking man, about forty-five years of age, with a mild and rather unmeaning countenance; Kelly was an ill-looking vagabond, about forty; and

Wilkinson, who is younger, has the appearance of belonging to the class of small farmers.

On their being asked whether they would join in their challenges, they refused to do so, and Kelly and Wilkinson having, therefore, been put aside, the trial of Crowe alone was proceeded with.

The Attorney General said the prisoners stood charged with an offence not in itself amounting to murder, but one which the law considered as equally penal, and the unhappy object of it equally responsible to the offended laws of the country. He was charged, not with being actually present aiding in the murder, but with counselling, procuring, advising, and commanding others to commit it; and the murder having been committed in pursuance of that counsel and advice, he was by law equally responsible with those who committed it, and, in a moral point of view, perhaps his guilt was equally great with that of the unhappy instruments whom he had employed in the perpetration of his horrible purpose. The learned gentleman then stated shortly the facts immediately connected with the murder of Mr. Watson, which were given in the trial of Hayes and Ryan, *supra*. The prisoner was a man in better circumstances, and in a better position in life, than those persons who, generally speaking, had appeared in that dock to answer for the offences with which they were charged; and, if the evidence were true, it would appear that he foolishly thought that, by being absent from the scene of the murder, and being at the time at the house of Mr. Arthur, whose agent Mr. Watson was, he should be able to prove by trustworthy witnesses that he did not commit the crime; but he thought the Jury would come to the conclusion that the very circumstance of the precaution taken by the prisoner would be a link—and a strong link—in the chain of evidence for the purpose of proving his participation in the murder. As far as they had been able to investigate the case, the cause of the murder was an object connected with the prisoner. It would appear that, three or four weeks before it was committed, the prisoner, who held a farm of considerable extent under Mr. Arthur, had had his property distrained by Mr. Watson, as the agent, for rent. Ten cows and a bull were so distrained and sold, and it would be proved that the prisoner was shortly afterwards heard to say, "Perhaps the seizing of this cattle will be a dear subject to Mr. Watson—perhaps he will yet pay for the cattle he has distrained." If he (the Attorney-General) were not misinstructed, it would appear that before the murder was committed several interviews took place between the prisoner and two of the principal perpetrators of it. It was a necessary step in the present case that two persons, named Ryan and Hayes, who was a cousin of Crowe's wife, had been convicted of the murder—another person having been indicted with them, but who had forfeited his life in another county for an offence of equal enormity. It would be proved that, on the night before the murder, that person, Ryan (Puck), and a stranger, whom the witness was unable to identify, but whom other evidence would show to be Ryan (Small), the two actual murderers of Mr. Watson, slept at the prisoner's house. The said house was about a mile and a half from

Mr. Watson's, and from the ground immediately behind it a person going from Mr. Watson's house to Mr. Arthur's could be plainly seen. It would be shown that, the night before the murder, one of the two prisoners who had been convicted told another person to let him know when Mr. Watson was going to Mr. Arthur's. Upon that night the prisoner did not sleep at his house, but in Killaloe, at a small public-house he had there; but he came to his house very early in the morning of the murder, and, unless he were misinstructed, it would appear that the men by whom it was committed, in the prisoner's presence, loaded the arms with which it was intended to take away the life of the unoffending gentleman who was murdered. It would appear that, in consideration of money to be paid to those men by the prisoner, they proceeded to commit the fatal deed. At the same time that they left his house for the purpose, the prisoner also left, and went to Mr. Arthur's, and saw that gentleman, hoping, no doubt, that he should be able thereby to prove that he was not the party who committed the murder. The two Ryans and Kelly left for the fatal purpose; but at a short distance Kelly separated from the other two, and Hayes joined them in his place; and shortly afterwards Mr. Watson was barbarously murdered. It would appear that in the struggle between Mr. Watson and his murderers, one of the instruments with which he was struck, a gun, was broken, and the stock of that broken gun would be produced, and would be proved to have been taken from the prisoner's house, though it was not his property, but belonged, in fact, to his servant Kelly. Those were the circumstances which the jury would have to investigate. They must be satisfied that the murder was committed by the parties who had been convicted of it, and that they or one of them was instigated or incited by the prisoner to commit it. If they had any rational doubt upon their minds of the guilt of the prisoner, he was entitled to their acquittal; but if upon the evidence they believed him guilty, they would discharge their duty to their country with firmness and without fear.

January 21.

The most powerful evidence against the prisoner was his own admissions to a man named Shaughnessy, who had been confined in the same gaol. Shaughnessy stated that he was in gaol when the prisoner was taken there, and that, a few days subsequently to his arrival, the prisoner entered into conversation with him, and after saying that he was taken on suspicion of having had something to do with Mr. Watson's murder, told him some of the facts connected with the transaction. He told Shaughnessy that Mr. Watson had "canted" his cattle for rent, and that he (the prisoner) had gone to him and offered him a note for the money, but that Mr. Watson refused to take it or back it with his name, and, continued he, "I thought that neither God nor man could blame me for killing such a ruffian." The prisoner also told him that Hayes had desired him to be out of the way at the time, and go to some place where he might have witnesses to speak to his presence.

Mr. Arthur, brother to the proprietor of Crowe's farm, proved

that the prisoner came to his place at Glenomeran on the morning of the murder; and his steward further proved that the prisoner remained waiting about there for two or three hours.

The Jury, after a minute's absence, returned with a verdict of "Guilty."

The prisoner, who throughout the trial had shown the most nervous anxiety, was overcome by the fatal announcement.

Thomas M'Inherney was indicted for the murder of a man named Martin M'Mahon, on the night of the 3rd of January inst., at Six-mile Bridge, a few miles from Limerick.

The Attorney-General said that this appeared to be one of the most distressing cases that had occurred during the Commission, and showed the dreadful consequences to which the misguided people of the prisoner's class of life exposed themselves. The prisoner and a number of others went to the house of a person named M'Mahon, on the night of the 3rd of January. They carried fire-arms, but it was right to say that it did not appear that those arms were loaded. They demanded arms: M'Mahon and two of his brothers, who lived with him, resisted them, and one of the brothers was, in the course of such resistance, so dreadfully beaten and bruised that he died very soon after the attack. Some of the police, who were on that night on duty in the neighbourhood, observed the prisoner and the others coming from the direction of M'Mahon's house, and finding them with their faces blackened, took them into custody. They were directly identified by the surviving M'Mahons as the party who had made the attack.

The case was fully proved, and the Jury without hesitation found the prisoner "Guilty;" the others pleaded Guilty.

January 22.

Michael M'Mahon, about forty years of age, and having the appearance of a farm labourer, was placed in the dock, charged with having conspired with two other persons who were named in the indictment, and other persons unknown, to procure the murder of a respectable farmer named Boland.

The Attorney-General said, the prisoner was charged with an offence as heinous as could be committed—that of entering into a conspiracy with others for the purpose of depriving an unoffending man of life. Fortunately the act was not achieved, and the party whose life was attempted survived that attempt. In the present instance, in order to further the ends of justice, he had felt it his duty to avail himself of the evidence of one of the guilty accomplices. He would bring before them as a witness the man who was actually hired to commit the assassination, and he would state that it would have been committed, but that the prisoner had not the money to pay him for the atrocious purpose. Of course the evidence of such a man would not of itself be sufficient; but in addition to that evidence, several other witnesses, who fortunately had the courage and determination to resist the offers made to them, would prove that the prisoner had applied to them to join in procuring the perpetration of the intended murder. The person whose life was so intended to be taken was a farmer named Boland, in good circumstances, and the prisoner and

his accomplices believed that by getting rid of him they might obtain certain lands with greater facility. It would appear that he had gone about soliciting subscriptions to make up a fund to procure the assassination, and the only difficulty that suggested itself to him (the Attorney-General) was, how any human being could ever have had the hardihood to go about for such a nefarious purpose.

John Perry, the wretch who was hired for the assassination, was put upon the table. He was a tall powerful fellow, and well-dressed for a peasant, but his appearance was repulsive. He gave his evidence with the most perfect *sang froid*. He stated that, in November last, the prisoner came to him and offered him 5*l*. if he would shoot Boland. He said he would take it, and would do what the prisoner required at the end of two days. The prisoner did not give him the money, but told him it was in sure hands. He therefore went and gave information to the police.

On his cross-examination, the witness admitted that he did not tell the police until after he had asked the prisoner for the money, and had been unable to obtain it.

Michael Harkin, a fine-looking peasant, swore that the prisoner had told him there was a conspiracy to shoot Boland, but that some money was wanting to make up 9*l*. for the job. The prisoner said Boland was taking three farms, and that the poor people would be better off if he was gone. He also desired the witness to go to Moroney to know whether he would subscribe part of the 9*l*., and he said he would go, but he did not go then. Afterwards, however, he did so. "But," said the witness, "I remembered the charge the pastor had given us, that these conspiracies would be the worse for us, and when I saw the depth it was going to, I wished to be out of it, and got out of it at the end of a week."

A man named Driscoll had also been applied to by the prisoner to subscribe for the shooting of Boland, but his answer was, "For God's sake, don't go on with that bad business."

The Jury, after retiring a short time, found the prisoner "Guilty," but recommended him to mercy. The prisoner treated the whole proceeding with indifference, and, during the time Perry was giving his evidence, joined in the laugh that occasionally arose in court at the unblushing manner in which the witness admitted his share in the horrible transaction.

Seven sorry-looking fellows were next tried for assaulting the dwelling-house of a man named Hennessey, at Ballybog, on the 30th of September last, and stealing from him a gun.

The Jury acquitted four, who were not identified, but found the other three "Guilty."

One of them was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years; another for ten years; and the third, who had prevented Hennessey's being murdered, imprisonment for one year.

January 19.

John Crowe was brought forward to have the last sentence of the law passed upon him. He appeared to be suffering greatly, and was extremely pale.

In answer to the usual question, what he had to say why sentence of death and execution should not be

awarded against him, he said the man who had on the table told the court about the case had spoken falsely, and that he had never seen him before.

The Lord Chief Justice, in passing sentence of death upon him, used language which could not fail to make a fearful impression upon all classes in the unhappy districts cursed with the system of terrorism and assassination which the Commission was intended to put down. In particular he pointed out that the prisoner had been found guilty of the crime of being accessory to the commission of murder—in other words, of having been instrumental in inducing the men who committed the murder of Mr. Watson to perpetrate the crime. They had now before them all the circumstances, from the first to the last, connected with this horrible transaction. It had been traced from the original plot, in which the murder was planned, to the proof of guilt, and the conviction, at present at least of four persons, who were now under the last judgment of the law. Six persons had been charged with being in various ways concerned in this murder. Two of them were yet in custody, yet untried, and of them he would of course say nothing, because the law presumed them to be innocent until their guilt should have been established, if ever it shall be; but of the persons who were engaged in various ways in the commission of this crime, it was well to point attention to the manner in which Providence had brought four to justice in connection with their participation in the crime for which they are now under the judgment of the law. The murder was perpetrated by two men, who waylaid Mr. Watson; one of those, William Ryan, was not here, because in another place he was under the last sentence of the law for another murder; another of them, Patrick Ryan, was tried and found guilty, and he was here under a similar sentence; another, James Hayes, who was near the spot of the murder to assist its perpetrators, was found guilty of being one of the principals in the commission of that crime, and he also was under the sentence of the law. And now the prisoner, who was proved to be one of those who were instrumental in inducing those infatuated men to commit that dreadful crime, was there to receive the sentence of the law that dooms death as the penalty of his participation in it. Eight months had not passed since its perpetration, and four had been made amenable to justice, and the prisoner's life, the last of the four, was about to be pronounced forfeited to the law. Seldom had been presented an example of a more vigorous prosecution of the law in bringing felons to justice.

The Lord Chief Justice then recapitulated the deliberate perpetration of the murder, and commented in severe terms upon the apathy or connivance of the people; and pointed out forcibly the necessity of a general co-operation of the well-disposed to repress the frightful state of crime which prevailed. The prisoner was sentenced to be hanged on the 19th of February, but, as he was not an actual perpetrator of the murder, that part of the sentence which has so much horror to the prejudices of the Irish, "that his body be buried within the precincts of the gaol," was omitted.

Thomas M'Inherney, convicted of the attack on M'Mahon's house,

in which one of the M'Mahons was killed, and the other men who pleaded guilty to the same offence, were then put forward, and

The Lord Chief Baron, after commenting upon the atrocity of their crime, said the sentence of the Court could not be less than awarding against them the penalty of death; the sentence was subsequently commuted to transportation for life.

James Hern, and the three other men who had been found guilty of posting a threatening notice on Colonel Vandeleur's gate, were sentenced by the Lord Chief Justice to imprisonment for twelve months, with hard labour in alternate months.

Michael M'Mahon, who was yesterday found guilty of conspiring with others to procure the murder of Boland, was then placed in the dock, and

The Lord Chief Baron passed sentence of death upon him; which was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

CLONMEL.

January 24.

When the Judges arrived at Clonmel, to hold the extraordinary session under the Special Commission, there were upwards of four hundred prisoners in the gaol, charged with offences of different degrees. The cases tried were those which were most remarkable for atrocity, or which were immediately connected with the prædial offences which it was the purpose of the Commission to suppress. The address of the Lord Chief Justice to the Grand Jury necessarily embraced the same topics as those delivered at Limerick and Clonmel; but it derived additional force from a horrible crime committed the evening preceding, near Thurles;—three miscreants seized a young girl, violated her person, and then murdered her!

The Lord Chief Justice, in his address to the Grand Jury, went briefly over the same points which had formed parts of the addresses at Limerick and Thurles; but took occasion to point out the beneficial effects which had already followed the firm manner in which all classes had performed their duties, from which he augured a more happy future. As this was the last place in the Commission, the learned Chief Justice took occasion to point out, in an admirable speech, the means by which this desirable state was to be acquired, viz., by the union and association of all classes in support of the law; by kindness and moderation on the part of the upper classes, and not only by an abstinence from crime on the part of the peasantry, but by a determination not to connive at crime, nor to protect evil doers. What was required was what, unfortunately, had proved not to be the national characteristics — self-reliance and self-support. But let them make the experiment; let them array the friends of order and peace on their side for self-protection; let them endeavour to prevent the commission of crime—it was the province of the law to punish it.

January 25*th*.

John Lonergan was indicted for the wilful murder of Mr. William Roe, justice of the peace, of Boytonrath, on the 2nd of October last.

The prisoner is a man of slight but active frame, about 25 years of age, with fine features, and an intelligent but very stern and de-

termined expression of countenance. His appearance betokened much mental suffering.

The Attorney-General said, the prisoner was charged with the wilful and deliberate murder of an unoffending fellow-creature. The evidence was in some degree circumstantial, because no human eye saw the murderer discharge the gun with which Mr. Roe was shot; but still it was of that description that it approached almost to actual evidence that the prisoner was the person by whom the murder was committed. Mr. Roe was the proprietor of some property in this county, called Boytonrath. There were several tenants upon the property, and of a portion of it, about seven acres, James Lonergan, a brother of the prisoner, was the tenant. Other members of his family were tenants of other parts of the same property. In consequence of James Lonergan's being in arrear, Mr. Roe found it absolutely necessary to have recourse to law to enforce the payment of his rent. Lonergan still refused to pay, and Mr. Roe was compelled to eject him. A writ of *habere* was issued, and in the latter end of September Lonergan was dispossessed by the sheriff, and possession given to Mr. Roe. Mr. Roe principally resided in Dublin, but he had a residence called Rockwell, near the land from which Lonergan was evicted, and about the 27th or 28th of September he went there and took up his residence. Rockwell was about half a mile from Lonergan's land, and Mr. Roe, intending to retain that land in his own occupation, was in the habit of going thither almost every day from his own residence for the purpose of superintending some improvements. On the morning of the 2nd of October, about ten o'clock, he was proceeding thither as usual, when he was fired at from a plantation on his own property; the shot struck him, and he was almost instantly dead. The question the jury had to decide was, whether that shot was discharged by the prisoner, or whether he was present, aiding and assisting the person who discharged it. It would appear that in the interval between the dispossession and the murder—about a month—the prisoner, upon one occasion, said there were some persons, whom he designated as blackbirds, whom it would be a good thing to bring down, and perhaps it would afford a lesson to others—that Mr. Roe was one of those persons whom he designated as oppressors of the people, and that he ought to be the first to suffer. On the fatal 2nd of October, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the prisoner was seen walking about a field, which was so situated that from the field and a ditch in it he could have a full view of the road by which Mr. Roe would come. Having remained in the ditch some time, until probably he saw his intended victim coming along the road, he moved over a part of the field to the house of a person named Cantwell, which was so situated that it commanded a view of the road for a very considerable distance. A woman named Mary Quirk would prove that, having occasion to go from her residence by the side of the plantation where Mr. Roe was murdered, when she was near Cantwell's house, she saw the prisoner moving towards the road up which Mr. Roe must at that moment have been coming. He was looking up the road. She passed on, and when the prisoner

saw her, and observed that she was remarking him, he came down the road, passed her, and went to his brother's house. There were some children in the house at the time, whom it was necessary for him to get out of the way; he accordingly put them out of the way, and immediately returned to the grove from which the shot was fired which killed the unfortunate gentleman. Directly after the shot was fired he was seen coming from the plantation to his own house, and he immediately took to flight. In about an hour afterwards he was seen some two miles distant in the act of running, and from that day until the 24th of December last, although diligent search was made for him by the police, he had eluded all their efforts to capture him. Several persons also saw him both going and returning from the spot where the murder was committed, the fatal shot having been fired in the interval. But, in addition to the parol evidence, there was other evidence which confirmed him in the belief, strengthened as it was by the results of the trials he had attended in the last three or four weeks, that there was a Providence above, who, in almost every case, raised up evidence against the murderer. From the place where Mr. Roe fell, there could be no doubt that the shot was fired from the plantation, some of the shots having clearly passed through the bushes. There were also in the ditch marks of the footsteps of a man, and close to those footsteps were found a small piece of paper, about the size of a penny—not the wadding, for that was so discoloured and disfigured it was impossible to identify it; the paper had evidently been recently disposed of, and the purpose for which it was used could be merely conjectured, but from the recent marks of powder upon it, and from its shape, it was probably used to cover the priming in the pan of the gun. The paper had some writing upon it, and it was found to correspond with a larger piece that was discovered in the prisoner's house immediately after the commission of the murder. It further appeared that the prisoner had been previously seen putting a gun in order in a room in his brother's house. These were the facts of the case, and it would be for the jury to say whether they were sustained by the witnesses who would be produced, and, if they were, then whether they afforded a satisfactory proof of the prisoner's guilt.

The facts stated by the Attorney-General were proved by the witnesses. The following evidence as to the discovery of the piece of paper is so singular an instance of the providence of God for the punishment of murder, that it ought to be recorded.

The Honourable M. French, a resident magistrate, said that he was on the spot about half-past twelve o'clock, an hour and a half after the murder. The body had been removed, but there was a pool of blood on the ground. In the hedge of the plantation, a few yards nearer to Rockwell, there was an opening large enough for a person to jump through. He examined it, and on the inside he found the grass pressed as if a person had been lying there. The opening was oblique, the bushes of the hedge having been pushed outwards, and from behind a person passing along the road could be distinctly seen. Some of the twigs about the opening were broken, evidently by the

shot of a gun, and directly between the back part of the opening and the spot where Mr. Roe fell. Near the opening he found, on the following day, a small piece of paper (which was produced), and on it were written the four letters, "RGAN," part of some name, and some figures.

Constable Hallam here produced a piece of paper which he had discovered in the prisoner's house on the day after the murder, and it was evident that this and the piece found at the scene of the murder had originally formed one piece.

Mary Nugent remembered being at dinner with some other girls at Lonergan Morris's, about a fortnight before the murder. Upon that occasion a man came and asked for a drink of water. Judy Grady went to the door, with one or two others of the girls, and gave him some milk, and on her return she said the man had been talking about bringing down some blackbirds, and that Mr. Roe would be the first.

The jury retired for an hour; on their return they pronounced a verdict of "Guilty."

The next case was one under the Whiteboy code. Five men were charged with having on the 26th of September last attacked the hut of a man named Mulamphy, near Nenagh, destroyed his furniture, and assaulted himself and his wife and daughters.

They were found "Guilty," and sentenced by the Lord Chief Justice to transportation for seven years.

January 26th.

Henry Cody and Philip Cody were indicted for the murder of Edward Madden, on the 9th of July, 1847. The prisoners, who are brothers, are two hardy and athletic peasants. The case was remarkable, from the murder having been committed before the eyes of at least 100 persons.

The Attorney-General said that the unfortunate man, Edward Madden, who was in humble life, was, in the month of April last, severely beaten by a party of men. He charged several with being concerned in the outrage, and amongst others the prisoner Philip Cody. Warrants were issued for their arrest, and some of the party were taken and punished. Cody, however, contrived to keep himself out of the way. That prosecution of the party was the only cause that could be assigned for the murder. At Killerney, in this county, was a large wood, belonging to the Marquis of Ormonde; and in the month of July last a number of persons were employed by his agent in felling and barking the timber. Amongst the labourers so employed were the prisoners. Madden was also employed as a kind of sub-steward, to superintend some of the work-people. On the morning of the 9th of July Madden was proceeding with many other persons towards the place where the workmen met, and when he came within nine or ten yards of it a shot was fired from behind a little breastwork of branches and bark, about three feet high, which had been thrown up during the night. The shot struck poor Madden, but did not kill him immediately, and he was enabled to run away. Three men followed him, and two more shots were fired at him as he ran along the road. All this occurred in the presence of some hundred people, who were near the spot, but none attempted to arrest or

pursue the murderers! The poor man managed to reach the place where he was lodging, and then, after the rites of the church had been administered to him, he made a dying declaration that when the first shot was fired he distinctly saw Henry Cody discharge it; and that he at the same time distinctly saw with him the other prisoner, and a man whom he did not know. As soon as that declaration was known, Cody and his brother absconded, and, although warrants were immediately issued, Philip was not arrested until the 24th of August, and Henry not until the 12th of September. When the latter prisoner saw the policeman after him he began running, and, being armed with a rifle, he presented and twice snapped it at the policeman, but, fortunately, without effect.

The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" against both prisoners—the prisoner Henry Cody guilty of the murder, Philip Cody of aiding and assisting.

January 28.

William Carty, John Daly, Edward Roughan, and John Ryan were indicted for firing at and wounding Mr. Richard Uniacke Bailey, near Nenagh, on the 13th of November last.

Carty being ill with fever in Nenagh gaol, Daly, Roughan, and Ryan were arraigned by themselves. As they refused to join in the challenges, Ryan was put aside, and Daly and Roughan were then tried together.

The Attorney-General detailed the circumstances of the case. Mr. Bailey was a gentleman of property residing about three miles and a half from Nenagh, and, being agent to several landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, he was in the habit of attending every Saturday at an office in Nenagh to transact the business connected with his agencies, and was generally detained until a late hour in the afternoon, or towards the evening. Previous to the outrage upon him which they had now to investigate, he had, unfortunately for himself, been obliged, in the discharge of his duty to Mr. Rowley, one of his employers, to have recourse to the law against Daly, to recover from him a sum of 60*l.* or 70*l.* due to Mr. Rowley. Daly was arrested under those proceedings, but was rescued from the bailiffs. As far as he (the Attorney-General) could judge, these proceedings against Daly were the cause, and the only cause, that induced him to take part in the outrage upon Mr. Bailey. One of the principal witnesses in this case was a person named Dwyer, who was a party to the attack upon Mr. Bailey, and he would depose that that attack was, in a great degree, planned by Daly with the several other prisoners, and that an arrangement was made between them that they should meet on the night upon which the attack was afterwards made at a certain place, about a mile and a half from Nenagh, about the time when Mr. Bailey would be passing along the road, and that they should then attack him. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th of November, about five o'clock, as Mr. Bailey was driving home from Nenagh in a gig, accompanied by his brother-in-law, a gentleman named Head, as they passed the spot which the assailants had previously agreed upon for the attack, shots were fired, and Mr. Bailey was most

dangerously wounded in the head and neck. Mr. Head, who was sitting on the side of the gig nearer to the spot whence the shot was fired, received but a very slight wound, the shots passing over him and striking his companion, who was not only a taller man, but was raised higher by the driving seat. It would appear that Roughan and Carty were two of the party who met by arrangement to make the attack, and that Roughan's was the hand by which the shots that struck Mr. Bailey were fired. It was the opinion of better authorities upon legal matters, and it was one from which he was not inclined to dissent, that the evidence of an approver, unless corroborated by other testimony, was not of itself sufficient to convict; but in this case other witnesses would be produced who would prove the going of Daly and Dwyer together to the appointed place, and from that circumstance, coupled with Dwyer's evidence, the jury would probably conclude that they were there for the purpose of attacking Mr. Bailey. As to Roughan, evidence would be produced, independently of Dwyer's, from which, if it were of authority, it would be proved that prior to the commission of the offence Roughan was a party to the conspiracy, and was the person who had fired the shots which, to use his own expression, had "downed" Mr. Bailey.

William Dwyer, the approver, was then put upon the table. He was a stout, broad-shouldered fellow, about twenty-five years old, with as villainous an expression of countenance as was ever stamped upon a human face. He stated that ten days before the attack he met Daly at a house in Nenagh, and Daly then spoke about shooting Mr. Bailey. Some days afterwards he met Daly at the house of a man named Connor, and Connor then asked him whether he would shoot Mr. Bailey, and he said he would. Daly, however, was not present when that was said. That was the day before the attack; and it was then arranged that they should meet on the following evening at a place called Cleary's Fort, near the Nenagh road, along which Mr. Bailey would pass. He accordingly went there with Daly, and a short time afterwards Roughan and Carty came up. Roughan had a blunderbuss, and Carty a gun. He himself had a "leaded switch." They loaded the guns at the Fort. They saw two men working in a field as they went. Daly and he had before changed coats, but he now took back his own, and Daly and Carty changed coats. They then went down to the ditch by the roadside, and lay in it behind the wall. Daly was in advance, a few yards nearer to Nenagh, and Roughan and Carty were between him and the witness. He heard a gig approach. Daly called "Halt," and a shot was fired, but he could not say by whom. No signal had been previously agreed upon. Daly found him after the shot was fired, and they then went to the house of a man named Maher, and played cards. On his cross-examination, he admitted that if he had been asked to murder any other gentleman he would have agreed to do it.

January 29.

The first witness examined this day was a tall, reckless young fellow, named Nicholas Garraghan, and his evidence presented a sad

picture of the depraved condition of the lower classes of this country. He said that Daly was married to his aunt, and that he had been living with him for two months before the attack. He had several conversations with Daly about Mr. Bailey's being shot. Daly said Mr. Bailey was running him out of his house and home on account of a writ, and he must have him shot. He asked witness to do it, and he said he would, but that it would be a bad job to him (Daly), as he would be the first taken up, on account of the writ. About a fortnight before the outrage was committed, Mr. Connor, who was also related to him, offered him a suit of clothes if he would shoot Mr. Bailey, but he refused unless they would give him money enough to take him out. That was agreed to, and Connor told him that he was then going to meet two other boys about the same business. They afterwards met by appointment at a public-house in Nenagh. Roughan, Carty, Ryan, and Daly were there, and all except himself were drinking whisky. Roughan said it would be a good thing to shoot Mr. Bailey, as he had been tumbling houses at Dungarrah. They pressed him to go with them; he at first refused, but on their importuning him he at last consented. Roughan had a gun, and Carty said he had a case of pistols. They accordingly started from Nenagh for the purpose of shooting the unfortunate gentleman, but they were so drunk that the witness said he would not go further, and they all turned back. From that time he did not see any of the party until the Thursday after Mr. Bailey was attacked; but on that day he met Roughan, Ryan, and Carty at Haye's public-house in Nenagh, and Ryan then asked him why he had turned back on the first night. His answer was that they were too drunk, and he was afraid of the police. Roughan said, "Didn't I do the job well—I downed him." "Whisht," said Ryan. "Oh, no fear," said Roughan, "there's nobody here to speak of it," and he repeated his words, "I did it well, I downed him." Ryan then said, "Oh, as to that, we all had a hand in it. He is not dead yet, but he may be down in a short time."

On his cross-examination he said he agreed to murder Mr. Bailey because Daly and Connor, who had asked him to do it, were related to him.

"Then," said Mr. Rolleston, "I suppose you'd murder me if they had asked you?"—"By gob, I would," was his reply.

The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" as to Daly, but of "Not Guilty" as to Roughan.

January 31.

Terence Corboys was indicted for the murder of Patrick Gleeson on the 17th of October 1846. His unfortunate victim was a person in humble life, and the only offence he had given was, that he filled the unpopular office of process-server under the sheriff, and in the course of his duty had served a notice on the prisoner's father. The murder was committed in the open day—not only in the presence of many men, women, and children, but they actually moved a short distance from the spot in order to give the assassin sufficient room for its perpetration.

On the 15th of October, 1846, Gleeson, in the discharge of his invidious duty, proceeded from his residence in Nenagh to serve some

notices at the village of Garrafanna, one of the worst localities in the county. On that occasion he was pelted with mud and dirt by a number of women who had assembled together for the purpose, but he was allowed to perform his duty and return home without an attempt having been made on his life. Two days subsequently he had to revisit the village for the purpose of serving additional notices. His coming was expected, and the prisoner was prepared to prevent his ever returning alive. Gleeson, on the morning of Saturday, the 17th of October, between eight and nine o'clock, revisited Garrafanna, transacted his business, and was on his return, when, at a short distance from the village, the prisoner came out of a ditch by the side of the road and presented a blunderbuss at him. He entreated the prisoner to spare his life, and promised that never again would he disturb the peace of the village as a latitat server. But the prisoner was not to be moved; he told the poor wretch "he had had his life long enough," and instantly, in the words of the witness, "blowed" the contents of his blunderbuss through him. The poor fellow, though he was shot, did not immediately fall; the prisoner ran up to him, knocked him down, and whilst he lay on the ground fractured his skull with the butt end of his blunderbuss. There were a number of women and children within fifteen or sixteen yards of the spot, and the prisoner, before he fired, called to them to move further off. The prisoner absconded, and was not discovered until April last, when he was arrested in Wales.

John Cleary said, he was a fellow passenger with the prisoner from Waterford to Bristol, in October, 1846. There was a great storm, and the prisoner was very much frightened. The captain wanted them to assist in managing the sails, but the prisoner could not for fear. He was on his knees, calling to God to save him. Witness thought there must be something on his mind, and asked him what was the matter with him; but he said "Nothing." On reaching Bristol they went on to Newport, and there lodged at the same house, and in the night, as they slept together, the prisoner told him that he had left Ireland for shooting a man named Gleeson, and that he had shot him with a blunderbuss.

The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner "Guilty."

The scene which the Courthouse presented this morning has scarcely ever been paralleled. Five human beings, four of whom were convicted of murder, and the fifth of an attempt to commit that crime, stood side by side in the dock to hear the dreadful sentence of the law which consigned them to a violent and ignominious death.

When they were asked what they had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, one of them said, "A long day, my Lord," another declared his innocence, and the others were silent.

The Lord Chief Justice said: John Lonergan, you have been tried and found guilty of the wilful and deliberate murder of William Roe; you, Henry Cody and Philip Cody, have been found guilty of the wilful murder of Edward Madden; you, Terence Corboys, have been found guilty of the wilful murder of Patrick Gleeson; and you, John

Daly, have been found guilty of a malicious and wilful assault on the person of Richard Uniacke Bailey, with intent to murder. I feel it impossible to conceive a more awful or melancholy spectacle than you now exhibit. Five men, in the prime of life, in the vigour of manhood, stand at that bar to hear the sentence by which your days will be numbered and your lives cut short. I would that in the consideration of any of your cases I could discover one mitigating fact, one gleam of humanity, but I am constrained to say that the case of one and all of you presents crime of the most atrocious character, instigated by a vindictive and sanguinary spirit; in every one of your cases there was deep premeditation; and a long interval between the formation and execution of your murderous design—an interval, God knows, long enough to awaken in you some sense of pity and compassion, some degree of compunction and remorse, but all failed; you went forth to your fell and deadly purpose—a purpose, too, accomplished by means so desperate that incorrigibly wicked must be the hearts of those by whom it was plotted and perpetrated. The whole course of your crimes has been marked with unrelenting cruelty, and with that cowardice which is always attendant upon a cruel and vindictive spirit. You armed yourselves with deadly weapons, you attacked your victims when they were not prepared, when they were defenceless and incapable of resistance, when they expected no danger, and you sent them with all their sins upon their heads into the presence of Almighty God. You stand there convicted, not of murder caused by sudden resentment or excitement, or by the infirmities of our nature, but of that worst species of crime, the crime of assassination—the most horrible and hateful shape the crime of murder can assume. In the prime of manhood you all stand there branded with the character of assassins, a disgrace to yourselves, to your country, and to your nature. Oh! that the spectacle which now presents itself may work out the great ends of reformation, and the prevention of crime—that those who are pursuing the course that has led to your destruction may see, in the fate which shortly awaits you, that if they will not be turned and deterred by other motives from their career of guilt, the course of the law, though slow, is sure, and that sooner or later the murderer will be tracked, detected, and brought to condign punishment. But there are other classes who ought to take a lesson of warning from your fate; there are those who have taught you to "avenge your wrongs," who have justified, palliated, and excused your crimes, and they must be responsible for the consequences—those consequences which are exhibited in your dreadful cases. Such doctrine and such teaching has been productive of such cases as yours. But there is another class upon whom I wonder that all that has occurred has made no impression. Some of you have wives—some of you have parents—some of you have children—you have friends and relatives. Have they done their duty, and warned you against the crimes that have brought you to destruction? Have they, who knew your designs, warned you against the perpetration? Have they endeavoured to prevent them, and used their influence to save you? Sorry am I

to say that, from what I have witnessed, the friends and relatives, who ought to have been true to you, who ought to have been your protectors, have been the first to concur in bringing you to justice; for if they did not prevent, they have in some degree caused those crimes which have brought you here. Let your fate be a warning to them; and whatever may be the calamity and affliction which your death may produce to your friends and relatives, let it be a warning to save from destruction others who are traversing the same course."

His Lordship then passed upon them sentence of death in the usual form, directing all of them but Daly to be buried within the precincts of the gaol. Henry and Philip Cody and John Lonergan were executed on the 1st of March, Corboys and Daly on the 4th of the same month.

Lonergan and Daly listened to the address of the learned judge with the most distressing watchfulness, and as he announced their fate Daly raised his eyes, and appeared to be repeating to himself some short prayer. The other three unhappy men heard their doom with the same stolid indifference that had marked their conduct during their trial.

Six men from the neighbourhood of Coodborne, in the Barony of Lower Ormond, were then charged with assaulting the dwelling-house of a man named Ralph, on the 25th of October, and stealing certain property therefrom. The jury found all the prisoners "Guilty" of the charge.

Sentence was deferred, and on their being removed from the dock four other "boys," from the same barony, were tried for an offence of the same description.

STATE TRIALS.

COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH.

DUBLIN, *May* 15th.

Before LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BLACKBURNE *and a Special Jury.*

THE QUEEN *v.* WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN.

Mr. Perrin opened the proceedings by informing the Court and Jury that the traverser at the bar, Mr. William Smith O'Brien, had been arraigned upon an *ex officio* information, charging him with having delivered a speech on the 15th of March, in the parish of Saint Thomas, for the purpose of exciting hatred and contempt against the Queen in Ireland, and inducing the people to rise in rebellion. The traverser had pleaded "Not Guilty."

The Attorney-General said that, as Mr. Perrin had informed them, the traverser at the bar stood there to answer a charge that he felt it to be his duty to exhibit against him—namely, that upon the 15th of March, at a meeting of the Irish Confederates, he delivered a speech of a most seditious character and tendency. They charged that in the delivery of that speech he was actuated by motives and feelings that rendered him responsible in a criminal court for his conduct upon that occasion; and that was the only matter which they had to determine, namely, as to the object, motives, and intentions with which that speech had been delivered; because, as to the actual speech itself, he really thought it would not be denied or controverted by Mr. O'Brien or his counsel, that the tendency of the speech, and the object in delivering it, was to excite disaffection, hatred, and contempt of the Government of Her Majesty; that the tendency and object of that speech was to excite the people to rise up in rebellion against the lawful Sovereign; that another object was to induce the people to endeavour by force of arms to cause and procure changes to be made in the constitution of the country. They also said that one of the objects was to induce the military and constabulary to join in such attempt; and they further said, that another of the objects was to induce the people to believe that, if they made such attempts, they might rely upon the co-operation and assistance of the military and police. If he should be able to prove to the jury, beyond all doubt, from the speech which that gentleman had delivered, that such was the object with which it had been delivered, no doubt could remain as to what their duty would be upon that occasion: their duty would be, regardless of consequences, and in accordance with the solemn obligation of the oath which they had taken, to do justice to their country by a verdict of guilty. He entertained no doubt that he would be able to prove that the speech had the tendency which

he ascribed to it; if so, he could not persuade himself, if the jury whom he addressed—holding as they did such a stake in the country, possessed of property and station—were satisfied of the truth of the charge, that they would shrink from the honest, honourable, and conscientious discharge of their duty. Nobody was more unwilling than the humble individual who then addressed them, without the most dire necessity, to bring before a jury of his countrymen what was called a State prosecution, either for matters published in the public press or spoken by a person, than both himself and the Government of whom he was the servant; he would further say, that the Government had forborne as long they could from instituting that prosecution, and appealing to the laws of the country in consequence of the daily and perpetual violation of the laws, both by papers and the public speeches of several persons who were connected with the society of which Mr. O'Brien was, if not the leader, at least the most distinguished member. So long as the proceedings of the society were confined to the Government, or to individual members of the Government, they were determined to rest upon the consciousness of having discharged their duty honestly and honourably, according to the best of their means, for the protection of society; but when that society, of which the traverser was a member, were not content with abuse of that description, and had recourse to that with which he was then charged—namely, with an attempt to excite sedition and rebellion, and plunge the country into civil war—he believed he was justified in saying that further forbearance on the part of the Government would have been in the highest degree criminal. He had mentioned already to the jury the object and intent by which they alleged Mr. O'Brien had been influenced in delivering the speech; before, however, he called their attention to the speech itself, he was justified in reminding them of the time, place, and occasion upon which the speech was delivered. It was delivered at a meeting of a body who called themselves the Irish Confederation. That society was professedly established by seceders from an association of which Mr. O'Connell was generally supposed to be the head, and was formed principally because the proceedings of that association were confined within the strict bounds of the law. Mr. O'Connell persuaded himself that he would be able, by peaceable and constitutional means, to obtain changes which he fancied would be beneficial to the country. Such objects might be properly so attempted; but it was another thing when they were attempted to be gained through the medium of rebellion and civil war. The speech was delivered by Mr. O'Brien at a meeting of the Irish Confederation, and the purport of it, as proved by the words that fell from the lips of Mr. O'Brien himself, was, that it was the right of a nation situated as Ireland was to obtain by force of arms whatever concessions might be refused by England. The time was not less important; it was within a short fortnight after the time when monarchical institutions were overthrown in France, and a republic established in its place; but with those circumstances they had nothing to do; but he trusted they would not lend themselves to any

party whose object it was to effect a similar revolution in this country, by the intervention of a civil war. The object for which the meeting was assembled was to vote an address from the Confederation to the citizens of the French Republic. Bearing this in mind, when he should read to the jury the portion of the speech delivered by Mr. O'Brien, he asked them calmly and deliberately to lay their hands upon their hearts and say, did any of them entertain a doubt as to the object with which the speech was delivered? As he had mentioned, a speech was delivered by Mr. Smith O'Brien, at a meeting of the Irish Confederation which was held on the 15th of March last. Mr. O'Brien, who spoke first, proposed the adoption of an address that had been agreed on by the committee of the Confederation, to be presented to the citizens of the French Republic. Mr. O'Brien commenced his speech on that evening, by stating that a communication had been received from the Aughrim Confederate Club. This address was important, inasmuch as it would be a key to the whole speech upon which he proposed to comment hereafter. This manifesto contained, amongst other language, the following expressions:—"This is our opinion, that the soil of Ireland, and every part thereof, and all profits and emoluments to be derived therefrom, belong to the Irish people, and not to the citizens of any other country whatever. We believe that the right to make laws for the Irish nation belongs to the Irish people alone, and that the legislation by the English Parliament for Ireland is an usurpation which the Irish people have a right to overthrow. We believe that the allegiance of Irishmen is due to Ireland alone, and that any one who gives his allegiance to another country is guilty of treason to his own." It would be for the jury by-and-by to declare whether by these statements Mr. Smith O'Brien did not in direct terms imply that Ireland was one of those oppressed nations whose right it was to assert their liberty by arms. He would not trespass on the time of the jury by going through the whole of Mr. O'Brien's speech, as portions of it had no immediate bearing on the charges then preferred against him, but he would merely call their attention to those parts of it which had reference to such portions as appeared to his mind clearly and beyond all doubt to show the objects and intentions of the speaker. In one place he said—"Now, with respect to the landlords of this country, I have been disappointed by the course they have taken, with reference to the national affairs, during the last twelve months. There are some of them who don't seem capable of generous emotions; yet we must endeavour to win this class to us. It is not unseasonable that I should suggest to them that it is exceedingly unwise and unsafe for any of them to take part against the Irish people. I do not apprehend that my countrymen will resort to butchery or massacre; but I do think it probable that if they (the landlords) take part against the Irish people, and that the Irish nation should triumph, that then it is likely their properties will be carried to the national treasury." Now let him ask the jury, in sober earnestness, what was the object of this advice? What opportunity was to occur that

was to give rise to such circumstances, and render it unsafe and unwise for the landlords of Ireland to take part against the Irish people? What, also, was the meaning of the expression, that the property of the landlords was to be carried to the Irish treasury? Might he ask was it the object of Mr. O'Brien that one of the fruits of the revolution of which he talked should be this—that unless those who, by their honest industry, had accumulated the means of supporting themselves and families, chose to join with him in his revolutionary attempts, their properties should be confiscated to the national treasury? Was such an avowal an encouragement to any but a deluded fool to lend his countenance to such a proceeding? The next paragraph of Mr. O'Brien's speech, immediately in connection with the subject matter of the present indictment, had reference to the soldiers of Her Majesty's army, and the constabulary of Ireland. He said, "Now I will invite you also to fraternize with other classes whom you have been in the habit of considering as hostile." What did Mr. O'Brien mean by the term "fraternize?" Did he mean it as an advice to his deluded hearers that they should endeavour to seduce the military from their allegiance to the British Crown?—"As I said before, I don't believe that the British soldiers throw off the feelings of humanity when they put on their red coats." And, alluding to the Scotch soldiers, who were said to be much relied on by the Government, he stated, "Can you forget that these Scotch soldiers are also children of the Gael, that they speak the same language that is spoken throughout part of the north and west of Ireland? Can you believe that these noble men, after receiving in this country the greatest kindness and hospitality from her people, will be prepared to butcher in cold blood the people of this nation, when contending for their legitimate rights? I, for one, will not believe it; and I therefore say it is your business to fraternize with the soldiers of the British army." What would the jury say was the object of this allusion? Was it not either to induce the British army to take part in the intended outbreak, or was it, on the other hand, to alarm those who were indisposed to take part in his proceedings—that, in point of fact, the people might rely on the assistance and co-operation of the soldiers? "You have been in the habit, many of you, of looking on the police force as a hostile force; I say that sentiment ought to be discharged from your bosoms. The police force are Irishmen, like yourselves. There are 10,000 of them. They are as fine a body of men as ever held a musket, and if their energies were properly directed they would become the safeguard of this country. Therefore, I will not invite you to consider these men as your enemies. Of course, as long as the present state of things exists, they are quite sure of losing their places if they showed any sympathy with the people; but if they knew that the time was rapidly coming, when every exertion made by such a force as that to vindicate the freedom of this country would be appreciated and prized, and become the subject of future honour throughout all generations to them and their posterity, I cannot believe that 10,000 Irishmen, clad in their native green, would be

found the enemies of Irishmen." Was it possible, he (the Attorney-General) would ask, that any rational being could use such expressions as these except as an inducement to the police force to join in an outbreak for the sake of a future reward, which was in store for them should they do so? Mr. O'Brien then proceeded to call on Irishmen to fraternize with the people of England, and next he asked them to fraternize with the French people, in the following terms:—"And now I come to another class of fraternity, to which I apprehend none of you will object. I mean that we should fraternize with the French. Now I am sorry to find that some observations that fell from me on the last evening have been misunderstood with reference to a French invasion. I meant to say this, and I repeat it to-night, that if this country had a Parliament of its own, and that if an unfounded aggression, an unprovoked aggression, were made on England, we having such a Parliament, that it is exceedingly probable that the English people would find that the Irish were their best allies whenever the invasion might come. But I said this, and I repeat it to-night, that so long as Ireland has not a Parliament of her own, if England be threatened with an invasion, it is my opinion that the people of this country will not lift a hand to assist them. I know, for my part, I will not give them any hint to assist them, and I tell them more, that I believe so long as this country has no Parliament of its own, the French army would not be considered by the people of Ireland invaders on their soil; but I tell you it is not on foreign aid that you ought exclusively to rely:

> 'Hereditary bondsmen, know yè not,
> Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?'"

Was this language to be used by a subject who had sworn allegiance to Her Majesty? or were they to assume that because Mr. Smith O'Brien had persuaded himself that a Repeal of the Union would be advantageous to Ireland, he was entitled to use it at a moment when no human mind could tell but that in one short week or fortnight England might have been involved in a war with France? The Attorney-General then read extracts from Mr. S. O'Brien's speech, in the course of which that gentleman quoted the opinions of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Lamartine upon the policy of affording aid to foreign Powers. Mr. O'Brien also advocated the necessity of forming an Irish brigade in America. Now (continued the Attorney-General), was this Irish army in America for ornament, or to assist Mr. O'Brien and his dependents when they formed the new republic? This he (the Attorney-General) contended was the real object, to induce those (the Americans) to establish an army in America, which could not legally be established in Ireland, and which he most confidently and respectfully submitted was merely a subterfuge that men of sense and judgment would clearly comprehend. The traverser was a gentleman of education and station, and he knew that if in direct terms he advised the formation of an army in Ireland, he would be placing himself within the bounds of treason, and perhaps forfeit his life; whereas, acting more prudently,

he kept within the law for misdemeanor, which only subjected him to imprisonment. This was the subterfuge that was had recourse to to avoid danger; so that, instead of advising the formation of a brigade in Ireland, he advised its formation in America, and it was to be wafted to the shores of Ireland when the Irish republic was established. The learned counsel upon the other side would scarcely attempt to justify the language he had read; and, as jurors, he was sure, even if they considered a change in the constitution advisable, they would agree with him that the course pursued by Mr. O'Brien to produce that change was illegal, and was such as to disturb the peace of the country. The learned judge would inform them of the law of the case, which he (the Attorney-General) submitted was clear, and showed the illegality of the traverser's conduct—showed it to be opposed both to law and his oath of allegiance, in which he swore to defend Her Majesty, her crown, and dignity, against all conspiracies and dangers. Most of the gentlemen whom he had the honour to address had taken the same oath, and he was sure they would not fail to sustain it by finding according to the law and the evidence. "If you think (said the Attorney-General) the motives such as I have stated, I entertain no doubt that you will do your duty and give a verdict for the Crown; but if I am mistaken—if by any possibility you conclude that the language of this speech bears another meaning—if you think the intent was to attain what was sought by lawful and constitutional means—if you believe this was a candid and proper discussion of public matters, legitimately carried on, you will give your verdict accordingly; and, though that verdict should be against the Crown, I shall be perfectly satisfied that I am wrong in the conclusion I draw from the speech—that I, as an advocate, look upon it in a different light from the jurors. But I entertain no doubt on the subject; I sincerely say I do not entertain a shadow of doubt that your verdict will be such as it ought."

The speech was proved by Mr. G. J. Hodges, a shorthand writer, employed by the Government, who attended the meeting of the Confederation in that character, and avowedly for the purpose of taking down the proceedings of the society. The counsel for the prisoner admitted the speech. The only other witness was Edward Bannon, Inspector of Police, who also proved the delivery of the speech.

Mr. Butt, Q.C., addressed the jury on behalf of the traverser, and said, in this case he was counsel for the traverser, Mr. O'Brien, and it was his duty to endeavour to satisfy them that he had not committed a crime for which they ought to find him guilty. He was deeply anxious for the issue. He appeared to defend no ordinary man at the bar of this court that day. At the bar of this Court stood arraigned for sedition a man high in the esteem of all who knew him, a man of ancient family and lineage—a family and lineage so ancient that the Viceroy who prosecutes him is proud to boast relationship to his blood; not a man who has nothing to lose, but a man of fortune, a man of station, a man with everything that can make life desirable, and who has embarked and risked

all he possesses this day, in that, whether it be right or wrong, which he believes to be for his country's good. And when he reflected that the effect of a verdict of guilty would be to consign such a man to a prison, he was, he confessed, anxious for them, for himself, and for the country—for all could not be right in a country in which such a man as Mr. O'Brien was guilty—if guilty they pronounced him to be—of sedition. The real question on which they were to pronounce their opinion was, whether the language imputed to his client was seditious or not. It was not a question to be decided on any technical maxim of the law. They had a very difficult duty to perform—their verdict must be grounded on public considerations. Let him tell them, in the plainest and most distinct terms that language could supply him with, that, whether this speech be seditious or not, they and they alone were the judges. The Attorney-General had not given them a definition of sedition; but he would give them one, and in doing so he would ask them to consider if Mr. O'Brien's speech was not language which any freeman had a right to use? And he would also adduce instances of much stronger language being used by the most illustrious of their fellow countrymen in former times. He would now call their attention to the speech complained of, not so much to the parts read as the parts omitted by the Crown—and also to the Youghal address. With regard to the latter document, no jury could find Mr. Smith O'Brien guilty upon account of it, even supposing it were seditious, because it did not contain his words; but, even if it did, he would like to know if in England it was said, "The right to make laws for Englishmen belongs to England, and to the people of no other country," would the English Attorney-General dare to stand up in an English court, and call upon an English jury to convict the man who had said so? He (Mr. Butt) would show them presently that Lord Plunket, Chief Justice Bushe, and Saurin had demanded the same thing for Ireland; and if so, would any jury convict Mr. O'Brien for merely repeating the sentiments, for saying what those illustrious Irishmen had frequently said? The right of an oppressed nation to assert its liberties by arms was the admitted theory of the British constitution, which recognised that right when governors transgressed the rule of law. The revolution of 1688 was nothing else than an assertion of the people of their right to vindicate their liberties by arms, and there was a time when an Attorney-General would have been impeached for attempting to dispute their right. Works were written and taught in their universities in which the right he advocated was held as inviolable. The learned gentleman here referred to Locke and Paley in support of his argument, and contended that his client had never uttered a sentiment which did not agree with the sentiments propounded by those writers, and taught even to the students of universities in their colleges. He (Mr. Butt) now came to the speech of the traverser, and he would request of the jury to listen to it without prejudice. He was not going to deny it; on the contrary, he admitted it was an advice to the Irish nation to put themselves in an attitude to be able to vindicate their liberties if assailed. He

made that admission, and he submitted it was one fully borne out by the Bill of Rights established in 1688, when James II. was driven from the throne because he resorted to arbitrary measures, and disarmed a large portion of his subjects. The officers of the Crown had not set out the speech of the traverser fully on the face of the indictment, and he (Mr. Butt) would not quarrel with the omission; but he would say that a great deal was left out which qualified the other parts. Mr. O'Brien had disclaimed republicanism, as he then did on his behalf, asserting that he was then, as he always was, a firm supporter of monarchy, under the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and he would suffer death on the scaffold sooner than deny those principles. He had made no attempt to subvert the Queen's authority in Ireland. He wished to restore the ancient constitution, but not to subvert the power of the Monarch. He (Mr. O'Brien) suggested a peaceful meeting, and advised the people to hold it in opposition to the proclamation of the Lord-Lieutenant. He (Mr. Butt) denied the right of any Government to make laws by proclamation. Mr. O'Brien's speech contained the assertion of a right that did belong to every British subject, namely, to resist the Government if it interfered illegally. Mr. O'Brien had a perfect right to put forward that sentiment. The learned Counsel then referred to the case of John Binns, tried at Warwick in 1797. The learned Judge then told the jury what he (Mr. Butt) then told them also, that if the Executive attempted improper interference, so far from resistance being a crime it was patriotism, and the man who gave the counsel, so far from being a seditious adviser, was a good sentinel. The verdict which that English jury returned was, that the accused was not guilty. They pronounced that the traverser had not done anything but his duty as a citizen. Let the jury not be afraid to give their verdict boldly, and let them recollect that the result of a verdict of not guilty would be, that the system of which he complained must henceforward be abandoned—the treating this country as a conquered nation; and the English Ministry would be taught that the best security for British dominion in Ireland would have been to have acted a different part, and to have devised means of raising Ireland into the position of a happy and prosperous nation. The learned Counsel then referred to the declaration of the Volunteers of 1782. Was there a man in that jury box, he would boldly ask, Repealer or not, satisfied with the relations of this country to the empire at large? He did not believe there was. What had been the course of the English nation towards Ireland for centuries? No matter what their opinion might be on the abstract merits of the Union, he would boldly ask them, had the United Parliament done justice to this country? Did they know that Irish questions were disposed of in the English Parliament, not with reference to their merits, to the benefit of the country, or to the public opinion, but with reference to the convenience of the English Parliament? Could they point out to him any measures based on the real good, and directed to the real prosperity of Ireland, ever passed through the English Commons? Had the Union, as it had been administered in the

United Parliament, given security to property and life in Ireland? Let the murders that disgraced the country—let the late Special Commissions answer. Had the Union fostered their manufactures—had it enriched the landlords of Ireland? Let them go and ask the shopkeepers of the city whether they could get their accounts paid by the struggling gentry of Ireland? Had it elevated the condition of the agricultural population? Did they hear the other day that it was lately proved in a court of justice, that a woman kept the dead corpse of her child, instead of giving it Christian burial, that she might preserve her own life by devouring its flesh? Did not every man agree in saying the present state of things could not continue; and what was that prosecution for but to repress that sentiment? He would appeal to them as Irishmen, and in doing so he did not think he was doing wrong, when he reminded them that the traverser was charged, pleaded not guilty, and in legal phrase, "put himself on his country." It was as his countrymen they were to try him, and not as aliens. The learned gentleman said in conclusion, — Gentlemen of the jury, proclaim that the day for insulting Ireland has gone by, and tell the British Minister that he is a traitor to the Queen who advises her to found the British power in Ireland upon any other than the affections of the Irish people.

The Chief Justice having recapitulated the various charges contained in the information against the traverser, said that, in considering the speech made by him it would be their duty to read it and understand it as the persons to whom it was addressed understood it; for it was no matter what passed in the speaker's mind when speaking, his intentions were only to be judged by his words, which should be considered as bearing the meaning they appeared to import; for the law did not allow a man to put a different construction on his words from their ordinary meaning. With regard to the question of Repeal, the Union they knew consisted in the Acts of the Irish and British Parliaments—the Acts of the two Legislatures, Acts which could only be repealed by an Act of the Imperial Legislature. There was no other power by which the Repeal of the Union could be legally obtained, and it was perfectly lawful for any one to contemplate that object, for it was the right of every man to send representatives to Parliament for the purpose, to petition Parliament, and to adopt any other legal course he thought proper. Within the limits of law every man had a right to ask for repeal; but, however he might do so, he was not to be allowed to carry out his views by force, or the threat of force, or of foreign invasion, foreign troops, foreign money, and foreign assistance; such acts were acts of treason if carried out, and advising their adoption was sedition. Therefore, if it was their opinion that the traverser's speech was of this character, they should consider it seditious, and seditious in a high degree. His Lordship then referred to Mr. O'Brien's speech as read by the Attorney-General, and the addresses adopted to the French people, on which he commented at length. The topics of defence, the unmeasured condemnation of the Act of Union, and the various abstract questions touched upon by

the traverser's counsel, should not lead them astray from the real question to be decided, which he had no doubt they would honestly decide, regardless of prejudice.

The jury retired at half past six o'clock. When the Court met on the following morning at ten o'clock they were called into court, when they informed his Lordship that there was no likelihood of their agreeing, and they were, with the consent of the Attorney-General, discharged.

May 16th.

THE QUEEN *v.* T. F. MEAGHER.

In this case Thomas Francis Meagher was arraigned on an *ex officio* information, filed by the Attorney-General, for uttering a seditious speech on the 15th March last, at the Irish Confederation; being the same occasion on which Mr. Smith O'Brien had delivered the speech for which he had just been tried and acquitted. As the result in this was the same as that in Mr. O'Brien's case, it is unnecessary to give the details of the trial. Two facts, however, may be noticed. Upon the jury being called into court, they were asked by the Lord Chief Justice—Are you likely to agree, gentlemen?

The Foreman.—We are not, my Lord.

Mr. Ferrall (one of the jurors).—We are all agreed, my Lord, but one, and he is a Roman Catholic.

The other fact which it is desirable to notice is, that these are the speeches so much referred to in the subsequent trials for high treason.

COMMISSION COURT.

DUBLIN.

Before MR. BARON LEFROY *and* MR. JUSTICE MOORE.

THE QUEEN *v.* JOHN MITCHELL.

The traverser in this case, Mr. John Mitchell, was the proprietor of the *United Irishman* newspaper, and was arrested under a warrant charging him with felony under the 11th Vict. c. 12, entitled "An Act for the better Security of the Crown and Government." Two several bills of indictment were found by the Grand Jury against Mr. Mitchell for this felony; to each of these he handed in a plea praying that the indictment might be quashed, on the ground that one of the jurors is a member of the Council of the borough of Dublin, and as such disqualified. As these were merely dilatory pleas, on the 26th April, the Attorney-General, for the purpose of avoiding delay, entered a *nolle prosequi* to each, and filed *ex officio* informations against Mr. Mitchell. To this Mr. Mitchell put in a plea in abatement, on the ground that as the indictment found against him by the jury had not been quashed, but only a *nolle prosequi* had been entered, he could not be called upon to answer an information except upon the oaths of twelve men. The Crown demurred to the plea as insufficient, and the Court held the plea to be bad. The Attorney-General then called upon the traverser to plead forthwith. He pleaded "Not Guilty."

May 24th.

A true bill having been found against the traverser by the Grand Jury, he was called upon to plead to the indictment; but his counsel raised another objection, and pro-

posed to apply to the Court to quash the indictment altogether, on the ground that there were two distinct charges of felony contained in the indictment, whereas by rule of law it was clear that two distinct felonies could not be charged in the same indictment. This contained a charge that the traverser endeavoured to take away the style, honour, and royal name of our Sovereign Lady the Queen; and, second, that he had sought to levy war against Her Majesty, her heirs and successors. The Court overruled the objection—there was no inconsistency or repugnancy in the two felonies charged in the indictment—the two felonies charged only varied the offence, but did not vitiate the indictment.

Sir Colman O'Loghlen then applied for leave to demur to the indictment, and plead over to the felony; and then for the postponement of the trial on the ground that they had not been able to serve a material witness. These dilatory proceedings passed, the trial was appointed to be had on the 25th May. The Court-House presented a scene of great excitement.

May 25th.

The panel being called over,

Sir Colman O'Loghlen, on behalf of the prisoner, handed in a challenge to the array, on the ground that it had been arrayed in a favourable and partial manner to our Lady the Queen, and to the prejudice of the said John Mitchell. The Crown joined issue. Triers were appointed. The subject was argued at great length. The principal objection was to the disproportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants. The triers found against the traverser, and a jury was then sworn.

John Mitchell was then placed at the bar, and arraigned for felony. The Attorney-General stated the case on the part of the Crown, and pointed out at great length the distinction which existed between the law as amended by the recent statute, and what it was previously, and then read in succession the passages of the traverser's speeches and writings, which were the foundation of the criminal charges, upon which he commented as he proceeded. Before April last, there were in activity several associations of politicians, whose object was, by legal and constitutional agitation, and the formation of a public opinion in their favour, to accomplish the repeal of the Legislative Union of the two countries. In such an object there was nothing illegal. But a party separated itself from those so associated, with the professed intention to gain the repeal of the Union by force and violence. In that state of things, the Crown and Government Security Act had been passed, making it a transportable felony to compass or intend, either the deprivation and deposition of the Queen from Her style, honour, and royal name of the imperial Crown of the United Kingdom, or the levying war against Her in Her kingdom, to force Her to change Her measures or counsels. The present prosecution had been instituted against Mr. Mitchell for a contravention of this law; and the evidence of his crime consisted in reports of speeches made by him, and of articles written by him, both published in his paper called the *United Irishman*, since the passing of the Act.

The first publication founded on for the prosecution was the re-

port, in the *United Irishman* of the 7th of May, of a speech made by Mr. Mitchell at "a soirée to the persecuted patriots," held in Limerick on the 30th of April. In that speech, alluding to a mob outside the room in which he spoke, who had been instigated to show a violent antipathy to him, and who ultimately broke into a riot on account of his presence, Mr. Mitchell said he would prefer a Provisional Government selected out of the mob that was then bellowing in the street, to the British Government. He openly advised the resort to violent measures:—

"Can I repudiate the last speech of Mr. O'Brien in the British Parliament—one of the noblest, clearest statements of Ireland's case—the very haughtiest, grandest defiance flung in the face of Ireland's enemies that ever yet fell from the lips of man? Or can I condemn the alternative put by Mr. Meagher, who says, when the last constitutional appeal shall be made and shall fail—'Then, up with the barricades, and invoke the God of battles?'"

He would respectfully ask of Mr. Holmes, who was to follow him in the prisoner's defence, what meaning but one—that of a physical resort to barricades and battle—could be suggested concerning this passage? Mr. Mitchell was reported in his paper to have proceeded thus:—

"No; all the seditions and treasons of these gentlemen I adopt and accept; and I ask for more. ('Hear, hear!') Whatever has been done or said by the most disaffected person in all Ireland against the existence of the party which calls itself the Government, nothing can go too far for me. Whatever public treasons there are in this land, I have stomach for them all. (*Loud cheering.*) But, sir, have we not had in Ireland somewhat too much of this adopting and avowing, as also repudiating and disavowing, what has been said or done by others? Might we not, perhaps, act with advantage less as parties, and more as mere men, each of us on his own individual responsibility? ('Hear, hear!') . . . . In short, I have long felt that I belong to a party of one member—a party whose basis of action is to think and act for itself—whose one fundamental rule is, to speak its mind. Its secretary, committee, librarian, and treasurer, are all one in the same person; and in its proceedings, I assure you, there reigns the most unbroken unanimity. Seriously, sir, I know no other way of insuring both honest unanimity and independent co-operation than this very way of mine; and with these views and sentiments, you may be sure I am not likely to misconceive the motive of your kindness in asking me to join your party to-night. I am here, I believe, as your guest on one account alone; you will say whether I state it truly. I am here not as a Jacobin (which I am not), nor as a Communist (which I am not), nor even as a Republican (which I am), but simply and merely because I am a bitter and irreconcilable enemy to the British Government."

After a review of "the cause," and some advice as to succeeding steps, Mr. Mitchell went on:—

"It is better that the leaders should be called to encounter danger in the courts of justice first, than that it should fall on a people not yet prepared in the field. But while we meet the enemy in the Queen's Bench, we have a right to

call upon you to sustain us by a firm and universal avowal of your opinion. On the constituents of Smith O'Brien especially devolves this duty. While the British Parliament calls his exertions 'treason' and 'felony,' it is for his constituents to declare that in all this treason and felony he is doing his duty by them. And more than this—it is your duty further to prepare systematically to sustain him, if it come to that, in arms."

What these arms were for, was made plain in immediately subsequent words:—

"May I presume to address the women of Limerick? It is the first time I have ever been in the presence of the daughters of those heroines who held the breach against King William; and they will understand me when I say, that no Irishwoman ought so much as to speak to a man who has not provided himself with arms."

"No lady is too delicate for the culinary operation of casting bullets. No hand is too white to make up cartridges. And I hope, if it be needful to come to the last resort, that the citizens of Limerick, male and female, will not disgrace their paternal and maternal ancestors."

Mr. Mitchell had, then, a stomach for all the treason that had been uttered, and far more; he was ready to fly to barricades and to invoke the god of battles; and he was a Republican in principle: what, then, was the aim of the advice to arm, to cast bullets, and to go into the field? and what the significance of the allusion to a Provisional Government? What was to become of the Queen if a Provisional Government were formed?

But if any doubt were possible on the intentions of Mr. Mitchell as disclosed by the contents of his paper of the 7th May, all such doubts must be removed by an article in the number of that paper published on the 13th May. The Attorney-General read at length a letter addressed by Mr. Mitchell "To the Protestant Farmers, Labourers, and Artisans of the North of Ireland;" observing that Mr. Mitchell himself was a native of the North. That article concluded with these words:—

"I tell you frankly, that I, for one, am not 'loyal.' I am not wedded to the Queen of England, nor unalterably attached to the House of Brunswick. In fact, I love my own barn better than I love that house. The time is long past when Jehovah anointed kings. The thing has long since grown a monstrous imposture; and has been already in some civilized countries detected as such, and drummed out accordingly. A modern king, my friends, is no more like an ancient anointed shepherd of the people than an archbishop's apron is like the Urim and Thummin. There is no divine right now but in the sovereign people. And for the 'institutions of the country,' I loathe and despise them: we are sickening and dying of these institutions fast; they are consuming us like a plague, degrading us to paupers in mind, body, and estate; yes, making our very souls beggarly and cowardly. They are a failure and a fraud, these institutions—from the topmost crown jewel to the meanest detective's note-book, there is no soundness in them. God and man are weary of them. Their last hour is at hand; and I thank God that I live in the days when I shall witness the utter downfall, and trample upon the grave, of the most portentous, the grandest, meanest,

and cruellest tyranny that ever deformed this world."

Lastly, Mr. Mitchell had replied to some hostile remarks of the *Times* newspaper with this explicit reference:—

"Now, the fact is, the editor of the *United Irishman* is no hero at all, and never said he was. He has only endeavoured to persuade his countrymen that they will never gain their liberties except by fighting for them; and that the only arguments the English Government will understand are the points of pikes—that 's all. And he continues to preach this saving doctrine, and will continue to do so until a considerable number of his countrymen agree with him; and then he hopes to aid in enforcing the arguments practically—that 's all."

Such were the proofs in support of the charge made against Mr. Mitchell of compassing the purposes which the Act of Parliament declared felonious.

The Attorney-General then adverted to the charge which had been made against the officers of the Crown, that they had packed a jury, from which he had excluded Roman Catholic jurors — these charges he emphatically denied. If there were a person more than another who could be supposed to be incapable of objecting to his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen being placed upon the panel, that individual was himself; for he was by education, conviction, and practice a Roman Catholic, and it was a calumny upon the Government, and upon himself, to assert that they or he would object to Roman Catholics being upon the panel; that the Government would not be capable of lending themselves to such an act had been proved by their having promoted him to the high office which he held, and their also having promoted several distinguished members of the profession to which he belonged. This, he trusted, was a sufficient answer to any insinuation that men were excluded from the jury because they professed the Roman Catholic religion; but he asked them would he honestly or fairly discharge the duties of the situation which he held, by allowing any man to be on the jury whom he had reason to know concurred and conceded in the politics of the prisoner. This was not a trial for a mere larceny, where the question was—did a particular person steal this or that thing? It is a trial for a political offence. The only instruction given by the Crown to their officer—the Crown Solicitor—was upon no account and under no circumstances to exclude a man for his religion, no matter what religion he professed. It was his duty to exclude from the jury-box men, no matter what their religion may be, who coincided with the prisoner in his political opinions. He would ask them, if men were biassed in their judgments, would they be proper persons to be put upon a jury? The only instruction given was this—"obtain an honest, fair, and impartial jury. Any man whom, from your information, you believe not to be one who will give an impartial verdict between the Crown and the subject, that man—and that man alone—without reference to his religion—you are to exclude from the panel." The jury, he trusted, were above being intimidated by such insinuations. He trusted that they were men, and that was all that was required by the Crown, who would

discard from their minds anything they had heard of Mr. Mitchell, or the publications in his paper, before they entered the jury-box. He trusted that they were men who, having regard to the obligation of the oath they had taken, would honestly and fairly give a verdict which, laying their hands upon their hearts, they can say was consistent with the duty they owed to their country upon the one hand, and the prisoner upon the other. He trusted that they were men who would honestly and fairly discharge the very important duty which they had been impanelled to discharge.

The legal proofs were then given of Mr. Mitchell's presence at the meeting at Limerick, and of the words used by him there, and afterwards reported in the *United Irishman;* and of his proprietorship of the paper, and of the publication of the copies containing the articles upon which the indictment was founded.

Mr. Holmes addressed the jury on behalf of the traverser, commencing by inveighing bitterly against the constitution of the panel, and the conduct of the Attorney-General in striking off, after the panel had been declared fairly arrayed, thirty persons, eighteen of whom were Roman Catholics. The learned Counsel then dealt with a technical point. The indictment charged two distinct offences of felony; each of them, however, supported by the same evidence. The Foreman of the Grand Jury, in returning the bill, had declared the bill was for sedition; then, on correction by the clerk of the Court, said it was for treason; and at last, on recorrection, said, "We find for sedition, treason, or *felony,* or whatever it is." So at present, the Crown would be happy to get a conviction for "whatever it is." But the distinct crime alleged was felony; and if the jury thought he had committed a sedition or a treason, they must acquit the prisoner of the felony charged in the present indictment. Mr. Holmes criticized the frame of the charge, and declared himself unable to see the meaning of the words "to depose the Queen from Her style, honour, or royal name," though he could understand deposition from Her throne. He defied the Crown to produce evidence of any particular measure or counsels the change of which by force and violent compulsion was aimed at in the speeches or articles charged. If any such could be pointed to by the Attorney-General, Mr. Holmes would willingly allow him to amend his speech and indicate them. He put it to the judges, that there must be an acquittal directed, if no specific measure could be indicated.

Alluding to expressions in the articles and speeches quoted, he admitted there were very strong expressions used in those publications. "Mr. Mitchell avows them; and many of them I also avow; and I want to try this case of felony between the Crown and the accused, which I cannot do without calling your attention to something of the history and the present state of Ireland. And with that view, I tell you, in the first instance, that Ireland is an enslaved country. A great mistake is entertained by many persons, to the effect that there cannot be slavery—that no man can be a slave unless he be in chains, or subject to the lash of the planter,

like the negroes; but the slavery of which I speak is the slavery of the people, which consists in this, that they do not make their own laws themselves—that they do not make the laws by which they are governed, but that those laws are made by others; and I say it boldly, that a people so circumstanced are in a state of slavery."

Baron Lefroy interposed, observing that the course taken by Mr. Holmes was most embarrassing.

Mr. Holmes said, he could not do justice to his client "without doing justice to Ireland."

The learned Counsel maintained the importance of showing all the circumstances of the case, and the provocations under which Mr. Mitchell had uttered his publications. "My client may be guilty of felony; but I say it broadly and boldly, that England is the cause of the offence of which he is accused: and I will demonstrate it. I care not by what means you have been empanelled. I address you because I believe you to be honest and faithful Irishmen. Take nothing from me: I will state upon high authority. 'What does the liberty of a people consist in? It consists in the right and power to make laws for its own government. Were an individual to make laws for another country, that person is a despot, and the people are slaves. When one country makes laws for another country, (and that England makes laws for Ireland I will demonstrate, by which Ireland is enslaved,) the country which makes the laws is absolutely the sovereign country, and the country for which those laws are made is in a state of slavery.' I give that upon the authority of an Englishman—an honest man in his day—Blackstone. And what does he say? In constitutional questions he will not be suspected or accused of being too much in favour of popular rights: he says—'It follows, from the nature and constitution of a dependent state, that England should make laws for Ireland'—(treating Ireland as a conquered country, he is arguing that England had a right to do so.) 'Ireland'—(this is a conquered country)—'conquered, planted, and governed by England, it might be necessary that it should be subject to such laws as the superior state thinks proper to prescribe.' In speaking of this country, Ireland, Blackstone maintains, that, because Ireland had been a conquered country in his days, Ireland of the present time, and for posterity for ever, should be bound by such laws as the conquering state thinks proper to make for her."

After inveighing against Poyning's Law, and the Union, Mr. Holmes proceeded:—"I say it, boldly and broadly, as a man, that the Act of Union is only binding as a thing of expediency. Men will often submit to a certain order of things, rather than run the risk of subverting by force of arms the state of things as established. No man upon slender grounds should endeavour to subvert the order of things; but it is the right of an enslaved country, and the laws of Providence approve the right, to arm and right itself. What man would live——"

Baron Lefroy: "Mr. Holmes, we cannot listen to this. You teach those doctrines to the people for the publication of which the prisoner stands at the bar. We cannot suffer the case of the prisoner to be put to the jury founded on the subject of the Repeal of the Union by force of arms."

Mr. Holmes: "I will make it appear by the conduct of England, and with respect to this very question of Repeal, that England has been the cause of the present state of this country. The English Ministry, by this very question of Repeal, has brought this country into the unfortunate state in which it now is." The learned counsel, with great power, commented on the course pursued by the English Government, and particularly by the Whig Ministries, towards Ireland, and towards Mr. O'Connell. They had suffered him to agitate for years, they had suffered the agitation for the Repeal of the Union to be carried on for years, although Lord Althorp said, in 1831, that it would lead to an attempt at separation, and that to a civil war. They permitted a struggle for Repeal while they themselves were parties to it, and they continued the agitation of a measure which they asserted would end in separation, and their last act is the prosecution of an unfortunate Irishman for agitating the question. It must be asked, was there any previous prosecution for that? There was a prosecution; they all knew the fate of that prosecution, and that it ended in the defeat of the Crown. Mr. O'Connell survived it—he gave the agitation a magic meaning—he called it "moral force," and was suffered to agitate the question, which he did to the last hour of his life, in this country. But although the Whig Government foresaw that, if granted, it must end in separation, they made no law against attempting to repeal it. Nay, more, they restored Mr. O'Connell, the head and leader of the agitation, and several other Repealers besides, to the commission of the peace; and yet now they say it is an offence, under this new Act of Parliament, to deprive the Queen of the style, title, and royal name of the Imperial Crown. They found this doctrine of Mr. Mitchell, and of others, was condemned by the high and the wealthy.

From past times let them turn to the present time, and what did they see? An Attorney-General—an able lawyer—under a Special Commission a most successful prosecutor. Death had followed his footsteps; and it was asked, ought not the assassin to suffer for his crime? Yes, but in the history of the civilized world and of free nations, has there ever yet been a nation of assassins? No; assassination is the crime of the untutored savage or the brutalized slave. Was the assassin to suffer for his crime? Yes; but deep, deep, deep was the guilt of England, in its unprovoked invasion and unjust dominion in Ireland. At the close of seven centuries of wasting wars, wasting laws, and still more wasting policy, it was now found necessary to maintain that dominion in Ireland by special commissions, state prosecutions, and military force—by the gibbet, by the gaol, and by the sword. * * *

Let England give to Ireland her own Parliament; not the Parliament of '82—that was a meteor light which flashed across the land—a deceptive vapour which quickly vanished. Ireland wanted a fixed star, bright and resplendent, the cordial influence and reflecting radiance of which might be seen and felt in the glorious union of liberty, happiness, and peace. But it was urged that if they did that, it would lead, as Lord Althorp had said, to

separation, and that Ireland would be erected into a separate independent state. And suppose it did; who was to blame for that? England! What right had England—what right had any country, to build its greatness upon the slavery, degradation, and wretchedness of another?

There are men, and they are chiefly to be found in what are called the better ranks of society, excellent men, religious men, moral men, kind men, and if all mankind were like them, they would have no such thing as liberty in the world. Peace in their time is their first prayer; and their highest aspiration to enjoy the good things of this life. They were consoled for the misfortunes of others by the reflection that the sufferer here is only in a state of trial on his passage to another world—that other world, where the tyrant must account for his oppression, and where the slave will be relieved from bondage. Oh, Ireland is weak—the slave struggles to be free, and the enslaver kills him because he struggles. That was British conquest and dominion in Ireland—that was British legislation in Ireland. It rested with the jury, by their verdict of acquittal, to contribute their part towards Ireland's happiness. He called upon them, as they valued their oaths, as they valued justice and the public good, and manly bearing and personal honour, and as they loved the country of their birth, to give a verdict of acquittal. Let them thus do their parts towards making Ireland happy and free.

Mr. Henn having replied on the part of the Crown,

Justice Moore charged the jury. They had been properly told by Mr. Holmes that it was a case of deep importance; it was deeply important that the prisoner should not be found guilty if innocent; but if he had violated the law, the peace of the country was involved in his conviction. The construction of the documents rested exclusively with the jury. The law had cast upon them the duty of putting a construction upon them, according to the best of their sense and judgment. As to the observations made by counsel on both sides on the construction of the panel, and the intimidation of the jury, they were to dismiss them from their consideration. The counsel for the prisoner had also borne testimony to the honesty of the prisoner. He did not find fault with him for having done so, but the honesty of the prisoner had nothing to do with the violation of the law. Not only had the counsel for the Crown, but the counsel for the prisoner had introduced a great variety of topics irrelevant to the question to be decided—topics, many of which, perhaps, the Court ought not to have listened to. Mr. Holmes had told them, for instance, that Ireland was an enslaved country; and he had gone into the question of Repeal of the Union, and other matters; but all those topics had nothing whatever to do with the question for their consideration; there was no issue put on those matters; and he (Judge Moore) was surprised that a gentleman holding so high a position as the prisoner's counsel should have thought fit to have introduced them; and particularly so when he was obliged to say in the end that he was unable to explain the publications of his client. All these irrelevant matters should therefore be excluded, whether introduced by the Attorney-General or

the prisoner's counsel. The law of the land was, that his (Judge Moore's) opinions on the documents alleged to be within the late Act, and for which Mr. Mitchell was prosecuted, were not to influence their minds but as far as they were consistent with their own views. The Act in question was passed a short time back, and if any observations were made to the effect that that Act was passed by the Imperial Legislature, they should take it from him that it was a valid binding statute; and the single question for their consideration would consequently be—had the prisoner violated that Act? To consider that there were two questions for consideration—first, did the prisoner publish the documents referred to? secondly, what was the meaning of those publications? Upon the first question there could be little doubt, as it was proved, and was not denied, that the prisoner was the author and publisher of the articles in question; and with regard to the latter, it was altogether for their consideration to say what was the true meaning and import of the words they contained? The learned Judge then read extracts from the publications which formed the subject of the trial, and observed that the ancient constitutions referred to were those of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, and that an Irish Republic was at total variance and antagonistic with those institutions. There were no two ideas more opposed to each other than the co-existence of a monarchy and a republic; and, in advocating one, the subversion of the other must have been in contemplation of the advocate. In reference to the second branch of the indictment, the learned Judge observed that the inquiry in which they were in pursuit was to ascertain as nearly as possible what was passing in the mind of the prisoner when he wrote the article in question; and the only means they had of arriving at that conclusion was to be deduced from the tone and construction of his composition.

After explaining the law as bearing upon the indictment, Mr. Justice Moore noticed this remarkable feature in the case, — the Attorney-General, in his opening statement, had read to them the passages, and stated to them the meaning he thought those passages bore. The able counsel for the prisoner never once adverted to those publications, and never made a single observation for the purpose of showing that the Attorney-General, either by the indictment or in his statement, had put a wrong interpretation upon this publication. With respect to the charge of levying war, when he found that the prisoner expressed himself favourable to the offences of sedition and felony for which Mr. S. O'Brien was under prosecution, and circulated those opinions in a widely-circulated paper, and recommended the people to possess themselves of arms for the purpose of sustaining Mr. S. O'Brien—it would be the duty of the jury to say, whether or not the prisoner contemplated a levying of war against the Queen when he wrote and spoke those articles. In reference to the passage in which "the corn-fields ripe for the reapers, and the one hundred thousand pikes" occurs, the learned Judge said it was his duty to express his opinion, but that their own sound sense and reason should supersede any opinion of his; and if they thought conviction was not

brought home to their minds, they would be bound to acquit him; but if, on the contrary, the allegations in the indictment had been sustained, they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and give a verdict according to their solemn oath.

The jury then retired, and, after an absence of nearly three hours and a half, returned a verdict of "Guilty."

May 27th.

The prisoner, being placed at the bar, was asked whether he had anything to say why the sentence of the Court should not be passed. The prisoner said he had, and proceeded to reassert the packing of the jury, but was stopped by the Court.

The learned Baron then proceeded to pass sentence.—John Mitchell, I cannot but express the feeling of regret I entertain—in which, I am sure, my brother participates—at seeing a person in your condition standing at the bar under the circumstances in which you now stand. You have been found guilty upon the indictment which charged you with feloniously compassing, imagining, and intending to deprive the Queen of the style, title, honour, and royal name of the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom, and of uttering and giving publicity to those purposes and intentions by publishing a certain writing in a public newspaper published by you, called the *United Irishman*. These publications are set forth in detail. There are other counts in the indictment, of which you have been also found guilty, of a felonious intent and purpose to levy war against the Queen, for the purpose of compelling her by force and constraint to change her measures and her councils; and that those felonious intents and purposes were published and manifested by a publication made by yourself in the same newspaper, and under the same circumstances, stated in the former counts. These are the charges upon which you have been put upon your trial, and upon which the jury have found you guilty. The evidence was furnished by yourself, in publications coming out of your own hands, and which were deliberately published at an interval of time which gave you full leisure and opportunity to consider what you were about, and to reflect on what might be the consequences of your acts. The case turned on the meaning and interpretation of those publications. That meaning and interpretation were equally furnished by yourself, and came from yourself, just as the publications themselves had done. The meaning and intent were collected from the language of the publications themselves; they are not confined to one, but are to be collected from the successive publications, so as to leave no doubt on the words interpreted by yourself as to the meaning and intent of those publications. The very able counsel who defended you was not able to offer any other interpretation or any other meaning than that which was assigned to them on the face of the indictment. Upon this evidence, therefore, thus furnished by yourself, the jury have found you guilty. By that verdict, therefore, you must be bound, however you may be advised, or however you may think yourself justified in

calling it "a verdict of a packed jury"—thus imputing perjury to twelve of your countrymen—deliberate and wilful perjury.

Mr. Mitchell.—No, my lord, I did not impute perjury to the jury.

Baron Lefroy.—I understood that you had stated, in arrest of judgment, that you had been found guilty by "a packed jury."

Mr. Mitchell.—I did.

Baron Lefroy.—Well, I shall make no other observation upon that, but I owe it to the jury to state, that upon that evidence, furnished thus by yourself, no juror who had the slightest regard to the oath he had taken, could by possibility have come to a different conclusion. What ground of doubt was ever suggested with respect to the fact of the publications by yourself, or with respect to the interpretation and the meaning of those publications? As I have observed, not even your own able counsel could suggest a doubt of the meaning imputed to them. No—nor could he suggest an apology that could be attended to in a court of justice, for his apology amounted to this, that you had a right to violate the law. With the verdict, establishing your guilt of the offences stated upon the face of the indictment, even you yourself cannot truly quarrel.

The learned Baron proceeded to comment upon the grave nature of the offence, and the consequences of such exhortations if not checked, and said the prisoner had advanced from one step to another in bold, deliberate, and determined opposition to the law, in language more and more unmeasured, and more and more exciting. After dwelling upon these subjects with great force, the learned Baron proceeded:—But, to return to your own case. With a view to come to a decision upon the measure of punishment which it is our duty to impose in this case, we postponed passing sentence until this morning. We have examined the subject with the utmost deliberation, and with the utmost anxiety to discharge duly the duty which we owe to the prisoner, of not awarding a punishment beyond the just measure of the offence, and the duty which we owe equally to the public, that the measure of punishment should be such that it would carry with it the effect of all punishment, which is, not the infliction upon the individual, but the prevention of crime. We desire that the punishment should carry with it a security as far as possible to the country, that one who appeared so perseveringly, so deliberately a violator of the law should not be permitted to continue the course he had entered upon for the disturbance of its peace and prosperity, in the hope that it would have time, if possible, to recover from the inflictions which that course had imposed upon it. Taking all these things into consideration, and also taking into consideration the magnitude of the crimes, as well as the fact that if this had not been the first adjudication upon the Act we might have felt obliged to carry out its penalties to the utmost extent—taking also into consideration that the offence is as clearly proved as could be anticipated, in respect to the proof of a crime so enormous, the sentence of the Court is—"That you, John Mitchell, be transported beyond the seas for the term of fourteen years."

COMMISSION COURT.

DUBLIN, *August* 10*th*.

THE QUEEN *v.* KEVIN IZOD O'DOHERTY.

Kevin Izod O'Doherty was placed at the bar, charged with felony, under the 11 Vict. c. 12, entitled "An Act for the better Security of the Crown and Government;" first, for imagining, &c., to depose the Queen from her royal style, title, and honour of the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom; and, secondly, for intending, &c., to levy war against Her Majesty.

The wearisome length to which these trials were protracted by the ingenuity of the counsel of the accused, render it impossible to attempt even an outline of the proceedings, except in the principal cases. The speeches and publications which formed the proofs of the indictments were of the same high-flown eloquence which have characterized the so-called national press of Ireland for some time past. Neither do the addresses of counsel require to be abstracted; however varied the style, the effect of each was the same.

The traverser was fortunate enough to find a jury who could not agree, and they were discharged. The trials of Charles Duffey, Denis Hoban, and Richard D'Alton Williams came to a similar conclusion.

August 19*th*.

THE QUEEN *v.* JOHN MARTIN.

The remarks made on the case of Mr. O'Doherty are equally applicable to that of Mr. Martin, and it is not attempted here to give an outline of the trial; this is the more unnecessary that the address of the learned Chief Baron gives full information of the nature of the case. Mr. Martin, less fortunate than his compatriot, was found guilty, and was now brought up to receive sentence.

The Chief Baron.—John Martin, it becomes now my duty—and a painful one it necessarily must be—to pronounce upon you the sentence of the law for the crime of which you have been convicted. You have been convicted of that crime, after a most patient and attentive inquiry—after every effort of skill and talent, of zeal and advocacy, had been applied in your behalf; and, I believe, after every question that could have been put was left to the jury. I did not deem it fitting until the jury had pronounced upon your guilt to express, with reference to the fact, any opinion of mine; but after what I have just heard I do not think I should be performing my duty if I did not declare that upon the truth and propriety of the finding of the jury in my mind there rests not the shadow of doubt. The charge against you was, in one part of this prosecution, that you sought to establish what you have just termed national independence, by deposing the authority of the Queen, and by a resort to arms; and from the paper which was last published, and to which in what you have addressed to the bench you have just alluded, I think it is right that I should read one or two passages—which I should not have done but for what has been spoken. After calling upon the members of the repeal clubs of Ireland to stand to their arms, the paper proceeds—"The work you have undertaken is to overthrow and utterly destroy English dominion in Ireland. That work must be done

—it must be done at any risk, at any cost, at any sacrifice." In the second part. "Oh, dear countrymen, let not your hearts quail at the sight of the enemy's military preparations — of 40,000 human machines armed with weapons of death to put you to death in your own land for the crime of loving your own land. With the oppressor there is power, but the God of justice and mercy will fight in your defence." Further on, "Stand to your arms. Resist to the death. Better a hundred thousand bloody deaths than leave Ireland another year disarmed, cowed, and defenceless, to the mercy of the plunderer." If the case rested on that paper alone, I am bound to say that, looking to the context of the entire of what was published in that document, and in that document only, I entertain no doubt that the conclusion to which the jury came, after a most patient and attentive inquiry, was the right one. I said that the duty which I am performing is a painful one. Can it be otherwise? I see before me a man in the prime —I had almost said of youth, certainly in the prime of early manhood; in a condition of life far above the rank of those with whom, in these courts of criminal justice, it is unfortunately our lot for the most part to deal; possessed of the attainments which education confers; with a property, as we were informed, comprising a moderate but competent independence; residing in the country upon that property; with friends and connections around him, attached to him, and he, as I am most willing to believe, meriting their attachment. I find that man, up to a period so recent as the month of March last, avowing in public opinious entirely consistent with allegiance to the laws, with respect for order and tranquillity, with a desire to maintain property, and to prevent the setting of class against class in deadly hostility. Three short months elapse, and we find the same man embarking the property with which Providence had blessed him, and which the law had secured to him, for the purpose of exciting his countrymen to deeds of violence and blood, in a publication which he himself made, and portions of which I have read, indicating a desire to accomplish political changes by abandoning those paths of peace and of the constitution and the law which in March he said ought to be adhered to, and by summoning to arms, and in arms to resistance to lawful authority, the men whom he desired to bring into a union for that purpose. It is possible that the purposes of the association with whom, in this newspaper, you appear to have been united, may have gone beyond yours. I hope so—from my heart I hope so; but I cannot forget that to that newspaper you lent your name and your property—that it was established in association with persons who inculcated doctrines in their parts of the publication not merely inconsistent with law, with order, and with peace, but calculated to involve society in horrors that one trembles to contemplate. A part of this publication indicates both the purpose and the means. The purpose to pull down the Throne, and to effect first a spoliation, and then a redistribution of the property of the country; and the means, a working upon two classes of men, by applying to each a distinct motive and a separate temptation—

to the inhabitants of the towns a political desire for the repeal of the Legislative Union; to the agrarian population a desire that property in land should be seized, that its titles should be changed, that a new distribution of it should take place; by the temptation held out by the prospect of which change the latter should be united to their fellows in the towns in a combination in arms. Such were the projects which this newspaper was apparently established to carry forward. Possibly, some of the abominable projects that I have stated you may not have originally concurred in. I hope so. But you established this paper with your capital—you lent to it your name—you became its sole proprietor and publisher, and you associated with you persons who, according to the publications contained in the journal, endeavoured to stimulate all who could be wielded by it to the accomplishment of these purposes by those means. I will not dwell here upon the miseries and the calamities that would result even from the partial success of the projects which are thus developed. I will not dwell here upon the dreadful consequences, in a country peculiarly circumstanced as this is, of a revolution hopeless in reference to its result; but, if it were to take place, one that in our peculiar circumstances must involve a war of class against class—that species of civil warfare that produces in the country which is cursed by it the most dreadful calamities that can befal humanity. I will not dwell here on those consequences. They must be felt by everybody who has looked abroad, and seen and thought on what is passing in the world, and who has even paid a passing observation to the condition of the society in which we live. It is enough for me to know that this law, which we as judges here are bound to administer, has defined the offence of which you have been found guilty, and has declared it for the purpose of securing the Sovereign her authority, and securing to society its tranquillity and peace. That law must be vindicated. It can only be vindicated by those penal sanctions which it affixes to its proved violation; and one of those penal sanctions we are now bound to award against you. The jury who tried you, taking a merciful view of what appeared before them, have recommended you to our favourable and merciful consideration.

Mr. Martin.—My lord, I beg your pardon for one moment. I cannot —I say it with great respect—condescend to accept mercy where I believe that I have been morally right. I want justice.

The Chief Baron.—I must speak entirely uninfluenced by any observations such as these. The Court must adopt that course to which it is impelled by united considerations of what is due to justice, and how far justice can be obtained consistently with mercy. We have not thought ourselves at liberty to disregard altogether the suggestion of those who have co-operated with us in the administration of justice; but, while we take into account the view of the jury with respect to what may be mercy to you, we are bound to consider also what is justice as well as mercy to others. There are two portions of the community whose interests are deeply involved in the administration of the law upon a subject such as this. There is that vast portion

of the community which adheres to the law—who maintain peace and tranquillity—who stand by the authority of the Sovereign, and whose very being and whose entire interests are dependent upon the maintenance of that tranquillity which it is the object of the law to secure, and which it was the purpose of the crime of which you have been convicted to destroy. To those we are bound to secure justice, and that from considerations of mercy. There is another class whose interests are also involved in proceedings such as these. They are those unhappy men who are disposed, and who are tempted to follow in the courses which have led you into the unhappy position in which you now stand. It is essential for the security of the community that they should be warned by your fate against copying your example; and most earnestly do I hope that, if any of them shall read or learn the proceedings of this court of justice, and shall perceive what has occurred in your instance—a man once addicted to habits of order and peace, but drawn by the whirlwind of excitement which has prevailed into different courses—who, within a period of three months, from being a preacher of peace, and an adviser of others to regard the right of property, became a tutor of insurrection, and an adherent of those who were instructed how property could be violated—who, at one period, by his exhortations and his conduct, endeavoured to induce those to desist who were intending to imitate the example of the revolution that had then just occurred in France; and then, at the end of three months, joined with persons who were summoning the whole of his countrymen to follow that example; I say if any, having a tendency and feeling a temptation to enter upon similar conduct, shall read the proceedings of this Court, I do hope they may be warned by your example, and induced to desist from those courses if they have already entered upon them, and to avoid them if they have not yet yielded to the temptation. I cannot advert to the crime of which you have been convicted, and the circumstances under which you have been tempted to its commission, without adverting to the fact that you did so with full and ample warning to yourself. The paper in which you were engaged was established by you immediately after the conviction of the conductor of a newspaper, of which it was the successor, and which was suppressed by his conviction and expatriation. But for what I have already adverted to, which we did not think it right altogether to disregard, we should feel ourselves bound to award against you a longer period of separation from your home and your country than that to which you will be subjected. The observations that I have made are, believe me, not intended to add a single pang to those which the execution of the law compels you to endure; but I felt it my duty to make them, rather with the view of attracting the attention of others than for any purpose connected with yourself. The period of your admonition is passed, your guilty course is run, and you are now under the doom of the law to receive that punishment which, for those courses, the law enjoins. The sentence of the Court is, "That you be transported beyond the sea for a period of ten years."

SPECIAL COMMISSION.

CLONMEL, *September 21st.*

The SPECIAL COMMISSION issued for the trial of the several parties implicated in the late attempted insurrection in the south of Ireland was this day opened at Clonmel. The judges appointed to try the prisoners were the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BLACKBURNE, the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE DOHERTY, and Mr. JUSTICE MOORE.

The Judges having taken their seats, the Clerk of the Crown read the Commission, and the following gentlemen were called and sworn of the Grand Jury to try the indictments.

Viscount Suirdale (Foreman), the Hon. Cornelius O'Callaghan, the Hon. F. A. Prettie, the Hon. H. Hutchinson, Sir E. Waller, Mr. R. P. Barker, Mr. S. Moore, Mr. Bagwell, Mr. A. Goring, Mr. M. Pennefather, Lieutenant-Colonel Palliser, Mr. J. Bailey, Mr. J. B. Barton, Mr. J. Trant, Mr. J. Cardin, Mr. W. Quin, Mr. J. Butler, Mr. S. O'Meagher, Mr. H. Trench, Mr. C. Going, Mr. T. Lalor, Mr. J. Larrigan, and Mr. J. Cooke.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne then addressed the Grand Jury, and informed them of the causes for which they were then assembled, and pointed out the peculiarities of the law relative to the charge of high treason, in order to their proper discharge of their duties in respect of the indictments which were to be laid before them.

The Grand Jury then retired. When they returned, they announced that they had found true bills against William Smith O'Brien, Terence Bellew M'Manus, James Orchard, Dennis Tighe, and Patrick O'Donnell.

The prisoners were then placed at the bar.

Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., and Mr. Fitzgerald, Q.C., were assigned as counsel for William Smith O'Brien. No counsel were as yet assigned to the other prisoners.

September 28th.

This day William Smith O'Brien was placed at the bar, to be put on his trial on an indictment for high treason.

Mr. Whiteside said, that that was the proper time for him to show cause why the trial could not at that time proceed, but must be postponed until their Lordships had decided what was the true construction to be given to certain acts of Parliament to which he would refer. The question was, whether the prisoner was or was not entitled by act of Parliament to a copy of the jury panel and a list of the witnesses to be produced against him.

The learned counsel argued the point at length. His argument was briefly this: by statute of Will. III. cap. 3, the accused is entitled to a copy of indictment and a copy of the panel of the jury; by 7 Anne, c. 20, he is further entitled to a list of the witnesses to be delivered with the indictment; by the 36 Geo. III., the compassing the death of, or levying war against the Sovereign, is made high treason. These acts were passed before the Union, and applied to England only. Since the Union, the 57 Geo. III. enacted that all the provisions of the 36 Geo. III. should relate to the heirs and successors of His Majesty. The question was, whether this last act did not extend the benefit of the preceding statutes to Ireland; and if not, whether so much of the 57 Geo. III.

as was not repealed was not extended to Ireland by the 11 Vict. He relied upon the 57 Geo. III. for what he asked; and if their Lordships were against him, he relied upon the 11 Vict. to have the same privileges for the prisoner as would have been allowed him if he had been tried in England.

The Attorney and Solicitor Generals resisted the application. It was conceded that by the common law no such right existed, and the question for the Court was, whether or not there was any statute in force in Ireland entitling him to such benefit, and argued that there was not.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the indictments contained various counts, and that the overt acts charged were none of them directed against the person or personal safety of the Sovereign. By the 57 Geo. III., the temporary English Act 36 Geo. III. was made perpetual—that is it made perpetual the enactment of the English Parliament. As regarded the 11 Vict. this not being a charge of compassing the death of the Sovereign by means of attempts upon her life, by assassination, by wounding, or imprisonment, the Court were of opinion that it did not come within the provisions of the Act, and that the prisoner was not entitled to have this application granted.

The indictment was then read by the Clerk of the Crown.

Mr. Whiteside then handed in a plea, which, after referring to the indictment, alleged that by the statutes in force the prisoner was entitled to have had delivered to him a copy of the indictment ten days before his trial, and also a list of the witnesses and jurors; it stated that the prisoner had not had the copy of the indictment and such lists so delivered to him.

After some discussion the plea was received, and demurred to on the part of the Crown as not being sufficient.

The prisoner was then called upon to say whether he was guilty or not guilty of the charge in the indictment, and pleaded "Not Guilty."

Mr. Whiteside applied for a copy of the panel of the jury. Application refused. The panel, which contained 288 names, was read over; on which Mr. Whiteside challenged the array, first, on the ground that certain statutory requirements had not been complied with; secondly, because it had been arranged by the High Sheriff with respect to the religious profession of the jurors, inasmuch as it heretofore contained 380 duly qualified persons, of whom one-third were Roman Catholics, but the panel now returned contained only 288 persons, of which one-eighteenth only were Roman Catholics. The Attorney-General pleaded that the panel was legally and fairly constituted. The counsel for the prisoner joined issue, and triers were appointed; who, after inquiry, found against the objections.

September 29th.

Mr. Whiteside made application to have the jury chosen by ballot, and cited Rex *v.* Frost. The Attorney-General refused his consent, and the Court refused to make the order.

The panel was then called; several persons were challenged by both sides.

Mr. S. Monsergh being called, was challenged on behalf of the prisoner.

The Attorney-General objected

that the prisoner had already exhausted his challenges (twenty).

Mr. Whiteside argued, that by common law every person accused of treason was entitled to challenge any number under three whole juries, that is, thirty-five, *in favorem vitæ*. The 8 Philip and Mary enacted that trials for high treason should follow the course of the common law. The question was, whether the 9 Geo. IV. c. 64 took away this privilege in Ireland, and submitted that the treason therein spoken of was petty, not high treason.

The Attorney-General *contra*. The 9 Geo. IV. enacted that no person arraigned for "treason, or murder, or other felony," should be permitted to challenge more than twenty jurors peremptorily. There was such a thing as petit treason, distinct from high treason, but he never had heard that the word "treason" did not comprise both.

The Lord Chief Justice.—We are of opinion that the word "treason" comprises all treasons, and that it cannot be cut down to signify one species.

The challenge was disallowed.

The following were the jury:—R. M. S. Monsergh, foreman, E. C. Moone, R. A. Gason, J. Going, John Lloyd, J. Perry, J. Russell, E. Pennefather, T. Sadlier, J. Tuthill, S. Monsergh, and C. Going.

The Clerk of the Crown read the indictment.

Mr. Lynch opened the pleadings. The prisoner was charged with high treason. The indictment contained six counts; the first five charged the prisoner with raising and levying war against the Queen; the sixth charged him with a conspiracy to bring and put to death the Queen. The first count found that the prisoner and others named in the indictment did on the 17th of July of this year, and on divers other days between that and the 30th July, at Ballingarry, traitorously levy and make war against the Queen; and further, that on that occasion they marched through divers towns, villages, and lands, and erected certain obstructions to prevent the march of Her Majesty's forces—that they assaulted a number of constables, made a warlike attack at Ballingarry, and fired on a large body of constables there assembled. The second count charged a similar offence at Mullinahone on the 26th of July; the third a similar offence at Killennaule on the 28th of July; the fourth a similar offence at Farrinrory on the 29th of July; and the fifth was a general count of assembling in arms; the sixth count charged the prisoner with compassing the death of the Queen, and laid down seven overt acts, un necessary to be stated, as evidence of that conspiracy.

The Attorney-General then addressed the jury. He said it was now his duty to state to the jury the facts of this case, and the evidence he meant to bring forward on the part of the Crown, in support of the very serious charges that he had considered it his duty to submit to them against the prisoner, Mr. W. S. O'Brien. That gentleman was charged with an offence the highest and greatest in the contemplation of the law of which a subject could be guilty. He was charged with the offence of high treason. Fortunately, trials for high treason were of very unfrequent occurrence; and therefore it might be necessary for him to state to the jury what he conceived to be the law of the case, in order

that they might properly apply the evidence which might be produced before them, and know the nature of the charge they were trying. In very early times (the reign of Edward III.) an act was passed defining what might be considered as treason. It was under that act they were now proceeding. It was passed in 1350; and, so far as the present precise charge against the prisoner was concerned, it was necessary to refer to only a small part of it. It was this:—"Whereas divers opinions have been, before this time, in what cases treasons shall be made, and what not, the King, at the request of the Lords and Commons, has made the declaration following; that is to say, when a man do compass or imagine the death of our Lord the King, or if a man do levy war against our Lord the King in his realm, or if he shall be an adherent of the enemies of our Lord the King, or giving aid or comfort to them, and that they shall be attainted of open deed, by persons of their own condition, that man shall be declared guilty of the crime of treason." His learned friend, Mr. Lynch, had stated that the first count of the indictment, and the four following, which might be considered as part of it, charged the prisoner with the offence of levying war against the Queen, and the question the jury would have to determine upon the evidence was this,—whether the conduct of the prisoner had been such as amounted to a levying of war? With respect to that question, it was perfectly settled by a train of judicial determinations what offences amounted to that crime. It was laid down by Judge Foster in his book, and also by Lord Tenterden on the trial of Thistlewood and others, that such things as occurred in ordinary warfare were not necessary to make out the charge. An insurrection and rising for the purpose of effecting by force of numbers, however ill arrayed or organized, any general purpose, in which the party had no particular interest, amounted to a levying of war. A rebellion rarely in its commencement had much military discipline or array, although a little success might soon enable it to be assumed. If a battle were fought, it was called *bellum percussum;* but, if it were merely a marching and levying of war, still it was established and settled that the actual amount of persons engaged was not very material; but it must be established upon that part of the case, to their satisfaction, that there was an insurrection—a rising in arms for a public purpose. As to the other charge—the compassing of the death of the Queen—it had also been established from the earliest time, that to support such a charge it was not necessary to prove that the party actually contemplated personal violence to the sovereign, levying of war was of itself an overt act to support it. The object of deposing the sovereign, or restraining his personal liberty, was an overt act of compassing his death. Most probably, under the direction of the Court, the only matter they would have to try would be, whether Mr. O'Brien and the persons engaged with him had been guilty of levying war; and if they came to that conclusion, both parts of the charge against the prisoner would be sustained. The actual outbreak and rebellion did not occupy more than a week in July last; but, in order

that they might understand the object of those proceedings, it would be necessary that he should commence at a much earlier period, and trace what Mr. O'Brien himself must have really anticipated as the necessary result of his conduct. In January, 1847, an association was formed in Dublin, called the Irish Confederation, consisting of several members, including Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, Mr. Doheny, and Mr. O'Gorman, who, by the evidence, it appeared had, at a considerable period prior to this outbreak, arranged a plan for an insurrection. He did not say he meant to offer evidence that any plan was actually formed for that purpose so long ago as January, 1847; but that the association continued to July, and that in February or March last a definite arrangement or plan was formed, the object of which was, by force and violence, to effect a separation of the two countries, and to erect Ireland into an independent kingdom. It was a matter of history that the French revolution took place in February last. The success of that revolution appeared to give encouragement to those who entertained similar revolutionary principles in regard to this country. Accordingly, about that period, meetings were held, apparently for the purpose and with the expressed intention of congratulating the Provisional Government established in France. Upon that occasion Mr. O'Brien was present, and made a speech which it was impossible to hear or peruse without seeing that there was a settled idea in Mr. O'Brien's mind that the time would shortly arrive when it would be necessary to have recourse to arms to erect Ireland into an independent kingdom. At the same meeting Mr. Meagher made a speech of a similar character. Then it was that he advised the meeting to take the first step towards that end in the words "Up with the barricades, and invoke the God of battles." It was right to mention the state of the law in March last. At that time, as now, if any person were guilty of high treason he forfeited his life; but the speaking or publishing of seditious speeches, unaccompanied by some overt act or actual levying of war, was a mere misdemeanor, and, if arrested, they would be set at liberty pending their trial. The use these persons made of that liberty was to constitute themselves the bearers of an address to the French nation; and Messrs. O'Brien, Meagher, and O'Gorman went over to Paris accordingly, not merely to congratulate that nation on the change they had effected in their affairs, but really and truly to make such arrangements as would enable them, in the event of an outbreak, to get assistance and sympathy from France. The first design proposed was, that the Irish people should establish a national guard through the country; but finally it was resolved that they should establish clubs, to be provided with arms, with officers over every subdivision, so that at any given moment they should be prepared to rise. Up to this time the speaking or publishing seditious speeches was only a misdemeanour; but in April an act was passed which rendered the compassing or imagining the deposition of the Queen, or giving expression to any such intention, felony. Under this act Mr. Mitchell had been convicted and Mr. Duffy arrested. Startled by these proceedings, the leaders were compelled to some decisive

course; and, after some hesitation, Mr. O'Brien and the other leaders determined to rise in August, so as to rescue Mr. Mitchell and to anticipate the trial of Mr. Duffy. They accordingly redoubled their exertions to effect a rising. Mr. O'Brien went to Cork and the South of Ireland, Doheny went to one part, Dillon and O'Gorman to another. The Lord Lieutenant proclaimed Dublin and the districts adjoining on the 18th July, and at the same time an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and it was hoped, by the arrest of the leaders, to save the country from bloodshed and loss of life. Alarmed by this step, the leaders of the Confederation determined that the rising should take place on the 19th of July. As a preparation for the rising, the Council of the Confederation, which previously consisted of 21 persons, was reduced to five, who were to constitute a War Directory, while Mr. O'Brien was to take the field in person. A witness would be produced who was present at the time of the reduction of the council; but it so happened that, by a providential circumstance, the jury would not be called upon to believe his sole evidence, inasmuch as the identical balloting papers used at the time had been found among the effects of a confederate named Lalor. That brought them to the 21st of July. Mr. O'Brien, early on the 22nd of July, left for Enniscorthy. On the day following the Prime Minister brought in a bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. It was introduced and passed the House of Commons on Saturday. On Monday it was agreed to by the House of Lords, and on Tuesday received the Royal Assent. On Friday the substance of the announcement was conveyed to Dublin by telegraphic despatch. On Saturday Meagher and Dillon left Dublin to give information to O'Brien, and to take the field with him; they arrived at Enniscorthy on Sunday. On the morning of that day O'Brien addressed the people who were assembled around the car in which he was about to travel. He told them the time was come, and used language to induce them to prepare for an outbreak, and to have measures concerted for such a purpose. The party left Enniscorthy that day, and were traced to Graigue, Kilkenny, and Callan. They then addressed large crowds of persons. Some of the persons so addressed would be produced, and the substance of their evidence would show that the people were apprized that the time was at an end for peaceable measures—they must have recourse to war; that they must not consider the military or police as enemies—they were honest men, and would take part with them. The party pursued their course to Carrick, Killenaule, and Mullinahone. He (the Attorney-General) was not able to trace O'Brien's proceedings in the interval; but, from a portmanteau being found at Mrs. Doheny's at Cashel, after his arrest, it was probable that he passed the night of the 24th at Mrs. Doheny's house. On the following day, the 25th, he arrived at Mullinahone at about 3 or 4 o'clock, and then commenced what in his (the Attorney-General's) opinion amounted to a levying of war. Before he arrived it was known he was to be there, and a large body of people was assembled from the surrounding country. Some were armed with

pikes or guns. Speeches of the most seditious character were spoken; drilling, and matters of that description, took place. Had the matter stopped there, that would have amounted to a levying of war. Several strangers arrived, and amongst them was one named Terence M'Manus, who brought with him a military uniform of green. He would state to the jury that one of the expressions used by some of the people at Mullinahone was, that one of the future leaders or kings of Ireland was within its walls. On the next day (Wednesday the 26th) O'Brien, accompanied by a number of persons, went to the police barracks, where there were only six men. O'Brien was armed with a pike, and had some pistols in his belt. O'Brien called on the police to join him, and told them all resistance was in vain, and asked them to surrender their arms; that they saw the display and the enthusiasm of the people, and the number of armed men who accompanied them. Williams, the chief constable of police, told him they would not yield their arms except with their lives. Directly afterwards the party of police left their barracks and went to Cashel. The party who accompanied O'Brien were moving on towards Ballingarry. From the arrival of O'Brien at Mullinahone there was nothing but a levying of war. On Friday, the 28th, O'Brien went to Killenaule, and whilst there he was apprised by a scout that a detachment of dragoons were on their march. It was thought advisable to erect barricades across the road to prevent their march. Captain Longmore, the officer in command, informed some of O'Brien's party that unless the barricades were removed he should force his passage. A gentleman, he believed Dillon, came from O'Brien to know whether it was Captain Longmore's intention to arrest O'Brien, for if it were the barricades should remain, but if it were not they should be removed. Captain Longmore said he was merely on his march with his troops through the country, and, accordingly, the barricades were removed. There was no outbreak. O'Brien then marched on to Ballingarry with an armed body, and stated there, as an encouragement to the people to rise, that he had defeated some dragoons—that Dublin was up—the country was up, and, in fact, all was right. On Saturday, the 29th, it was generally known that O'Brien was in arms, and a proclamation had been issued offering a reward for his arrest. Accordingly, on that day, Mr. Trant, sub-inspector of police, with a force of 40 or 50 men, marched forward to attack and disperse this party of rebels. Arrangements were made by which Trant might expect the aid of a large body of constables from other districts, who were to arrive about the same time at the same place; but he arrived in view of the rebels several hours before the others. He soon found himself almost surrounded by an armed body of 2000 or 3000 men, and thought it advisable not to attack so large a force. There was a slate-roofed house three or four fields distant from the road, where, if he gained it, he might defend himself until the other constabulary arrived. He and his party accordingly hastened to and took possession of the house, and fortified it as well as was in their power. The house was quickly surrounded, but Trant gave an

order to his men not to fire unless they were fired upon. The men were divided into parties of four or five in each room, the house being two stories high. O'Brien came up to the house, asked to see the officer, and applied to the men to join him. They refused, and after some parleying O'Brien himself, if he (the Attorney-General) was rightly instructed, gave an order to the men to fire. His command was obeyed, the fire was opened on the police. But whether he gave the order or not was immaterial. The fire was returned, and two, he believed, of the country people were shot, and many were wounded. Everything that ability and eloquence could do would be done by his learned friend, Mr. Whiteside, to explain the conduct of Mr. O'Brien; but, if those facts were proved, it would be for the jury to say whether they did not amount to a levying of war, and whether the object of them was not of a revolutionary character. That attack occurred at the house of the widow M'Cormack. Trant's party were soon after relieved by sub-inspector Cox and a party. From that moment O'Brien saw that any reliance upon the constabulary joining him was out of the question—he found that it was the fixed determination of every man in that service to lose his life rather than swerve from his allegiance to his Sovereign. That being the case, there was an end of his expedition. From the arrival of Cox and his party, on the 29th of July, O'Brien was nowhere to be found, but a policeman, Carroll, was stopped, and afterwards released by O'Brien. It was not his (the Attorney-General's) intention to overstate a single fact, but there could not be a doubt that, from what he had stated, there was sufficient force and violence to amount to a levying of war. He could not anticipate the course his learned friend would take, but he thought it very probable that with his friend's great knowledge and judgment he would not argue that the facts he had stated did not amount to a levying of war; but he might endeavour to allege, as was frequently attempted, that what was done by O'Brien was not done with a revolutionary object; that it was not to effect any change in the Government or constitution of the country, for if there were such an object, his friend must know, as a lawyer, that there could be no doubt that what had occurred would amount to a levying of war within the statute of Edward. But if there were any doubt, documents had been found in the possession of O'Brien, in his own handwriting, which relieved the case from every difficulty. These were letters found upon his person, and documents which were discovered in his portmanteau which had been left at Mrs. Doheny's, and which clearly developed the revolutionary objects of these persons. The Attorney-General then read a letter of C. G. Duffy, as follows:—

"Saturday.

"My dear Sir,—I am glad to learn that you are about to commence a series of meetings in Munster. There is no half-way house for you. You will be the head of the movement, loyally obeyed, and the revolution will be conducted with order and clemency; or the mere anarchists will prevail with the people, and our revolution will be a bloody chaos. You have at present Lafayette's place, so graphically

painted by Lamartine, and I believe have fallen into Lafayette's error—that of not using it to all its extent and in all its resources. I am perfectly well aware that you don't desire to lead or influence others; but I believe with Lamartine that that feeling which is a high personal and civic virtue is a vice in revolutions. One might as well, I think, not want to influence a man who was going to walk on thawing ice or to cross a fordless river, as not to desire to keep men right in a political struggle, and to do it with might and main. If I were Smith O'Brien, I would strike out in my own mind, or with such counsel as I valued, a definite course for the revolution, and labour incessantly to develope it in that way. For example, your project of obtaining signatures to the roll of the National Guard, and when a sufficient number were produced, and not sooner, calling the Council of Three Hundred, was one I entirely relied upon: but it has been permitted to fall into disuse, and would scarcely be revived now. The clubs, however, might take the place of the National Guard, and the proposal in your letter on —— of a definite number of clubs being formed, would just suit as well if it were vigorously and systematically carried out, each day adding an item to it, and all the men we could influence employed upon it.

"Forgive me for urging this so anxiously upon you; but I verily believe the hopes of the country depend upon the manner in which the next two months are used. There is not a town in which you could not find a band of missionaries to organize the neighbouring counties. Every club has its active men fit for this work, and it is only by applying all our force to it that we will succeed.

"With best regards to Mrs. O'Brien, believe me, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

"C. G. Duffy."

The next evidence to be laid before them was a letter dated "Ballingarry, July 29," and written just before the arrival of the police under Mr. Cox and Mr. Trant. It was addressed to the proprietor of the coal-mines in the district: in it Mr. O'Brien advised the owners to give all the produce of their works to their men, or, in the event of their resistance, threatened them with confiscation "should the Irish revolution be successful." It would be a most fortunate circumstance if it should appear that the movements of the Government in taking active measures had precipitated the course of the conspirators. Had not the Government taken precautions, he did not say but that the loyalty of the immense mass of the people, supported by the courage and devotion of the police, would have carried the country safely through the danger; but he was persuaded that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act would have been indeed an auspicious measure, if it had had the effect of forcing the conspirators to take the field at a time when their arrangements were not complete. It was also a matter of great congratulation that not one person out of all those who supported the cause of law and order had lost his life or suffered injury. Some of those unfortunate people who had accompanied Mr. O'Brien had lost their lives in the open fields, but it was well that more blood had not been shed.

That was his case; and if it were proved, as he believed it would be most fully, to the satisfaction of the jury, he did not entertain a shadow of doubt but that they would do their duty, however painful that might be to them, and find the prisoner guilty; while on the other hand they would give him the benefit of any hesitation they might feel as to the full extent of his criminality.

Mr. J. G. Hodges. — Was a shorthand writer, and he first attended a meeting of the Confederation on the 5th of March, 1848. Mr. O'Brien was there. Witness stated that he had been sent to the meeting to take notes and to identify the speakers. Messrs. Meagher, O'Gorman, Duffy, M'Ghie, Dillon, and Halpin, the secretary, were also there. Mr. O'Brien made a speech there. Had a transcription of the notes with him. The notes were at his lodgings.

The Solicitor-General. — Read the speech if you please.

Mr. Whiteside submitted the notes of a speech of so distant a date could not be received in evidence in support of the indictment, and referred to the cases of Watson, Hardy, Tooke, and Francia, to prove that speeches, unless accompanied by acts at the time, could not be taken as evidence of the intent with which subsequent acts had been done.

The Attorney-General contended that the evidence was clearly admissible to prove the count for the levying of war as well as the count for conspiracy. The Crown adduced these speeches to show the motives which actuated Mr. O'Brien, and to account for the conduct he pursued subsequent to their delivery.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the Court were of opinion these speeches could be received in evidence of the intention with which the accused committed the overt acts alleged against him.

Witness then read at great length speeches delivered by the prisoner at that meeting, on the 15th April and the 19th July, in which the prisoner developed his projects for extensive agitation.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—Had had some experience in reporting agitation speeches; had heard many of Mr. O'Connell's. Had proved the first speech he read that day in a court of justice against Mr. O'Brien on the occasion of a prosecution for sedition in the Queen's Bench. Believed that the jury disagreed on that occasion, and could not determine whether he was guilty of sedition or not. Had seen the uniform of the "'82 Club." It was green. Many of those attending the *soirée* were in that dress. Had heard Mr. Mitchell was expelled the Confederation on the motion of Mr. O'Brien.

General Macdonald examined. —Was in command in a part of Tipperary at the time of the insurrection, and at the beginning of last August saw Mr. O'Brien after his arrest at Thurles. [Identified him.] Saw Mr. O'Brien give up a number of papers, keys, and a quantity of other articles; took a handkerchief in which Mr. O'Brien had deposited those articles, and put them in a despatch box which he delivered to Captain Eman, 41st Regiment, acting for Government. They were put under cover and were sent with the keys. Had

never seen them since. [Identified the documents produced as those found on Mr. O'Brien.]

Cross-examined. — Mr. O'Brien had just 10*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* on his person when he was captured.

September 30th.

Captain Eman.—Received this parcel from General Macdonald, and delivered it in the same state he received it to the Secretary at the Vice-Regal Lodge.

Mr. Gore Jones, R.M.—Is a resident magistrate of this county. Was at Thurles in August last, and remembered the night O'Brien was arrested. Saw Mr. O'Brien at about half-past 8 in the evening at the Bridewell at Thurles. He had a long conversation with Mr. O'Brien. He got two letters from him and forwarded them. One was for Mrs. O'Brien and the other for Mrs. Doheny. Mr. O'Brien begged him to have them forwarded to Mrs. Doheny and Mrs. O'Brien. He transmitted the letter for Mrs. Doheny to Sub-Inspector Cox, at Cashel, where Mrs. Doheny resided. Prisoner asked witness if he could get his portmanteau, which was in the keeping of Mrs. Doheny. He told Mr. O'Brien that his messenger must necessarily be of the police, and that Mrs. Doheny would not give up the portmanteau unless he (Mr. O'Brien) wrote for it. He also told Mr. O'Brien that anything he wrote must be read by witness before he transmitted it. He then wrote a letter, which witness had already stated he transmitted to Mr. Cox, and received subsequently from Mr. Cox a portmanteau. Gave it in charge to Mr. Bagnell, an engineer of the South-Western line. Witness transmitted the portmanteau as he received it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—Mr. O'Brien was at that time a prisoner in the Bridewell; he said he wished to have the portmanteau, and witness was to get it for him.

Did you, as a man of honour and a magistrate, tell Mr. O'Brien that anything he said to you would be produced against him?—I did not.

Did you tell him that, instead of sending the portmanteau to him, you should pack it up and send it to the Secretary of State?—I did not.

Did you give a distinct engagement to Mr. O'Brien as to the portmanteau, accompanied with every demonstration of courtesy?—I did assure him he should have his portmanteau.

And upon the faith of that assurance you got that letter from him to Mrs. Doheny?—I did.

And you gave that letter to the police?—I did.

Sub-Inspector Cox, and other witnesses, traced the delivery of the portmanteau to the hands of Mr. Redington, the Under-Secretary, and Mr. Thos. Burke, who opened it, and now produced and identified the papers and documents, part of its contents.

Mr. W. Lowe, examined by the Attorney-General.—Knew Mr. C. G. Duffy since the year 1843. Knew his handwriting. Had seen him write. Believed the letter handed to him (one of the letters found in the trunk) by the Attorney-General to be in his handwriting, but could not swear it distinctly. Had been the manager of the printing business of the *Nation*. Knew Mr. Duffy's handwriting; in fact had no doubt but that the letter produced was written by him.

Mr. W. Sheaman, examined by the Solicitor-General.—Resided at Waterford, and was a professional man. Knew Mr. T. F. Meagher. Had received letters from him. Believed the letter produced to be in his handwriting. (It was marked and handed in to the officer, being one of the three letters found in the portmanteau.) Identified another letter produced as being in Mr. Meagher's handwriting.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—Had never seen the letters before.

The Attorney-General then rose to recapitulate the evidence with respect to those documents, in order that they might be read in court and received in evidence. They were clearly traceable to Mr. O'Brien's possession, and were admissible in evidence against him.

The Lord Chief Justice.—With respect to the value of the objection against receiving the contents of that trunk against Mr. O'Brien, the Court have to say that they do not know how it came into the possession of Mr. Cox. Norton is not produced to show how he got it, and Mr. Cox is the first person in whose possession it appears. The Crown had not produced the first person who had possession of the trunk.

Mr. Whiteside submitted that it would be impossible to receive the contents of the trunk or portmanteau against Mr. O'Brien. He had three objections to the reception of them,—first, on the fundamental grounds that the Crown did not produce the person who first received the trunk from Mrs. Doheny. No one could tell but that the trunk had been opened ten times over from the time it left her possession and before it reached Mr. Cox. Secondly, he objected to the receipt of them, because Mrs. Doheny, in whose custody it had remained, had not been produced. Thirdly, he objected because Mr. Redington should have been summoned to show the circumstances under which the trunk had been opened when in his possession, and how it came into his possession.

The Lord Chief Justice.—We think there is evidence to go to the jury. These papers may be said to have been traced to the possession of Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. Franklin, examined by Mr. Scott.—Holds the situation of manager of the Provincial Bank at Limerick. Is acquainted with Mr. Smith O'Brien; he kept an account at that bank. Knows his handwriting. (Several documents were handed to the witness.) To one there was no signature; he believed that to be in Mr. O'Brien's handwriting. Of another the signature and address only were of his handwriting. In a third, only one word—"Cahirmoyle," was so.

Robert Walpole, inspector of police in Dublin, examined by Mr. Sausse.—Produced several papers purporting to be the *Dublin Gazettes* of Tuesday, the 25th of July, 1848, Friday, the 28th of July, an extraordinary *Gazette* of Wednesday, the 26th of July, and that of the 21st of July. Remembers that on the 27th of July he went to the house of a person named Keeley, in Eustace Street, Dublin. Does not know Halpin. The witness produced papers which he said he received from Kirby, a sergeant of police in Dublin, who accompanied him in his search of Keeley's house.

Constable Kirby proved the search and delivery.

Mary Ann Keeley, examined by

the Attorney-General. — Knows Mr. Halpin. She had seen those papers which the police took away before at Mr. Halpin's, 9, D'Olier Street. Mr. Halpin was there at that time. Witness brought the papers to Eustace Street.

James Stephenson Dobbin, an ill-favoured fellow, examined by the Solicitor-General. — Had resided for the last twelve months in Dublin; was a member of the Red Hand Club, a branch of the Curran Club. It held its meetings on Constitution Hill. The Curran Club held its meetings in Capel Street. There were at the house where the Red Hand Club met blinds at the windows with a red hand painted on them. There were about 30 members on the roll; about the 22nd of July there were upwards of 500 members belonging to the Curran Club. It had then been two months in organization. Knew Mr. T. F. Meagher, Mr. Dillon, and others, who were members of that club. Remembered a meeting on the 15th of July. Attended the club that evening. Went on the same evening to attend a council of the Confederation in D'Olier Street. When he entered that house he saw Mr. O'Brien there, sitting at what he called the head of the table. Mr. Halpin was sitting at the lower end. About 100 persons were there. Mr. O'Brien was sitting at the head of the table with a book in his hand. He called over from that book the name of the clubs and of the representatives of the clubs, and those representatives came forward. Mr. O'Brien asked of the representative of each—whether the club was organized, and whether it was divided into sections and sub-sections, with an officer to each. This meeting was to make arrangements for a meeting next day near Kilmainham. It was a Mr. Troughton who proposed that, in order to form an idea of the strength of the clubs, there should be a meeting the next day at Ennis Yard, near Kilmainham.

By Mr. Justice Moore: Was all that said in Mr. O'Brien's presence?—It was.

The Solicitor-General: Did Mr. O'Brien state for what purpose the clubs were divided into sections and sub-sections?—Not just at the time; but he said it was to effect the independence of the country.

Did Mr. O'Brien use these words, "To effect the independence of the country"?—Yes, at another time that evening. The meeting did not take place because the ground was pre-occupied by the police. At the meeting in the evening Mr. O'Brien gave an encouraging account of the clubs in Cork and other places which he had visited. He said he marched the club at Cork in the yard, and that they were as fine a body of men as any in Her Majesty's service. There was a general conversation as to the state of their arms. Troughton also gave an account of a tour he had made in England for the purpose of organizing the clubs, and said there were 2500 armed men ready to come over when the insurrection broke out. He said they had two swivels also ready to come over. Troughton said, the great difficulty in the way was how to get the swivels over. Mr. O'Brien stated in reply that he had been at Bantry, where he was met by a boat's crew who gave him a hearty cheer, and who would give him every facility, and he said that every club should have a boat for that

and other purposes. Witness knew Charles Gavan Duffy. At the meeting on the 15th, Mr. O'Brien spoke for a considerable time of the organization necessary to effect the object they had in view, and said he considered that at that time the organization was not perfect enough. He also said that he would rather stand on the gallows than that one person should lose his life on his account. He knew a Mr. Joseph Brennan. There was another meeting on the 19th of July; it was a mid-day meeting in D'Olier Street of the representatives of the clubs. Witness attended as representative of the Red Hand Club. The meeting was very crowded. Mr. O'Brien was there. The meeting was to consider measures to defeat the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation about the Arms Bill. Mr. Brennan proposed that the insurrection should take place at once. Mr. Dillon was there, and moved an amendment to the resolution, that the people should conceal their arms and give passive resistance to the proclamation. Mr. O'Brien said, that to rise at that time would be premature. Mr. O'Gorman was there, and said to Dillon the amendment was too vague. They said that Doheny was organizing in the country. Dillon's amendment was then put to the vote, and there was a small majority in favour of it. Has seen members of the Curran Club armed with muskets and pikes. Remembered a meeting at D'Olier Street on the 21st of July. Mr. O'Brien was not there. It was in the same room, and of the same association. Mr. Dillon was in the chair. The same course was pursued as to the admission of the clubbists as on former occasions.

Mr. Whiteside objected to transactions at which Mr. O'Brien was not present being given in evidence against him.

To the Lord Chief Justice.—The association at which he attended was the same as that at which Mr. O'Brien had been on the previous occasion. That evening had been set apart on the 19th, in the presence of Mr. O'Brien, for the formation of an executive council to manage the affairs of the clubs. O'Gorman and Dillon spoke there, and that other fellow, Brennan.

The Lord Chief Justice.—We are all of opinion that this evidence is admissible.

Examination continued.—When Dillon was called to the chair, he observed that persons not authorized by the club were present. The club representatives left the room and went into an adjoining apartment until the strangers had left. On their return they proceeded to elect the members of the new council by means of balloting papers, on which each member wrote the names of the five gentlemen he desired to be elected. The council was quite a new thing: the governing body of the Confederation consisted of 21 members. The term "executive council" was distinctly applied to the body of five. Could swear that those resolutions had not been taken down in a book. The whole body were unanimous in wishing for the election of Mr. O'Brien; but Mr. Dillon said that Mr. O'Brien would be more useful in organizing the country than he could be in the council. Witness wrote on a piece of paper the names of those he voted for. This and other similar bits of paper were placed in a hat, which was

removed by the scrutineers into an adjoining room and examined. On their return they declared the result of their scrutiny to be—that Dillon, Meagher, O'Gorman, and M'Ghie were elected, and that votes were divided for Devin Reilly and Lalor. A new election took place, when the former was successful. The witness was here handed some small pieces of paper, some of which he identified as the balloting papers used on the above occasion, and as having been written by himself. J. F. Lalor, M'Dermott, and O'Higgins. Halpin, the secretary, got the papers afterwards, and he (witness) never saw them till they appeared in the hands of the Crown solicitor. Mr. O'Brien was engaged in the regular business of the meeting.

Mr. Whiteside: Have you ever, on your oath, spoken to Mr. O'Brien, or has he ever spoken to you? Look at him.—The witness did so accordingly, and then said that he had never spoken to, nor had been addressed by, Mr. O'Brien in his life. Troughton did not say where in England the swivels were kept. Mr. O'Brien advised each of the clubs to get a pleasure boat for such purposes as to land swivels. He also said that the organization of the clubs was not perfect. Could not say if the observation of Mr. O'Brien, that "he would sooner lose his own life on the scaffold than that any man should lose his life on his (Mr. O'Brien's) account by any premature attempt," was applied to an attempt to rescue Mr. Duffy. Between the meetings of the 15th and 19th the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation against carrying arms in Dublin. The meeting of the 19th was to consider whether the clubs should or should not obey the proclamation. It was, in fact, to defeat the object of the proclamation. He had not attended the meeting at the beginning.

Upon your oath was not the meeting called by a distinct requisition?—I don't know; a person told me it was going on.

Who was it?—I will not tell you.

You must.—I will not. Do you think I will give up a man to be assassinated by the clubs of Dublin for your pleasure? I will not.

I insist on an answer.—I put myself under the protection of the Court. I have seen consultations at the clubs plotting and concocting assassinations.

You are not going to escape by that flourish. Who sent you? I insist on an answer.

The Attorney-General appealed to the Court, and, after some argument,

The Lord Chief Justice, after consulting with his learned brothers, said, "We feel ourselves called upon to extend our protection to the witness. We have taken a note of it."

Did Mr. O'Brien vote at that meeting?—I believe not.

At the meeting of the representatives of the clubs did Mr. Meagher or Mr. Dillon object to it?—The members present were disposed to elect Mr. O'Brien, but Mr. Dillon said Mr. O'Brien wished not to be elected, but to have the privilege of going through the country to organize the people.

Constable Thomas Griffin, examined by Mr. Scott.—Knew James Lalor; arrested him on the 28th of July last, at Ballyhane, in this county. He was in bed. A black bag was on the table in the room. Opened the bag, and found in it a

roll of papers. (The papers were produced.)

Mr. Fitzgerald.—How do you know the papers produced are the same?—I marked them.

Mark Pinder, one of the detective police, was examined by Mr. Sausse.—Was a Dublin constable. Remembered July 22. Was on duty in plain clothes at the *Felon* office. (Identified Mr. O'Brien.) Saw him between seven and eight o'clock in a car in Dame Street, with a travelling bag and a blue cloak on his arm, going in the direction of St. Andrew Street. The name of the carman was Patrick Neale.

Patrick M'Kenna, examined by Mr. Lynch.—Was a mail guard on the Wexford night mail. On July 22nd took up two gentlemen at Leighlinstown, one of whom he thought was Mr. Meagher. They got down at Enniscorthy. Arrived there at twenty-five minutes past five in the morning.

Cross-examined.—They were not disguised.

Francis Dunlevie, examined by the Attorney-General.—Was stationed as constable in Enniscorthy last July. (Identified Mr. O'Brien.) Saw him arrive about five o'clock or Saturday evening, the 22nd, by the day coach. Saw Mr. Meagher on Sunday following. Heard Mr. O'Brien address people to the extent of about 500; he stood on a car. Mr. O'Brien then alluded to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and said he did not know but at that time the police had a warrant for his arrest; he called on the people to be prepared for any emergency. Mr. Meagher spoke afterwards; he said he always had been and ever would be the unrelenting enemy of the British Government, that he had recently addressed 50,000 Tipperary men, who swore they were prepared to do their duty, and other matters of a similar character. Mr. Dillon was introduced to the meeting subsequently. The car left immediately afterwards with the three gentlemen, at one o'clock, and went towards Kilkenny.

Other witnesses were called, who traced the prisoner to Kilkenny, Graigue, and Callan, and deposed to seditious harangues made by prisoner and his companions.

Patrick Coghlan, constable, deposed that he was stationed at Carrick on July the 25th, where he saw a meeting in the street, which was addressed by Messrs. O'Brien and Meagher. The people were called on to say if they would use their strong arms to rescue him, and replied, that they would. Mr. O'Brien said he knew that they had stout nerves and strong arms—he wanted neither place nor emolument. He had sacrificed near and dear family ties, and that he was determined now to sacrifice life; but that was not the time for words. Mr. Meagher in his address said he would advance a step for every step taken by the Government. He could only be punished with death, and he was ready to meet it in defence of his unhappy country. The time was come when they must strike the blow. He spoke of French ships and an Irish Republic, and said at the end, "Hurrah for a Republic."

John Hanrahan, constable, examined.—Saw Mr. O'Brien in Carrick-on-Suir on the 25th of July. Took notes of the speech made by him immediately afterwards. (Witness repeated extracts from the alleged speech, which was violently

inflammatory in sentiments and very high-flown in its rhetoric. Witness repeated Mr. Meagher's alleged speech also, but did not seem to have taken it down so fully.)

October 2nd.

Mr. C. Vernon, registrar of newspapers at the Stamp Office.—Knew Mr. C. G. Duffy, and proved that the letter from him to Mr. O'Brien, and which was found in Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau, was in Mr. Duffy's handwriting.

Timothy Sullivan, examined by the Attorney-General.—In July last he lived at Mullinahone. Saw Mr. O'Brien at that place on Tuesday, the 25th, between twelve and one o'clock. Another gentleman, whose name he believed was Dillon, was with Mr. O'Brien. Saw him speaking to a number of persons, about 150, in the street. He remained in the street, moving along, for about two hours. The number of persons increased. Saw him go from one street to another. Mr. O'Brien then went to Mr. Wright's, and remained there about an hour and a half. Saw him come out; there were then about 250 people about the house. It was about two o'clock. When he came out he addressed a number of persons from a wall, and he said, "Now was the time for them to seek for their rights. Government was very near a change. There was a warrant against him, but he hoped the people would not let him be arrested," the people said they would not. He said also, "that Irishmen could hold their own places in the Government instead of Englishmen." Could not recollect his saying anything else. Mr. Dillon, in Mr. O'Brien's presence, afterwards addressed the people, but he could not truly remember what he said—it was something to the same subject. Mr. O'Brien told them to get their arms that he might see the strength of them. Mr. O'Brien at that time had a large pistol on his left side in his breast pocket. About 200 or 300 of the people had all sorts of weapons—guns, pikes, old swords, pitchforks, and so on. Many were unarmed. They were marched through the town and back, and met the main body at Wright's and halted. It was about 300 or 400 who marched in that way, and the main body was about 5000 or 6000. That was on the night of the 25th. The armed party continued in the streets the greater part of the night. Saw them himself going up and down the street during the night. There were armed people about Mr. Wright's house that night, guarding the place. He heard Mr. O'Brien giving directions to guard himself; he said, "They must remain the night to guard me." Mr. O'Brien stayed that night at Mr. Wright's.

A Juryman.—Did Mr. O'Brien say for what purpose he wished to be guarded?

Witness.—Yes, sir; lest he should be arrested.

Mr. Whiteside.—That is very important.

Examination resumed.—Mr. O'Brien left Mullinahone that day (Wednesday), about eleven or twelve o'clock. Witness did not see him leave, but saw the people leaving—they went towards Ballingarry, marching with pikes. Ballingarry is distant from Mullinahone about five or six miles. The next time he saw Mr. O'Brien was the following day (Thursday), about twelve or one o'clock, in Mullinahone,

coming from Ballingarry, leading a body of armed men, with a pike on his shoulder, and wearing a cap. He was walking. The main body was about 250. He was at the head of an advanced guard of about twenty or thirty men. They were also armed. A man on horseback was leading the advanced guard—he had a pistol in one of his hands, and a belt round his waist with a short sword or dagger in it. He had the appearance of a gentleman, but witness did not ascertain his name. The advanced guard was about twenty yards before the main body. O'Donoghue and Stephens were both with O'Brien. They were armed in the same way as before. The main body marched four deep. When they got into Mullinahone, the man that led the advanced guard halted them in Carrick Street, opposite a baker's, and ordered some bread for them. Some remained long in the town that day, but Mr. O'Brien left, in between half an hour and an hour's time. When Mr. O'Brien left he went in the direction of Carrick-on-Suir, and about twenty or thirty persons with him. They were armed. They went in the direction of Cappoyne. Mr. O'Brien was armed. When Mr. O'Brien left the town, Dillon, and Donoghue, and Stephens were with him. Did not see Mr. O'Brien after that Thursday. On the first evening there were fires in the streets, and also in Slievenamon and the hills about. I saw about ten or twelve fires in the country.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—Could not say whether the fires numbered ten or twenty. The bread he spoke of had been regularly bought at Conway, the baker's. It was eaten by the people. Mr. O'Brien did not force his way into Mr. Wright's house, nor was he quartered there by violence. He was invited willingly by Wright's son, and entertained there. Had never been in the army. Had been in the police. Had left the force. Had not been dismissed by the inspector. Had left them voluntarily. Had not been dismissed for putting any document into the police despatch-box; nor for taking any document out of it. Swore positively that he left the police force of his own accord, without being guilty of any impropriety which would have caused his dismissal if he had not resigned.

Head-constable Williams, examined by the Solicitor-General.—Was stationed at Mullinahone in July last. His party was six and himself. Knows Mr. O'Brien; first saw him on Tuesday evening, the 25th of July, at about five o'clock, at Mullinahone. Saw Mr. O'Brien, the same evening, standing on a wall opposite Mr. Wright's house, addressing the people. About 200 were within his hearing. He heard Mr. O'Brien say that a warrant was issued for his arrest; and, if taken, he thought he should be hanged; and he was anxious to ascertain whether it was their wish he should surrender himself. If not, that he was prepared to resist any attempt that was made to arrest him. He said something about there being another form of government in less than six weeks, and followed up that expression by saying that all vacancies should be filled up by Irishmen. A gentleman, whose name I heard was Dillon, was with him. The numbers increased that night. Saw pikes and pitchforks in the hands of some; others had firearms,

others sticks. There were about 2000 persons. Witness was then in the barrack, and remained up all night with his party. Remembered the morning of the 26th. Saw Mr. O'Brien that morning about eight o'clock. Witness and his party were then in their barrack. Mr. O'Brien went to the barrack; the door was open; their arms were upstairs. Mr. O'Brien was dressed in a dark body coat, and with a cap like a military officer's cap, with a gold band on it. He had a stick with a spear on it in his left hand, and in the other hand he had a pistol: he had also three pistols in the breast of his coat. Witness observed them in speaking to him. He was accompanied by two persons; one was a young man, about 23 years of age, and he had a double-barrelled gun and a dirk. The other was older, and had a gun; his name was O'Donoghue. When Mr. O'Brien came into the barrack he said he wanted their arms. Witness said he could not comply with his request, that he could only part with their arms with their lives. He asked witness if he did not see the display on the last night. Witness said he did. Mr. O'Brien said that a barrack, where there were 500 men, was to be attacked that day; and said it was better for witness and his party to give up their arms and go to Callan, and he would place them in the pay. Could not say whether he spoke in the singular or plural number. After that expression he asked what witness intended to do, and witness said he should be unworthy of the name of an Irishman if he gave him the arms. Mr. O'Brien said he would give them an hour to consider, and in that time he would have 500 men, and that resistance would be useless. Mr. O'Brien and the other two then left the barrack. About five or six minutes after that, witness and his party marched out of their barracks with their arms, and went to Cashel, pursuant to orders.

Cross-examined by Mr. Fitzgerald. — The police-barrack at Mullinahone consisted of one story. Their arms were in the room above. The party of police consisted of six, who were all there at the time. It was about eight o'clock in the morning when Mr. O'Brien came. Knew the police-station at Callan. Did not know how many men it contained. Certainly not 500. The greatest number of police at any one station would be about thirty. Neither of the two gentlemen with Mr. O'Brien used threatening language to the police. There were no armed men outside the barrack at the time. There were but few people in the streets. The two with him had no pikes. Mr. O'Brien leant on the shaft of the spear, the spike being down on the ground. Had not seen him or his companions afterwards in the town.

Constable Francis Wiggins made the same statement.

A number of witnesses were then called, who traced with great minuteness the journeyings of Mr. O'Brien and his companions to and from Ballingarry. The witnesses, who were chiefly peasants, showed great reluctance in identifying the prisoner. The parties in whose house at Ballingarry the prisoner and his friends had taken up their abode on the 26th and 27th of July, deposed to those circumstances, but positively refused to identify the prisoner.

George Sparrow, a youth about seventeen, examined by Mr. Scott.

—Lives at Lisnaroch, near Ballingarry. Was in Ballingarry on Thursday, the 27th of July last. Knew Mr. O'Brien, and saw him in Ballingarry on the 27th, between eleven and twelve o'clock. There were about 400 or 500 in the streets with him. Saw some other gentlemen besides Mr. O'Brien in the streets at the time. Some of the people—about thirty—were armed with guns and pistols and blunderbusses; the others had pikes and pitchforks. Mr. O'Brien was drilling them. They were in three parts. A man they called Mr. Dillon, and another, Mr. Meagher, were with Mr. O'Brien. They marched down the streets, and Mr. O'Brien gave them the word of command to divide, one party on one side of the street, and the other on the other side with their arms, which they presented. Those who had not arms were across the street. That exercise went on for about a couple of hours. Mr. Dillon had a belt with pistols. Mr. O'Brien also had a belt and pistols; he had a double-barrelled pistol in his hand and another in his belt. Saw nothing in Mr. Meagher's hand. Mr. O'Brien had on a cap with a gold band. After the exercise, heard Mr. O'Brien appoint John Cormack one of the commanders at Ballingarry, and told him to have the men ready whenever he called upon them.

To the Lord Chief Justice.—He called Cormack lieutenant-colonel—Lieutenant-Colonel Cormack.

Examination continued.—I saw a man named David Cunningham there. He was another of the commanders. Heard Mr. O'Brien say so.

John O'Donnell, a respectable-looking farmer, was then called forward, and made his appearance on the table. When the book was tendered to him he exclaimed with energy, "No, I won't be sworn; if I were placed before a rank of soldiers not one word would I speak, though 20 bayonets were to be driven into my heart. My brother is one of the prisoners, my lords, and I could never go back to my own house again with the badge of an informer on my breast."

The Attorney-General. — You will not be asked to give evidence against your brother.

O'Donnell.—I don't care, sir; directly or indirectly I will give no evidence.

The Court ordered his committal to prison.

Thomas Burke, examined by Mr. Sausse.—Lived at Ballingarry in July last. Remembered the last Wednesday in July. Was at Ballingarry on that day, but left and went towards Mullinahone. The witness identified Mr. O'Brien, and deposed to his drilling and exercising bodies of armed men. Saw Mr. O'Brien on Saturday, after one o'clock, at Farrinrory. Went to the Widow M'Cormack's house. It was more than two miles and a half—barely three miles—from Ballingarry. When he reached the house the police were there, inside the house. The people were around it. Some of the people had arms; more had not. The arms were guns, pikes, and pitchforks. As far as he could safely say, there were about 60 or 70 armed men, and about 300 or 400 in the crowd around the house. There were four or five gentlemen among them. They were all armed with guns and pistols. Recognised among them O'Brien, M'Manus, and a small

man, whom he had seen drilling the people in Ballingarry. The gentlemen, as far as he could ascertain, were trying to take the arms from the police. Saw a man named Cormack at Farrinrory. He was not armed. Witness was under the garden wall of the house at the time. He saw the people outside in the act of firing in, and he saw a man "knocked" (which witness explained to mean killed) by his side, from the police inside. Saw Smith O'Brien at the time. Could not understand what he was saying. Saw him on the window of the house in the act of speaking to the police inside. That was before the firing took place. At the time of the firing heard M'Manus say to the people, "Burn the house."

Witnesses were then called who traced prisoner's course from Ballingarry to Killenaule, and to his leaving that place in haste, on the day the barricades were thrown up.

Thomas Sullivan deposed that he lived at Killenaule, and had formerly been in the police, but had left it on accouut of ill health. Remembered the day of the barricades. Knew Mr. O'Brien. [Identified prisoner.] Saw him there on that day, between one and two o'clock. There were four gentlemen with him. Barricades were erected at a place called "the Pike." Before their erection had observed the gentlemen in question leaving Walshe's hall door. Had observed two men, one armed with a gun, the other with a pike, standing by the door before that. The chapel bells were rung after that, and a great number of people rushed down in the direction of the Pike. They had scythes on poles, guns, pikes, and pitchforks. They brought empty carts and cars full of turf with them and erected them into barricades; they also used some large pieces of timber for the same purpose. Before the erection of the barricade, two officers had passed through the town in a gig. The word was then passed that the military were coming. The military came up soon, and he could state nothing more than that the barricade was removed almost immediately after.

William Parsons, a private of the 8th Hussars, examined by Mr. Scott.—Was marching on the 28th of July, with a troop of 45 soldiers under Captain Longmore, from Fethard to Killenaule. Was in advance of the others. Met with the obstruction of a barricade on entering the village of Killenaule. It was formed of cars, carts, &c. There were about 300 men there. There was a second barricade about 20 yards beyond the other. On arriving at the first barricade a man came forward with a rifle and told him to halt, if he did not he would blow his brains out. He halted until his captain came up.

Captain Longmore, of the 8th Hussars, examined by Mr. Lynch.—Proved meeting with the barricades. He rode up and told the person he saw that unless the barricades were immediately removed he should feel it his duty to fire. A man, rather tall and sallow, respectably dressed, but without arms, came forward from the barricades, and said he understood the troop was merely passing through the town, but that the people were determined to resist the arrest of Smith O'Brien, who was then in the town. He asked witness if he had a warrant to arrest him? To which witness replied, "No." Nothing further was said, and the barricades

were ordered to be removed—that was by that person's direction. They were removed, and the troops passed through.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—It was not Mr. O'Brien who addressed witness.

The witness wished to mention that that was previous to the proclamation for the troops to act alone against armed parties and for the arrest of certain persons.

A man named Cashel, and Helen Glacken traced the prisoner to Ballingarry.

William Penlock and J. Pemberton, employed at the collieries at Ballingarry, deposed to the prisoner's presence there with an armed force, and to his seditious speeches and acts. Mr. O'Brien said to the latter that if the colliery company stood neutral he would support them, but that if they attempted to suspend the works in consequence of the men following him, he would take possession of the collieries. He said he would have Ireland rescued from the British Government in less than a week.

October 3rd.

John Lamphier.—I was at the Commons Colliery at Ballingarry as a pay-clerk of the Mining Company of Ireland. Remembered Friday evening, the 28th of July. Was at the colliery. Saw three jaunting cars pass by. From eight to ten persons were on the cars. (The witness identified Mr. O'Brien as one of the persons on the cars.) Mr. O'Brien went out in the road and addressed the people; there were 200 or 300 people about the house. He told them there was a warrant against him, and a reward of 500*l.* for his arrest, but, if they protected him and armed, Ireland would be free in a fortnight. Mr. Meagher and Mr. Dillon addressed the people. Mr. Meagher told the people to protect Mr. O'Brien, and he also said that, if they did, Ireland would be free in a fortnight. He also told them to drive the Saxon from the soil. Mr. Dillon addressed the people and said, if they would arm and protect Mr. O'Brien, they would have Ireland free in six months. About twelve o'clock on Saturday, Mr O'Brien walked into the yard at the mining concerns; he asked who was in charge of the concerns. Witness said that he was; and Mr. O'Brien said that he came for some carts and horses that were in a yard A small boy was walking behind him. He said he wanted the carts and boxes to throw up barricades across the road. Witness said he could not give them up, on which Mr. O'Brien said he would take them by force, and ordered a man named Tobin, who was standing by, to wheel away the carts, but he refused. Mr. O'Brien himself then commenced wheeling the cart, but he moved it only a few yards. No others came into the concerns, but about 500 persons were within 50 yards of it. Mr. O'Brien and the people commenced and completed the erection of a barricade on the road to Ballingarry. It consisted of ladders, boxes, sticks, and stones, and was about four feet high. The people, when they had finished it, walked up and down the road. They were armed with pikes and guns. Mr. O'Brien had a pistol in his hand. They continued walking about for an hour. They went in the direction of the widow M'Cormack's house. Before that, witness saw a body of police on the Ballingarry road. When the po-

lice got to Scott's Cross they turned to the right towards Mrs. M'Cormack's. Saw Mr. O'Brien going through the fields with the people. As well as witness could see, the police got to the house first. The people with Mr. O'Brien shouted. Immediately after the party got to M'Cormack's, witness heard firing. Saw about 500 people crossing the field to the widow M'Cormack's. There were also a great many people in the fields around, but he could not see whether they were armed or not. Later in the day, about an hour and a half after the firing, he saw another party of police, coming from the direction of Killenaule.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—The men under witness's charge were anxious to protect Mr. O'Brien from arrest. The mining property was not injured. There was about 50 lbs. of powder at the concerns that day, but no attempt was made to take it. It was left untouched.

Owen Cullen, examined by the Solicitor-General.—Was connected with the collieries at Boulagh, and lived at the Common, which was a small village near the works. Remembered the morning of the 29th. Saw the prisoner in the house of the widow Glacken on the Common. Went there in consequence of a message delivered to him from the prisoner by a man named Homigan. Prisoner invited him to sit down in an inner room, in which were two other persons, strangers to him. Prisoner then read a letter to witness, which he wished him to forward to the directors of the company. (Witness here identified a letter handed to him as being the same which was delivered to him by Mr. O'Brien, marked by him, and forwarded to the company through their secretary, Mr. Purdy.) Did not know the names of the strangers with Mr. O'Brien.

Witness cross-examined.—Had not marked the original letter before he forwarded it. Received it from Dublin. about six or seven days afterwards, with a request that he would make a memorandum of the receipt upon it.

James Purdy, examined by Mr. Scott.—Was Secretary to the Mining Company of Ireland. Remembered having received a letter from their agent at the Ballingarry Mines, on the 30th of July, Sunday morning, which was brought him by the company's messenger. Identified the letter produced as being the same.

Thomas Trant was then called, and he made his appearance on the table in his uniform. He was a grey-haired elderly man, with a bold, determined bearing, and his evidence, which was given with rapidity and clearness, was listened to with the most marked attention by the bar and audience. He said:—I am sub-inspector of police for the county Kilkenny. Last July I was stationed at the town of Callan. I remember proceeding on the 29th of that month to Ballingarry. I left Callan on Saturday, July 29, between nine and ten o'clock, and arrived near to Ballingarry some time close to one o'clock. The party under my command consisted of forty-six men. After I had passed through the village of Ballingarry, I observed great crowds of people following me along the road, and going along the fields on the left of my party. When I had advanced about two miles beyond Ballingarry, towards the Commons, I observed great

crowds in my front coming down from all the hills, and heard shrill whistling among them. When I saw the crowds, I immediately wheeled my party up a road towards my right. We ascended the hill nearly a mile. The people behind us, from Ballingarry, took the country on the right; those who had been going in the fields parallel to us took to our rear; and those on the Commons closed in on our left, so that we were almost surrounded. I perceived that several of the people had pikes and guns. It would be impossible to count those who had guns and pikes on the trail; but, wherever my eye rested, I perceived people with them. About this time I observed a slated house in advance, and on seeing it, I ordered my men, who had been marching in columns of four, to break and take possession of it, and if refused admission to march into it. My men ran for the house, and I followed them. The crowd were then behind, at each side of us, and following in our rear. Most of them were running as my men advanced, and in two or three minutes more they would have cut us off from the house. I directed the men to turn all the things they could get against the windows, and to secure the doors. While in the act of securing the house, it was surrounded by the people. I was proceeding up-stairs, in order to see what arrangement they were making to strengthen the upper rooms, when I heard a voice from the rear call for the officer. I went to the lobby window to the man who wanted me. He was unarmed. He put up his hands and said to me, "For God's sake, let there be no firing! We want to make peace." I replied, "If the people do not fire, we shall not fire; but if a shot is fired from the outside, we shall fire as long as a cartridge or a man remains." Nothing further was said by the man outside. The voice to which I allude said, "Tell Mr. Trant, Mr. O'Brien is here!" It was called to me by one of my own party. I came down and went to the window, when I was informed Mr. O'Brien had been, but he had disappeared. I went back up-stairs again, and was again called to, that Mr. O'Brien was there and wished to see me; I replied, "If so, let him come round to the window:" he would not do so. Immediately after that I heard a crash of stones and shots from without; the window was smashed. I instantly gave the order to fire, and the firing commenced. It continued about an hour from the time the first shot was fired. The firing was going on for a considerable time.

Lord Chief Justice Doherty: Were there many persons about the house?—I should say that upon coming up to the house they were about 65 to 1; or about 3000.

Mr. M. Moore: Were you able to form any opinion as to the quantity of arms?—Wherever my eye rested I saw armed men approaching the house, but I could not form any opinion as to the quantity.

Lord Chief Justice Doherty: Can you form any estimate of the number of shots fired outside?—I could not. I heard shots outside all through, as well as from within.

Lord Chief Justice Blackburne: Was the firing continuous and uninterrupted?—It was continuous

for about a quarter of an hour. For a third of the time it was very brisk.

Lord Chief Justice Doherty: Do you say there were five shots or 50 outside?—I should suppose more than 200 from without. I should suppose so, but I cannot speak with any certainty.

Mr. Justice Moore: Could you state the number of reports outside?—It is perfectly impossible.

A Juryman: How many shots were fired by your party?—I served out 230 rounds to replace those that were fired.

About two hours and a quarter after the firing had ceased Sub-Inspector Cox and his party arrived from Cashel. I looked through the loophole at the back, and I fired a signal shot.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside: Upon the morning of that Saturday had not the proclamation offering a reward for the arrest of Mr. O'Brien arrived at Callan?—It might be, but I did not know it.

It was after the proclamation had arrived that you marched towards Ballingarry?—It was.

And you were directed to go there?—I was.

And you exhorted some persons to meet you there?—I did.

Was it not blazoned throughout the country that morning that 500*l.* was offered for the arrest of Mr. O'Brien, and did you not hear it that day?—I did not hear it that morning.

Did not the rest of the police?

Witness (hastily).—Oh! yes, now I remember, when Inspector Cox came up, he said we had let 500*l.* slip through our fingers. There were five children. Their mother, after the firing, came to inquire after them. They were in a room up-stairs, in the corner of a bed.

Constable Cornelius Mahony, examined by Mr. Lynch.—Was one of Inspector Trant's party at Ballingarry. He was at the widow M'Cormack's house, in the parlour on the ground floor. The people surrounded the house. Observed a man with a military cap come out of a pasture-field into the cabbage garden. Mr. O'Brien came to the window. (Witness identified Mr. O'Brien.) The upper part of the window was open. Mr. O'Brien said he was an Irishman and a soldier, and if they gave up their arms he would protect them. Up to the time of his leaving the window no firing had taken place. The firing commenced from the outside.

To Chief Justice Doherty.—A volley was fired, but could not say how many shots.

The examination continued.—Stones were thrown in at the window.

Lord Chief Justice Doherty.—Was that stone thrown before a shot was fired from your party?

Witness.—It was, sir.

To the Jury.—Saw but one stone.

To the Court.—There was an interval of five minutes between the firing and the throwing of the stone. No balls came into the house. At least he saw none. The continuous firing lasted a quarter of an hour. Saw muskets directed towards the house, and the flashes of the discharge.

Cross-examined.—Had not seen the proclamation offering a reward for the apprehension of Smith O'Brien before he marched from Callan, nor had he heard of it till

evening. Were fired on during their march, but did not see the person who fired the shot.

Thomas Moran, examined by the Attorney-General. — Knew Smith O'Brien. Saw him in the inclosure at the Widow M'Cormack's. He was leaning with his back to the wall, between the gable and the window at which the police were stationed. After that he came to the window, and said, "We are all Irishmen, boys, I am Smith O'Brien, and as good a soldier as any of you." He then demanded our arms. Witness was one of the men who said they would part with their lives before they gave up their arms. He seemed disappointed. He got off the window-sill, and witness heard him say, "Slash away, boys, and slaughter the whole of them."

The prisoner here exclaimed with abrupt vehemence:—Don't you know that you are swearing falsely when you swear that, sir?

Witness (turning round).—No, I do not, sir.

Examination continued.—How far was the prisoner from you when he said that?

Mr. O'Brien.—Turn round and let me see your face when you are swearing that—

The Attorney-General (to the witness.)—Do not stir; sit down in your place.

Cross-examined.—The words he attributed to Mr. O'Brien were used in his information sworn on the 6th of September. The shot of which he spoke was fired when the police turned to the right. There was another shot fired from the people when the police were crossing the ditch. There were two shots fired. Did not know at whom they were fired; they did not hit any one. When Mr. O'Brien came to the window he dashed in the shutter, so that he was fully exposed; and if either party had fired at the time he must have been shot dead. He spoke civilly to the men. When refused the arms, he said in a loud clear voice to the people, "Slash away, and slaughter them all." At that time there was a crowd of people around him, inside the wall, armed with blunderbusses. No shots were fired by the police at the time. Did not fire at Mr. O'Brien; if he had come before witness at the time he would have shot him. Mr. O'Brien stood with one foot on the window sill at the time. Witness's bayonet was within six inches of O'Brien's heart. At that time would have shot a man six inches from him, even if unarmed.

Mr. Whiteside: Why did you not shoot him?—Because I could not; because I did not hear him making use—(witness stopped and hesitated).

Mr. Whiteside. — "Oh! you were about saying you did not hear the words Mr. O'Brien used?"

Witness became embarrassed, rubbed his head, and after a pause said, "No, I was not about saying so."

Arthur Robinson, one of Mr. Trant's party, corroborated the details of evidence as to the march on Ballingarry, and the attack at Widow M'Cormack's, and identified Mr. O'Brien. In going from the window, Mr. O'Brien gave the words, "Slash away, boys, and slaughter the whole of them."

Constable Patrick Ford was in Mr. Trant's party when they marched to Ballingarry. Was in the parlour in the widow M'Cor-

mack's house, on the left side—the same room in which Robinson was. Witness deposed to the prisoner's coming to the window. Immediately after he left the window witness heard the words, "Flash away, boys; we will soon have them all," but could not say who said them.

Head-constable M'Donough, examined by Mr. Sausse.—Was at the widow M'Cormack's house on the Saturday, in the room over the one where Mr. O'Brien came. Witness came down stairs with Mr. Trant. When he got into the room where Mahony was, heard the words "Slash away, boys, and slaughter the whole of them." Could not see the person who said that. Firing commenced from the outside, and stones were thrown in directly after those words were uttered.

Constable Hanover, examined by the Attorney-General.—Went to the widow M'Cormack's on the Monday following the shooting match. General Macdonald was there. Examined the house, and saw several marks inside and outside, with stone and bullet marks. Outside, the bullet marks were in the front. Found marks inside of the house on the rear face, as if they had come in at the front. I saw some marks on the top storey, and some on the lower storey.

Did you see any bullets?—I saw the children exhibit some to the General. I think there was only one bullet shown to the General.

Were you present when the bullet was found?—I was; it was found in one of the rooms upstairs, but I cannot tell in which.

Now did not the bullet from its appearance look as if it was fired at the police? (*A laugh.*)—I don't know; but if a policeman was in the room it was fired at, I should think so.

Constable Carroll, examined by the Solicitor-General.—He recollected going from Kilkenny to Ballingarry on Saturday, the 29th of July. Was sent to deliver a letter to Mr. Trant. Delivered the letter at widow M'Cormack's house. The firing had then ceased. Saw Mr. Trant at the house. After delivering the letter he returned on his way to Kilkenny, and fell in with a number of persons. Some of the people were armed, but more were not. Some were armed with guns and pikes. Mr. O'Brien came up, and spoke to him. (He identified Mr. O'Brien.) Mr. O'Brien asked him if he were a mounted police, and he said he was. He was in plain clothes. Another person then came up, and said he might consider himself a prisoner, but need not be apprehensive of any harm; that person was armed, and had a belt. A third person afterwards came up, and said the witness was a spy. There was a great sensation on the road. Witness thought he was going to be shot, and he then got from his horse. Mr. M'Manus, the gentleman who arrested him, took him by the arm and brought him by the field out of the crowd. Mr. O'Brien got on the horse and went away for about half an hour, and then came back and went away again, and afterwards returned. Mr. M'Manus went away after seeing him out of the crowd, and he was left in the charge of four men. He asked the third person when he came whether he would allow him to go to the village and get some refreshment, and he told the four men to go along with him. Was not let go to the village.

Saw Mr. O'Brien while he was in the crowd. Heard him ask the people should he give himself up to be hanged? The people told him not. He then said he would take the house in which Mr. Trant was in an hour. Was in the custody of four men for some time, till he saw a number of cars moving towards them, and heard the people say the police were coming. Orders were then given for his release. Heard the people say they would attack the police. They left the ranks and went over the ditches in order to do so. After he went some way he met Mr. O'Brien. When witness met him he pulled out a pistol, and said, "Your life for mine; are you come to arrest me?" Witness replied that he was not; that he had no arms; and that he might shoot him if he liked. Mr. O'Brien on that said such an act would be beneath him, and that he would not fire on an unprotected man. He then said witness should go back along the road with him. Witness returned accordingly. Mr. O'Brien had a stick in his hand and a pistol in his breast. When first he saw him he wore a hat; next time he had a cloth cap with a gold band and peak. Witness asked leave to speak to him as one man might to another, and on his telling him to do so, witness told him that it would be impossible for him to carry out what he had undertaken, particularly as the Roman Catholic clergy were against him, as he had seen that day. Asked him how he could expect to succeed. Said the troops would be brought against him, against whom it would be impossible for him to contend. Mr. O'Brien said, that for twenty years he had worked for his country, and that she could redeem herself if she liked. Witness said that could not be done without blood. Mr. O'Brien replied, he wanted no blood. Immediately afterwards Mr. O'Brien gave witness his horse.

Sub-Inspector Cox examined.—Was stationed at Cashel last July. Proceeded with twenty-two men, about one o'clock, towards the Commons of Boulagh, on the 29th of that month. Went within half a mile of the widow M'Cormack's. Saw a large number of persons formed in line on a hill between the police and the house, and a little to the left of the road. About 200 of them came down from the hill to meet the police, and the latter went on towards the people. The people formed themselves into three parties: one advanced along the road towards the police; the others took to the ditches at the sides of the road, so that witness could see their heads and shoulders over the ditches. They had pikes and pitchforks. Saw guns with them afterwards. Spoke to the magistrate, and having examined the arms of his men, moved on towards the cross, when the people there retired and went up to the party on the hill. They then commenced shouting and yelling. That was about half-past four o'clock. On arriving at the cross, detached six of his men to each side of the road, and rode up with the remainder to the men on the hill. Told the people they must retire. They did so for a short way, then halted, and again retired on the approach of the police. The party on the hill was led by two or three men, who were very conspicuous, and called on the others to line in. Witness told them to stand back. Ordered the

police to fire before he heard a shot fired. One of the men exclaimed that a shot had been fired by the people. The fire of the police was returned by the people. The contest lasted a very few minutes. Saw one man fall. There was a cheer, and after that the men ran away or laid down. The police proceeded up the hill to the widow's, where they found Mr. Trant and his party. Found the marks of bullets inside the house. Saw pikes taken up outside the house.

Cross-examined. — The house was wrecked by the police defending themselves. Was certain he saw the marks of two bullets. Had not said he was sorry he had let the 500*l.* slip through his fingers; it had never been in them at all, and so could not slip through them. He was sorry it had slipped through Trant's hands. Would have tried for it if he had had a chance. The shots did not kill any of the police. Thought there were a couple of the people killed. The great majority of the people had pikes only. Many had only pitchforks. At seventy yards would prefer a carbine to a pitchfork. Never sent any one to Doheny's for Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau. A man named Norton told him he had it in his possession.

The Attorney-General said he should now proffer evidence to explain some matters that had come out in cross-examination.

John Norton deposed that he gave a portmanteau to Mr. Cox last August. It came with furniture from Mrs. Doheny's to another place, and from that place had been carried to witness's house by his boy, Michael Kennedy. Did not know how the portmanteau came there. It lay during the time he had it in an open room, to which every one had access. Witness's boy gave it to Cox in the same state as he had received it.

Michael Kennedy examined.— Was in the service of the last witness. Recollected taking a portmanteau from a pawnbroker's, named Littleton, to his master's last August. Took it from a kiln used as a store in Littleton's garden. Took it originally with other furniture from Doheny's to the kiln. Gave it to Mr. Cox, strapped and locked in the same way as he had first seen it. First saw the portmanteau at Mrs. Doheny's. Other persons were employed in removing the furniture. When the furniture was removed the house was open to any one going in. There were other trunks in the house, but not like this, for this was covered with leather.

Constable Wilson examined by the Solicitor-General. — Is in the Dublin police. In July last was stationed at Constitution Hill. Observed there a house with blinds, with "Red Hand Club" written on them; it is next house to the King's Inn wall. Saw that for the most part of July. Was put there with another constable to watch the house.

The order of the Privy Council for the trial of Mr. O'Brien was then put in and proved; also the *Dublin Gazette* of the proclamation of the 18th of July, proclaiming the county and city of Dublin; also two documents found on Mr. O'Brien's person at the time of his arrest, being little tracings of the country immediately around the Commons.

The Attorney-General said he then proposed to put in the letter found in the portmanteau, and

which was proved to be in the handwriting of Mr. Duffy.

Mr. Whiteside submitted that that evidence must be rejected. In "The King *v.* Hardy," it was laid down that a paper found in the possession of another person must be proved to be in existence before the apprehension of the party against whom it was to be used in evidence. "The King *v.* Watson," and *Starkie on Evidence.* No evidence of the kind had been produced, and there was nothing to prove the contrary of the letter having been introduced into the portmanteau purposely since Mr. O'Brien was arrested.

The Attorney-General submitted that this document was receivable in evidence against Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. Justice Moore.—The objection is, you have not proved satisfactorily that the letter ever was in the possession of Mr. O'Brien.

The Attorney-General then went through the evidence which had been given as to the portmanteau being traced from Doheny's house to the police at Cashel, and to the possession of the Crown. It was not impossible that the document might have been introduced into the portmanteau, but the question of possibility or impossibility was one for the jury to consider. In the case of Hardy, an attempt was made to give as evidence against Hardy documents not found in his possession, but in that of a co-conspirator. In Watson's case, Chief Justice Abbott decided that a paper found in the room of the younger Watson should be received as evidence against the elder, because he had had the possession of that room, had the key of it, and had not been near it for a fortnight previously. In Emmett's case the Chief Justice came to a similar conclusion.

Mr. Fitzgerald submitted, that there was no evidence to show that these documents had been sufficiently proved to have been in the possession of Mr. O'Brien to be laid before the jury at all. If it were necessary for the Attorney-General to prove that the portmanteau had remained in the same state from the time it came into the hands of Mr. Cox till it was opened by Mr. Redington, surely it was equally necessary to prove that fact with reference to the interval between its leaving Mrs. Doheny's possession and coming into the hands of Mr. Cox. The same necessity for identification existed at both periods.

The Solicitor-General. — The Crown had only to show that it had not been tampered with after it had come into the possession of their officers. It was evident that this document must have existed before Mr. O'Brien's arrest, for the writer was in custody in Dublin at the time; the possession of it, lastly, had been distinctly traced to the prisoner.

The Court decided that they could not exclude these documents from the consideration of the jury.

The clerk of the Crown then read the letter. (See the Attorney-General's speech.)

A letter signed "R. Tyler," from Philadelphia, promising aid and money, from Mr. Meagher, and from a club at Enniscorthy, were also read.

The case for the Crown was closed by putting in a plan of widow Cormack's house, and a plan of the Commons.

Wednesday, October 4th.

Mr. Whiteside wished, before he

addressed the jury, to state, with respect to the balloting papers for the Council of Five, spoken to by the witness Dobbin, that, at the time of the examination, only twenty-one papers were handed to him (Mr. Whiteside) as produced by the Crown, and of those twenty-one the witness identified but one with the name of Mr. O'Brien upon it, that name, moreover, being struck out. But the Crown had now handed to him twenty-nine papers, seven or eight of which had Mr. O'Brien's name upon them, stating them to be the same as were produced on the examination of the witness. He therefore required that the original list should be given to him, in the same state it was in at the time of the witness's examination.

The Attorney-General said the twenty-nine papers that had been handed to Mr. Whiteside had all been produced when the witness was examined, but he could not of course say whether his learned friend had inspected them all. A lengthy discussion followed, and the officers of the Crown Solicitor were examined, who swore they had delivered the whole twenty-nine in number to Mr. Whiteside.

Lord Chief Justice Blackburne.—We are of opinion the papers were all produced. The case must proceed.

Mr. Whiteside.—Then I must ask time to consider what course I shall take. Am I to be told that I am to go to the jury as if eight papers with Mr. O'Brien's name upon them had been fully proved, because if that be said, I certainly shall not address the jury?

Lord Chief Justice Doherty.—The Court is of opinion that, for the purposes of this trial, Mr. Whiteside is to deal with this case as if only one paper with the name of Mr. O'Brien upon it had been produced.

Mr. Whiteside then addressed the jury. It now became his duty, said the learned Counsel, to address them on the part of Mr. Smith O'Brien, the prisoner. Never yet had he addressed a jury more conscious of the solemn responsibility that devolved upon him. He most unfeignedly asserted that it would have been more grateful to his feelings had Mr. O'Brien solicited counsel more worthy by talents and knowledge to address such a tribunal as he saw before him. But it was one of the duties of the honourable profession to which he belonged never to refuse undertaking any trust, however solemn and however awful, which in the course of his professional practice might fairly be imposed upon him. The very effort to comprehend all the bearings of the evidence in the case was calculated to disturb the memory and distract the reason. He had, therefore, most respectfully to ask of the jury to give him the benefit of their assistance, to correct him when he was wrong, and to bear with him whenever he might not be addressing himself exactly to the matter in hand. They had meant at one time to appeal to their lordships to postpone the trial, because they believed that the prisoner had been prejudged. He had himself read a charge composed for the Lord Chief Justice,—he had read a confident anticipation of the prisoner's guilt, and a subsequent appeal to the jury to convict. If he thought that that would have the slightest influence on the Court, or on the mind of any gentleman in that box, he would have withdrawn, and left

Mr. O'Brien—who held his life under the law—to be sacrificed as a victim on the shrine of political expediency. But he knew too well that the ermine worn by Mansfield, Holt, and Hale would not be sullied by the distinguished judges he saw before him. He had to apologize for having delayed them for a short time during the progress of the trial. He had made no objection from a factious motive. He therefore had submitted a question to the Court which had been decided—he had no doubt rightly—and most unfeignedly did he rejoice, from the emphatic charge of the Lord Chief Justice and the verdict of the triers, to find that the jury panel was framed in a manner not only legal but laudable. He was content with the tribunal. His client was perfectly satisfied with the jury. But when he said he had no complaint to make of the jury, he had a complaint to make of the law. Had Mr. O'Brien been so fortunate as to have been an Englishman, and to have been tried by the English law, he would have had, ten days before his trial, the name of every juror upon the panel, the name of every witness that was to be examined against him, with their titles, their professions, and their residences; but in this country it had been decided that that law did not prevail; and a more melancholy example of that unfortunate result never presented itself than in this case they had witnessed. There appeared on the table, to swear away directly the life of his client, a man whom no human being in that Court could give him the slightest suggestion as to who he was, whence he came, his past life or conduct. The Attorney-General had opened this case with what he deemed for his purpose a sufficient exposition of the law. It was not sufficiently complete for the case of his (Mr. Whiteside's) client, and it therefore became his duty to explain what he believed to be the law, and the principles within which the case would fall. They were proceeding to try the prisoner upon an ancient statute passed so long since as the reign of Edward III. The people of England, crushed by the intolerable oppression of the former law of high treason, determined it should be expressed as it ought to be, in language of distinctness and precision, and the Parliament that passed it has been described as the *Benedictum Parliamentum*. That law was clear and simple; there was no difficulty in it; but it was always to be regretted that decisions were made upon it contradictory to the letter if not to the spirit of that law, and defying the ingenuity of man to comprehend. Before the reign of Philip and Mary that simple law, made by wise and sagacious men for the protection of themselves and their fellow-subjects, was frittered away, mystified, and perplexed. Men were put to death for mere words, and, as it was described by a profound lawyer, the courts of law in England were caverns of murder. An Act, therefore, was passed to restore the law, and Lord Coke, observing upon it, said the statute of Mary enacted that no act whatsoever, by words, ciphers, deeds, or otherwise, should be high treason, unless it was declared to be so by the statute of Edward; and added, that so many treasons had been made before that act, that not only ignorant, but learned and expert men were caught and trapped by them. The Act of Mary remedied that state of things. It was

distinct; leaving nothing to the discretion of the judges; and the two rules recited in the preamble were true. They were, first, that the authority of the sovereign was held by the love and favour of the subject, more than by the dread and force of laws made with rigour and extreme punishment: and, secondly, that laws justly made for the preservation of the commonweal without extreme penalty and punishment were often better obeyed than extreme laws made with extreme punishment. Lord Coke expounded that statute in a few lines; he said that it was express against all implications, and that no temporary judgment or opinion of the judges could make anything treason which was not so expressed in the statute. Lord Hale explained the exception in that Act, for there was an exception in it, and it was this—if a man covertly and secretly rode about with a body of armed men against another to rob or slay him, or to detain him until he was ransomed, that was not treason. In this indictment there was a charge of having compassed the death of the Queen. The intention of compassing the death was an operation of the mind, and overt acts were the means by which that intention must be discovered. But a conspiracy for compassing the death of the Sovereign, though the conspiring be not a matter for directly accomplishing that end, yet if there were anything that in all probability would induce it, that was laid down to be an overt act to prove the compassing of the death—as if, for example, a man conspired to imprison or detain the king—and it was, accordingly, so adjudged in the case of the Earl of Essex in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But, said a high authority, words were not of themselves overt acts within the statute; one reason was that they were easily mistaken, misapplied, misrepresented, or misunderstood by others; and another was, that a man in a moment of passion might also say many things he never meant to do. It was requisite, therefore, in cases of so nice a nature, that the intention should be evinced by the doing of some acts in prosecution thereof. All that was wise and consistent with the law of a free country. That state of the law had not continued long before the unhappy doctrine of constructive treason arose, and in process of time another levying of war was made out for that contemplated by the statute. There was now a levying of war called "a constructive levying of war," and that was the kind attempted to be made out in this case. If a rabble met together, and intended to pull down one meeting-house, that was not treason, but if they intended to pull down many, then it was said that it encroached on the King's prerogative; and, the purpose being general, that was considered to be treason. But as to the levying of war, there must be three things proved; first, that it was against the King in his realm, and for a general purpose. (The learned counsel then stated the particulars of the case of "The Weavers.") So essential was it to establish the crime of high treason that the intention should be evidenced by overt acts, that when the regicides, on the restoration of Charles II., were tried for high treason, they were tried for a conspiracy to kill the King, and the overt act charged —a strong one, certainly—was cutting off his head. Mr. Justice

Foster, in commenting on the import of words, said, that "loose words not relative to overt acts or designs are not overt acts of treason;" and in various other parts of his work he substantially repeated that opinion. The learned judge then proceeded to draw the distinction between a direct levying of war and a constructive levying of war, and said that an insurrection for breaking into a prison and rescuing persons therefrom was not a levying of war to support the charge of compassing the King's death. In this indictment the prisoner was charged with compassing the Queen's death, and the overt act was a levying of war. If that levying of war was not direct, but constructive, as stated by Judge Foster, then it was not evidence of the compassing of the Queen's death; and as in the sixth count no other act was stated than those laid in the other five counts, if the overt acts there charged did not aim directly at the death of the Queen, they amounted only to constructive treason, and the conspiracy of compassing the Queen's death by the levying of war, did not support the charge as laid in the sixth count. But Mr. Justice Foster further observed, that the levying of war for a purpose coming within any of the species of treasons declared by the statute of Edward III. would not fall within the Act of Parliament unless the rising was effectual; but when there was a rising of that nature, all parties connected with the conspiracy were guilty. The jury had heard the Attorney-General say that all the members of the Confederation, of which they had heard so much, were guilty of treason; but if that were the case—if, from the conduct of two or three members, all were guilty of treason, the country would be deluged with blood. Lord Coke had distinctly said that bare words might make a heretic, but not a traitor without overt acts. In later times, there had been two or three practical instances of what was said to be a levying of war so pertinent to the present case that he would repeat them. (The learned Counsel then commented on the cases of Lord George Gordon, Watson, and Frost.) He now came to the indictment against the prisoner at the bar. He was accused of having committed various treasonable acts, between about the 17th and 30th of July; of having appeared in arms at Ballingarry, Mullinahone, and Killenaule; of having obstructed the march of the military at the latter place; of levying war at Farrinrory; of levying war generally, and of conspiring to kill the Queen. As to the last offence, Mr. O'Brien had about as much intention to commit it as he had to kill the Great Mogul. The Attorney-General told the jury that the space in which the treasonable acts were committed was little more than a week; but in the evidence he had laid before them he called on them to look to speeches in January, 1847, as explanatory of the acts done by Mr. O'Brien in July, 1848. Now if there were anything more odious than another in the whole scope of the law, it was an attempt to make out the crime of high treason by cumulative evidence. The doctrine of the Attorney-General amounted to this —that by adding a speech which was not sedition, to another which was not treason, to a third that was neither one nor the other, you could constitute the crime of high treason in the person who made

them. The learned Counsel, after commenting on the conduct of the Crown officers in reading Mr. O'Brien's speeches made some time ago, said, it made it necessary that he should give some account of Mr. O'Brien's connection with the Confederation. Many years ago he had entered Parliament, and had pursued an independent course, and was called "an impracticable man." In 1843 he made up his difference with Mr. O'Connell, and joined the Repeal Association, on the ground that he had tried the British Parliament, and had failed in obtaining justice. The Association made a distinction between moral and physical force, and seemed to get up an agitation, which they took care should not go too far, for the purpose of getting place and pension; and in consequence Mr. O'Brien, and those who thought with him, resolved to found another body to carry out their views. Counsel next read the address which was issued on the formation of the Confederation, pledging the members to procure domestic legislation, and repudiating the doctrine of physical force, but insisting on agitation for their objects, in accordance with the constitution. About the same period a meeting of gentlemen—the first in the land—was held under the name of the Irish Council, to form some combined plan of action for the good of Ireland. Mr. O'Brien was invited to attend, and made a speech in which he uttered the sentiments of a true patriot. Here Counsel read passages from various speeches of Mr. O'Brien, which he said showed him to be a good subject and true citizen; and read the rules of the Confederation, which in effect pledged the members to use every social and moral influence for the restoration of legislative independence. By these rules alone should the members of that Confederation be judged. The learned Counsel read a speech made upon the occasion of the refusal of Parliament to inquire into the Irish Poor Law, in course of which the prisoner was represented to have said, "that there was no chance of an immediate appeal to arms being successful." From the word immediate, it might be argued that the prisoner looked to an appeal to arms in future. But it could not be adduced in evidence of the intent of an act done in 1857, that in 1847 the accused stated the immediate execution of that act could not be successful. As instances of threats *in futuro*, the learned counsel quoted passages from Lord John Russell's *Constitutional History of England*, in which the doctrine of resistance was approved of; and forcibly read the following letter from Lord J. Russell to Mr. Attwood:—

"Sir,—I beg to acknowledge with heartfelt gratitude the kindness and honour now done me by 150,000 of my fellow-countrymen. Our prospects are obscured for a moment—I trust only for a moment—for it is impossible that the whisper of a faction can prevail against the voice of a nation."

What was the whisper of a faction to which the First Minister of the Crown alluded? It was the deliberate opinion of the House of Peers—of the assembly which boasted of the names of Wellington, Nelson, and Marlborough, and which would exist for ages in the attachment of a discerning people. He had not brought forward this letter for the purpose of scoffing at the First Minister of the Crown,

but to show the opinions held by eminent persons on the subject of social changes—persons who had never been accused of treason. The Attorney-General had referred to the French Revolution; but a person might think that revolution justifiable, and not be a traitor. So far was Mr. O'Brien from being an advocate of violence, that he declared he would not resort to physical force till the whole country was in favour of it. And could any one doubt but that then it would be justifiable? or, that if all the people of Ireland—north and south — declared their intention to repeal the Union, they would not at once obtain it? Mr. O'Brien had not gone to France to solicit armed aid. In his speech—the speech made evidence by the Crown —he denied that he had done so. The parade of men with flags and arms was not exactly high treason, for, if it were, then all the Orangemen of Ulster were guilty of it. He was obliged to the Attorney-General for proving these speeches, for it evinced his belief that he could not have construed the acts of his client into treason without the supposed aid of those speeches, while he (Mr. Whiteside) would demonstrate that they contained no treasonable intent. When the Confederation was dissolved, a new body called the Irish League was summoned into existence, all the members of which united in the common object of looking for the Repeal of the Union. The clubs were entirely distinct from the League; and, on the 15th of July, in consequence of doubts which existed as to their precise intentions, the clubs held a meeting, at which resolutions embodying their principles of action were agreed to, and published in the papers the following day, with the names of all the presidents of the clubs then existing. These resolutions acknowledged the purpose of the clubs to be to overthrow British legislation in Ireland—that was no treason; to sustain the legitimate influence of religion—that was no treason; and to secure the independence of the country—that was no treason either. In that list of clubs there was no mention of the Red Hand Club. But Mr. O'Brien was not there, and did not belong to any club at all. The Attorney-General seemed to think that Mr. O'Brien's travels through Ireland were treasonable also; but they were only a part of the design avowed in the purposes of the League, and in prosecution of those purposes. Simultaneous meetings were no proof of treason. Would the jury take away the life of Mr. O'Brien because he had spoken more moderately, discreetly, temperately, and mildly than those who had placed the Attorney-General in the position he held? [*Applause in the Court.*] If they could send a man to the scaffold on the evidence brought against his client, their names would go down to posterity stamped with eternal infamy. The learned Counsel then commented with severity upon the means by which Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau had been obtained, and on the failure of the Crown to supply the missing link in the evidence, and implored the jury to reject the documents thus obtained. As to the evidence of Dobbin, he would pass over it; for the Association, perfectly legal in itself, could not in the progress of the case be converted into one that was illegal by the evidence of such a man. They would remember that Mr. O'Brien

on the 22nd of July was at Enniscorthy. It was announced on that day in Dublin that the Habeas Corpus Act was to be suspended. Mr. Dillon and Mr. Meagher left Dublin to inform Mr. O'Brien of that fact, and their belief that he was to be arrested. Mr. O'Brien left the house where he was staying; and what could be more natural than that he should wish to save the gentleman in whose house he was staying the annoyance of any arrest taking place there? What then took place? The ruling object in Mr. O'Brien's mind was from that moment to escape arrest. Every speech he made from that moment expressed that idea. Mr. O'Brien believed that they would give him no trial, but that Lord Clarendon meant, as he had the power to do, to keep him in gaol for nine months. He thought that that was unconstitutional, and he determined to resist arrest. That was the cause of all that followed. But that was not high treason, and so they would be told from the Bench. He came now to another branch of the case, and he approached it with alarm. The revolution strengthened apace. The wild and ferocious conduct pursued by the arch-traitor in Kilkenny was — ascending a round tower and coming down again. Never again should he look upon any of those monuments of our ancient faith without thinking of the Attorney-General and high treason. He now came to the 24th of July. All the speeches that had been referred to up to that day expressed the same idea—that the people would not let him (Mr. O'Brien) be arrested under a warrant that would thrust him into prison and allow him no trial. He admitted that Mr. O'Brien did wish to keep the people about him —to keep the colliers about him— to prevent his arrest. His sole object was his personal security. But his conduct from the first to the last was irreconcilable with the notion of his intending to kill the Queen. The learned Counsel then commented with severity upon the manner in which the speeches were represented by the policemen who were brought forward to prove them.

Thursday, October 5th.

Mr. Whiteside continued his address. In his speech of the day previous he had endeavoured to convey to the jury the principle on which he rested the defence of his client. He had asserted that, supposing Mr. O'Brien to have been convicted, and that an attempt had been made to break into prison and rescue him, the persons concerned in that attempt would have been guilty of a high offence, but not of high treason. It followed from that much more strongly, that an endeavour to escape, or resistance, would not be high treason. If the jury believed that all the acts of Mr. O'Brien were done to escape arrest, and not in pursuance of a universal design, his acquittal from the charge of high treason would follow as a matter of course. The evidence he examined yesterday had brought them down to the transactions at Carrick-on-Suir. The next place to which the course of evidence brought them was Mullinahone. Here it was, according to the statement of the Attorney-General, that the first act of levying war against the Queen had been committed on July 25. Up to that time nothing had been done

which could at all inculpate his client—not one of his acts at Enniscorthy, Callan, or Carrick, could be construed in any way into high treason. No particular thing was explained by the speeches already proved in evidence; they were vague general declamations; but the jury would observe that in every one of them it was stated that Mr. O'Brien was apprehensive of arrest. The witnesses produced were all policemen—not one was an inhabitant of the town. The evidence as to what occurred on the 25th of July consisted of two parts; first, as to a marching of men in the town; and next, as to the visit to the police barrack. It was remarkable that the priest who spoke to Mr. O'Brien in the street had not been produced. Everywhere the chapel bells were rung, but they did not appear to awake the priests, for not one of those gentlemen was called on the table. The police were polled, one after another, to report words long after they had been uttered. As to the visit to the barracks, Constable Williams swore he saw Mr. O'Brien in Mullinahone at five o'clock, when the rebellion began, according to the statement of Mr. Attorney-General. He was surrounded by 20 persons at the time, which swelled to 200 at night. Mr. O'Brien addressed them. He told them he feared he would be arrested, and if taken he would be hung—that he did not wish to shoot a policeman—(very creditably to himself)—and that there would be another form of government in six weeks. With respect to the last remark, let the jury be careful to remark that it was not inserted in his first information. His client was further stated to have said that "all vacancies would be filled by Irishmen." That was no high treason; far from it—and a happy day would it be for Ireland when that time arrived. Sullivan, another witness, repeated the sentiment in another form. According to him it was, that "Irishmen should fill their situations as well as Englishmen." Well, that was not treason. It was a sentiment in which he was sure the Attorney-General would most cordially agree. Nothing here was said about a republic—nothing about England—nothing against the connexion of the two countries, except as Mr. O'Brien had always looked upon the question—not one word of any subject but of his arrest, which was the one topic of all his speeches, and of all his thoughts. There were armed people about Wright's, where Mr. O'Brien stopped for the night—he admitted it; they were there to defend him from arrest. Wherever they turned the jury would find the same idea prominent in Mr. O'Brien's mind, and pervading all his acts. The prisoner went to the police-barracks—the Attorney-General says he was bent on a revolution. The man who was actuated by such a design should be bold, daring, and resolute; he could not revolutionize a country by means of politeness and civil speeches; but Mr. O'Brien visited the police barracks, armed with a spear, and accompanied by two men with guns; while outside, according to the evidence of the Crown, was assembled a large multitude ready to do his behests; made a request that the police would give up their arms, was refused, and in two minutes after left the house, promising that he would return in an hour and take them. The Crown proved his

client had power enough to effect his object if he liked—the Crown alleged that he had the design and intention to effect it—but then, upon their own showing, he had not done it, having both the means and the inclination. On the evidence of those policemen, it appeared that the barrack was open at the time, that the police were unarmed, and that Mr. O'Brien and his friends were fully armed. But they used no violence; they went away in two minutes. This did not look like levying war. His client had a cap with a gold band on at the time also; but he could assure the jury that they might all wear caps, and even put gold bands on them, if they liked, and yet not be guilty of high treason. The whole levying of war lasted exactly two minutes—this daring attempt to deprive Queen Victoria of her throne was condensed in that short and unimportant space. With respect to the alleged spear, it did not appear whether it might not have been a mere walking stick, and it was proved he carried it in his left hand (for action perhaps) with the steel spike to the ground. The cap he wore had a gold band. If that were treason, Mr. O'Connell had committed it often indeed, for he generally wore just such another, and some people had believed that eventually he would have been crowned in it. Next, one of these witnesses spoke of a military sash worn by one of the gentlemen, but, on cross-examination, it appeared this formidable sash was nothing more nor less than a Scotch shawl. The police never saw Mr. O'Brien or his men again, and marched off quietly—the rebel army being dispersed. That was the whole case at Mullinahone. The next witness said that Mr. O'Brien went in a car from Mullinahone towards Ballingarry; that they met a crowd, but that crowd was not with him. Was that a proof of conspiracy, that a crowd of people should go out to meet a popular favourite?—for such Mr. O'Brien was at that time. Some of the crowd were armed. Why? He would press it on the jury, that whenever they heard of armed men, it was whenever they were necessary to protect Mr. O'Brien. Well, Mr. O'Brien addressed the crowd, and what did he say? He said there was a warrant against him, and he asked the people to protect him from arrest. That was his speech at Enniscorthy. It might have been stereotyped—it was his one speech, his one idea from the first to the last. It was said that he had twenty persons walking before the house where he slept that night. In all their historical reading did they ever hear of a person embarked in treason going about saying to the people, "I do not want you; I want but twenty as a guard to-night?" What did that prove? That Mr. O'Brien wanted a bodyguard to save him from arrest, but not an armed force for any other purpose. As to the drilling, two witnesses swore that it occurred in different places; the third that he did not see it at all. To that moment no act was done—no levying of war—no determination of hostility to the Queen—no subversion of her authority—no molestation of human being—no injury to property. They now came to Killenaule. The Attorney-General had said that, up to that time, there was nothing in Mr. O'Brien's conduct amounting to high treason, but that the rest of the facts would prove the charge. He agreed with

the Attorney-General; he had made it clear to demonstration that, up to that day, Mr. O'Brien had committed no act that amounted to the crime of high treason. The case of the Attorney-General was inexplicable—it was that of an armed force marching against the Queen; and yet he had now arrived at the evening of the 27th of July, and what evidence was there of the marching against the Queen? Where was the army? Gone. Where was the body-guard? Dispersed. Where was the leader of the revolution? He went on a car to an hotel at Killenaule, where he slept for the night, and went away in the morning towards the verge of the collieries, where he knew there would be most difficulty in arresting him. It was utterly and morally impossible to impute guilt to Mr. O'Brien from what had passed. It was true that barricades were erected. Did Mr. O'Brien order them? He spoke not a word. He was standing at the door of the hotel at the time. The people saw two officers pass through the town; they thought a force was coming to arrest Mr. O'Brien; they wished to protect him, and they erected the barricades. But, said the Attorney-General, that was high treason. He denied it. He denied that such an act, done under the impulse of the moment, was high treason. Guilty intention there was none; there was a partial and personal object only, and that took the case out of the law of high treason. But as to the barricades, Captain Longmore was called, and, like a man of honour and a gentleman, uttered not a word at variance with the truth. A person asked him if he had a warrant to arrest Mr. O'Brien. He answered, he had not. Immediately, the barricades were removed, and his troop was conducted with every courtesy through the town. The charge was that Mr. O'Brien made war against the Queen. It was stated in the books that that was to attack her troops. That was what Frost did. What did the people in this case? They said to the troops, "We are not making war against the Queen. We do not wish to subvert her authority, but our desire is to prevent Mr. O'Brien's arrest. Have you any warrant for that purpose?" Not a trigger was pulled; not a stone was thrown. The troops marched through the town, and yet it was said that that was evidence of high treason. The criminal law presented no case for high treason like this. He denied not that Mr. O'Brien might have been indicted for riot and a misdemeanour, but his argument rested upon this—that the Queen—with reverence to her name—was just as safe when that barricade was up as when it was taken down, and that that attempt to preserve Mr. O'Brien from a fancied insult was the natural cause of that unexpected movement, and nothing else. Nobody was hurt; not a shot was fired; and yet that is called irrefragable evidence of levying war against the Queen—the Queen of England! Defend them from constructive treason! Not a thought had ever crossed the breast of Mr. O'Brien against the just authority or dignity of the Queen of England. In the most excited speech he ever made not one word had he uttered against her venerated name, not one word of disrespect to the Sovereign, whom it was impossible for any person of chivalrous feeling not to admire and love—there

was not one hint of it that even the imagination of the police could discover. He arrived next at the evidence of Lamphier, the clerk at the collieries. He had arrived at the 28th of July. Lamphier said that in the morning he heard Mr. O'Brien say there was a warrant out for his arrest, and Mr. Dillon said they had a common object, and that, if they would protect him, Ireland would be free in six months. Another speaker said she would be free in a fortnight, and Mr. O'Brien asked for 200 or 300 men to protect him. The idea of arrest was the one upon his mind. The witness, on his cross-examination, said that Mr. O'Brien appeared to him to be afraid of arrest. He stated that Mr. O'Brien said he wished Ireland to be free. Was that treason? He (Mr. Whiteside) wished Ireland to be free—free in thought and mind—free and independent in action. That was a universal and patriotic feeling; but in cases of life and death—of high treason, was that to be evidence against any man. Had Mr. O'Brien's purpose been general warfare, would he not have asked for the powder that was at the collieries? Did he do so? No. All he asked for was materials to form a barricade to obstruct the party sent to arrest him. He asked for the key of an empty barrack and the loan of a pony. The witness said he told Mr. O'Brien he could not let him have them, for they belonged to the company—that Mr. O'Brien admitted the justness of his reason, and went off. Had his object been revolutionary, and had he wanted the barrack for his men, as the Attorney-General stated, what was there to prevent him taking it by force? But he now came to Mr. Trant. In that transaction they had the witnesses Trant, Mahony, Moran, Robinson, Ford, and M'Donough. Trant admitted that he went to arrest Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Cox admitted it also, for he said that the 500*l.* had slipped through their fingers, and, as he said before, that the one object of Mr. O'Brien was to prevent arrest. Trant set out with forty-six men, and stated that on his way to Ballingarry he saw a number of people assembled and heard shrill whistling. But there was no evidence to show that Mr. O'Brien had any connexion with, or control over these persons—they were not with him—they were people from a distance, and there was no proof of a conspiracy or combination. He had great respect for Mr. Trant, but he believed the whole of his military glory rested on his achievements that day, and, as he was told, Mr. Trant drew up a despatch, wherein he described them, which rivalled the finest that was to be found in *Gurwood's Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*, and was nicely prefaced with a poetical quotation. The next thing Trant did when he saw the people was to run off to a store-house. If he had imitated the conduct of Inspector Cox, and had advanced steadily up the hill with his men, in all probability this fatal affair never would have occurred at all. As he was running a shot was fired, but no one was hit. The crowd was at this time on every side of his men, but they did not destroy them. Trant's aide-de-camp swore two shots had been fired. They got into the house. Then commenced that conflict wherein it did not appear which party fired first. He at least had his doubts on the subject. Then

came an unarmed man to the window, and said, "For God's sake, let us have no firing." Did that look like a malignant desire to kill the police, and levy war against the Queen? Afterwards Mr. O'Brien came to the window, and desired to speak with Inspector Trant, and he regretted that the latter had not held that interview; for if he had spoken to him like a sensible man, in all human probability the melancholy catastrophe would not have taken place. He had not done so, but having gone up stairs he said he heard a crash, and with this crash, a general crash, he met every question put to him as to the actual attack on the house by the people. The firing having commenced, lasted more than an hour, according to Mr. Trant; but the people did not appear after it had continued for half an hour. When this affair, which the Attorney-General honestly characterized as a "row," was over, it would have required a microscope to discover any injury to the house; there were no marks of bullets, no stones. But after the conflict was over the Government sent down a policeman, who saw what General Macdonald could not see, and found a child about the house playing with a bullet, and two bullet marks inside the house. Why had not Mrs. Cormack been examined? Why had not some of the women about the house been called? He next would come to the words "Slash away, boys, and slaughter them all." [The learned counsel here examined the evidence of the policemen, and pointed out the discrepancies in their statements, upon which he commented in strong terms.] It was monstrous to attribute such an expression to his client. When the troops were in his power he had not spilled a drop of their blood. Carroll, the next witness, deposed that the first words used by Mr. O'Brien, when he met him, were, "Are you come to arrest me?" This was the prominent idea which ran through all his acts from the first meeting at Enniscorthy to the affray at Boulagh Common. When Carroll answered "No," this man, who had used the ferocious phrase to which he had so often alluded, said he would not injure an unarmed man. Several documents had been given in evidence against the prisoner. One of these was the letter to the proprietors of the collieries—it was no more than a threat to induce the owners to keep the men in employ. As to the letters found in Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau, no man could tell how they got there. He next came to the evidence of Dobbin, which he had reserved to the last because he thought that up to this time no act of treason had been proved against his client. Dobbin came before them in the character of a spy. The jury were not to believe anything he said in that character, unless it was corroborated by other evidence. Dobbin alleged he was at a meeting of the Confederation at which certain speeches were made. No one saw Dobbin there—no one corroborated a single word of what he said as to the war directory. So far from his having attended the meeting as the representative of the Red Hand Club, there was no such club in existence at all. The balloting papers had been proved by the informer, but by no one else; and it would have been very easy to have proved a hundred papers in the same way. But, supposing all this were true,

Mr. O'Brien had not been present at the meeting for the election of the war directory at all. His name had been scratched out. Father Kenyon had eight votes, Mr. O'Brien had not one; and yet he was to be made responsible for that proceeding! "Gentlemen, I have spoken to this case. I have gone over the entire evidence given by the Crown to sustain the charge against the prisoner, and it is for you to say whether that charge is established. The accusation against him is for high treason—compassing the death of the Queen by levying war against the Queen in her realm. I have explained to you the principles upon which this crime is to be ascertained; I have shown you that appearing in arms is not enough, that an endeavour to escape from arrest is not enough. It must be plain to you that the prisoner is guilty of the charge contained in this indictment before you can convict him. Gentlemen, I have observed upon the evidence, and I simply submit to you, in conclusion, that however you may condemn certain acts of Mr. O'Brien, however equivocal you may think some observations made by him in one letter are, yet, if you believe that his offence falls short of the tremendous crime of treason, you are bound by the solemn duty you have undertaken, irrespective of every consequence, to acquit the prisoner. Well I know the weighty difficulties I have to encounter, and how incompetent my feeble powers have been to grapple with and overcome them. Well do I know how prejudice has blocked up the avenues to the understanding of some,—how calumny has done its work with others,—and how it has been said that the impracticable politician must perish at last. If he had been a hypocrite, and had covered his selfishness with the mask of patriotism,—if he had said what he did not believe,—if he had unsaid to-morrow what he had said to-day, he might have been a patriotic placeman, and enjoyed individual prosperity, having traded with tact for a time upon the miseries of his country. Wrong he may have been in the opinions he has imbibed; yet he has adhered to them steadily and consistently throughout his life, and he suffers now for having honestly maintained them, believing them to be true. He has been reviled, caricatured, and slandered in his native country from one extremity to the other—he has been hunted as a traitor, and covered with abuse, and where is he to look for justice? Where can be his hope for a temperate consideration of his whole political life, but where the law has placed his safety,—in the honour, discernment, and humanity of a jury of his countrymen?—a rampart of defence to stand between the Crown and the prisoner. If the crime consisting in the intention of the soul is not sufficiently established, judges must be unbending, but jurors may yield to the frailties of human nature. Jurors may throw the broad shield of their protection around the accused, whose intention they can believe to have been innocent, censurable though his conduct may have been. Such is the high office assigned to you by the constitution, whose foundations were laid in the deepest wisdom, which through a succession of ages has been cemented by the patriot's blood and consecrated in the mar-

tyr's fire. It is for you to say whether his guilt is established conclusively or not. The law of your country—wise, just, and merciful—has declared that if there be a doubt that doubt must be given in favour of the prisoner—in favour of him whose life is sought to be affected; and therefore, yielding to those benign principles and those generous impulses of your hearts, it is for you to stand between the prisoner and his grave. Review his life. A love of his country he imbibed from his mother's breast. It was strengthened by his father's example, perhaps, to a dangerous excess. His father recounted to him how on the last memorable night of our national independence he had heard the burning words of Grattan, of Plunket, and of Bushe; how he had been persuaded by the gravity of their arguments, transported by their eloquence, and inflamed by their patriotic ardour. Those lessons taught by his parent he has never forgotten; and believing that the Union was carried by corruption, he struggled for its repeal and to restore to Ireland its Parliamentary existence. In that has been the labour of his life—a delusion, I admit; but is not death upon the scaffold a terrible punishment for believing that Irishmen have the capacity and intellect to rule the affairs of their native country? Would to God that Mr. Smith O'Brien were my only client! The happiness of an honourable, ancient, and loyal family is at stake this day. The church, the bar, the senate, furnish members nearly and dearly related to the prisoner. They may differ from him in politics, but they are here to give him consolation on this melancholy day. Should you send him to the scaffold, they must struggle on hereafter with broken hearts through a cheerless existence, labouring in sorrow for him they loved. A venerable lady, whose life has been spent amidst an affectionate tenantry, who has lavished her fortune and dispensed blessings and charities around her, awaits with trembling heart your verdict. If your verdict consigns her beloved son to the grave, that heart will quickly beat no more. Six innocent children await to be informed whether they are to be stripped of the inheritance which has descended in their family for ages, and driven beggars and fatherless upon the world through the rigorous enactments of a cruel law—whether they are to be restored to peace and joy, or plunged into the uttermost depths of black despair. There is another who still clings to hope—that hope, may it be blessed in you! Her heart's blood she would gladly give to save the object of her youthful affections. You will not send her, unless at the command of conscience, to an untimely grave. Yet, even in this case of blood, I do not ask for pity in a wailing spirit; I ask it in the spirit of a free constitution, in accordance with the rooted principles of our common law. Those principles ought to shine out in glorious perfection in this great cause between the prisoner and the Crown; and a verdict in accordance with them is not a triumph over the law, but a triumph of the law. If, however, you shall convict my client, neither will I nor will he censure that conviction. I trust he will meet his fate with the faith of a Christian and the firmness of a man. The last accents of his lips will breathe a prayer

for Ireland's happiness and Ireland's constitutional freedom; and in that moment of his mortal agony he will be consoled if, through his sufferings and his sacrifices, some system of government shall arise such as I aver has never yet existed—wise, impartial, comprehensive, and, above all, which may conduct to wealth, prosperity, and greatness the country he has loved, not wisely, perhaps, but too well. Our Sovereign, in that oath wherewith she seals her compact with a free people, promises to exercise in all her judgments justice in mercy. That justice you administer; no remorseless, cruel, sanguinary code, but justice in mercy. In nothing can frail mortals approach so nearly to the attributes of the Almighty as in the administration of justice here below. Divine justice will be tempered with mercy, or dismal will be our fate. The awful issues of life and death are now in your hands. Do justice in mercy. The last faint murmurs on your quivering lips will be for mercy ere the immortal spirit shall take its flight to, I trust, a better and a brighter world."

Mr. W. Hammill, Secretary to the Irish Confederation, and Dr. Gray, one of the proprietors of the *Freeman's Journal*, were examined as to the general character of Mr. O'Brien's sentiments. The latter, in his cross-examination, said he recollected a telegraphic despatch having been received from their London agent, in which it was stated that Lord John Russell would apply to Parliament for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. An announcement to that effect had been hung outside the office, with the addition that a warrant was out for the arrest of Mr. Smith O'Brien. That was on the 22nd of July. It could not have been true at the time that a warrant was issued for Mr. O'Brien's arrest, as the Act had not passed at the time.

Mr. Maher examined.—Was a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Wexford, and had been member for that county. Had been acquainted with Mr. William Smith O'Brien for many years. On the 22nd of July Mr. O'Brien came to him at Enniscorthy in pursuance of a long-sent invitation. Went home in his carriage with him. On the following morning, at eight o'clock, Mr. O'Brien sent to him, and said he wanted to see him.

The Attorney-General objected to what passed between the witness and Mr. O'Brien being given as evidence.

Mr. Fitzgerald contended that it was evidence of intent.

Mr. O'Brien abruptly demanded that it should be received.

The Attorney-General waived his objection.

This scene produced much excitement in the court.

Examination continued.—Had been acquainted with Mr. O'Brien since 1835. Believed him to be most decidedly attached to the Queen and the constitution. Two gentlemen came to his house on the Sunday. His servant came to his room and said Mr O'Brien wished to speak to him. He went to him in his room and Mr. O'Brien said, "You have two other guests in the house for whom I think you are not prepared. Meagher and Dillon arrived this morning, and bring the news of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and that a warrant for my arrest has been issued, which they think may have probably come over by the mail."

And he then said, "My dear Maher, I did not come to your house to disturb its peace, I do not wish that any arrest should take place in your house. Send for a car that we may go towards Kilkenny, where I have some friends I should like to consult in this case." Witness told him he would send them to Enniscorthy in his carriage, and have a car there ready to forward them on their arrival. They breakfasted and left in an hour.

Mr. Coulter, a reporter of the *Freeman's Journal*, and Mr. Barrot, the editor of the *Pilot* newspaper, believed Mr. O'Brien was attached to the Queen and constitution, and, if he had ever expressed a contrary sentiment, witness believed he should have heard of it.

Sir David Roche, formerly M.P. for Limerick. Had known Mr. O'Brien eighteen or twenty years. Was a grand juror. Frequently conversed with him, and was quite sure Mr. O'Brien never entertained any views against the Queen. As to the constitution, if they meant the union, he knew Mr. O'Brien was opposed to it, and that he wished for the restoration of the Parliament of his country. He had never heard him express any opinion in favour of a republic. He believed him to be a very determined man in expressing his own opinions. Had never heard him speak disrespectfully of Royalty. He thought Mr. O'Brien considered he had a right to constitutionally agitate the country to produce a change which he thought right.

Mr. Massey, a grand juror, Sir Denham Norreys, M.P., Mr. Fitzgerald, a grand juror, Hon. Cornelius O'Callaghan, one of the grand jurors who found the bill against the prisoner, deposed to their belief that prisoner was attached to the constitution, and a friend to social order.

The rules of the '82 Club (one of which was that all the members should have a uniform) and of the Irish League were given in evidence.

Mr. Redington's note to Mr. W. S. O'Brien, with respect to his portmanteau, was given in evidence.

Major-General Sir W. Napier, examined by Sir C. O'Loghlen.—Is a Major-General in Her Majesty's service, and is the historian of the Peninsular War. Recollects the years 1831 and 1832. Recollected when the Reform agitation was going on, and when the Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords.

Sir C. O'Loghlen: Do you recollect having received a certain letter a short time after that period?—I received many letters at that time. I know Mr. Young.

Did you receive any communication from Mr. Young from the Home Office?—I did.

Have you any letter from that gentleman?—I have.

The Attorney-General objected to any statement as to the contents of that letter. They could know nothing at all about it.

The Court refused to permit this letter to be read in evidence.

Friday, October 6th.

Mr. Fitzgerald opened his defence of Mr. O'Brien, and necessarily went over the same ground as Mr. Whiteside. After alluding to the fearful responsibility which rested on himself, the learned counsel said that that was as nothing when compared with that which rested on the jury. He entreated the jury to dismiss from their minds the idea with which they had no doubt come there—that for some purposes, le-

gal or illegal, there had been armed assemblages of people. The Attorney-General told them the acts he attributed to Mr. O'Brien, as a levy of war, were not attended with the pomp and circumstance of war. He had not proved them to be so, and so far what might otherwise have worked on the jury's fancies was removed; but had there been no levy of war? Had not their fields been covered with encampments, their towns filled with troops, and their nightly slumbers broken by the rattle of artillery, and had they not connected those preparations in their own minds with the intent imputed to his client? Would that be common justice? And yet was there one gentleman in the box whose fancy and feelings were uninfluenced by those mighty preparations? That would be to assume at the very moment that the accused stood on his trial that he was guilty, and it was unheard-of that his conviction should be argued and assumed while he was actually in that position. He was not going to ask them to look at what passed about them, but he had a right to ask them how their minds were affected. He had a right to ask them, had it ever crossed their minds for one moment—had it ever crossed the fancies of one of them, that they had not been doing their duty if they did not convict? Had the fancies of men or the weight of men's opinions so far influenced them that the thought of being pointed out as one of the disagreeing, doubting, or acquitting jury, had for a moment crossed them? He knew well if that suggestion came before them openly it would have been rejected with the indignation of honourable men; but who could tell how far the unguarded feeling could have influenced the mind it crossed for even one moment? By the indictment his client stood charged with two kinds of treason—namely, the levy of war, and the compassing the death of the Queen. The questions, therefore, for the jury to consider were, if he levied the war against the Queen, and if he conspired to levy it. He submitted, subject to the authority of the Court, that the Crown had failed to prove the prisoner had compassed the Queen's death. They had adduced no evidence to prove it whatever. Here there was no levy of war but by construction; no overt acts were proved. The repeal of the union was the object of Mr. O'Brien. It was to be carried by the exhibition of the national will, and that could only be in the form of organized bodies. The Attorney-General said that one of the speeches upon which the charge was founded was delivered by Mr. O'Brien in March, 1848; he had spoken of a prosecution that was instituted against Mr. O'Brien for that very speech, but he had not told the jury that that prosecution failed. The Attorney-General spoke of Mr. O'Brien's having gone to France as a member of a deputation to the Provisional Government. Of that fact not a particle of evidence had been given; and the very speech which was relied upon as showing the intention of his visit clearly proved that he had no such purpose as was attributed to him. The Attorney-General spoke of a national guard being formed, but of that fact, again, he gave no evidence. The clubs were in existence so long ago as August, 1847, as instruments to be worked for the accomplishment of a certain end—the Repeal of the Union.

How had all great changes in political matters been of late conducted? How had Catholic emancipation been gained? How had the Reform Bill been carried? How had the Corn Laws been repealed? All had been done through an exhibition of the national will—the will of the people who expressed it; and that could be done in no other way than in the nature of military arrangements. The Attorney-General had said that the resolution come to by Mr. O'Brien was that the rising should take place after the harvest, and that the evidence would prove satisfactorily that he and his co-conspirators had gone on expeditions through the country expressly for the purpose of completing the arrangements with the clubs for a simultaneous rising. What evidence had been offered of these facts? The Attorney-General then referred to two meetings of the Confederation, on the 14th and 15th of July last. Of the latter meeting it was true that Dobbin had spoken, but of the other there was no evidence at all. Doubtless, in the speech made by Mr. O'Brien to which he had last referred, there were allusions to an ultimate appeal. Upon what was that founded but that the national will could not be resisted because power was with it? He did not say that that was right—he did not say that, according to the principles of the constitution, that could be maintained; but it was impossible upon that to convict a man of high treason. The rules of the League had been read, showing that the object of that association was to obtain the legislative independence of Ireland by the union of all parties, and to enlist public opinion in favour of that purpose; and the speech of Mr. O'Brien proved that his intention was to go through the country to carry out that design. Could they believe he had any other object? If, then, he separated all those antecedent acts and speeches, which, as he contended, proved nothing of the present charge against his client, then the remainder proved only that the sole intention of Mr. O'Brien was to save himself from personal arrest. Did not every act he had done disprove the supposition that his purpose was a general rebellion? Were the barricades of a permanent description? Was there not an opportunity for a collision with the Queen's troops at Killenaule? But what occurred? When the officer said he had no warrant for Mr. O'Brien's arrest, the barricades were removed, and the troops passed through without molestation. It was stated that at Mullinahone he had demanded the arms of the police. If he did so, was it not easily accounted for? He wished to have an armed body around him, to protect him from arrest, and how could the men be armed but by procuring arms? But what was the fact as proved? That when the arms were refused, he did not take them by force; he was averse to the shedding of blood. Was that consistent with the purpose alleged by the Attorney-General? He came now to the transaction at Ballingarry. Was it an unnatural occurrence in this country? An armed body was assembled to protect Mr. O'Brien from arrest; they saw the policemen flying from them. Could Mr. O'Brien restrain their violence? He might be answerable for their conduct, but he was not answerable here. How did Mr. O'Brien act? He demanded the arms of the

police, as at Mullinahone; but unless they believed the witnesses who gave such different accounts of the words he was represented to have uttered, he could have been no party to the firing that took place. He was himself between the two, and, unless he had uttered the words in a moment of passion, it was utterly impossible that any man in his senses could have given that order. After observing upon the discrepancies in the evidence of the police who were at the widow M'Cormack's house at the time of the attack, the learned counsel next referred to Mr. O'Brien's letter to the Mining Company. The true explanation was this:—a reward had been offered for Mr. O'Brien's arrest, his whole reliance was on the persons connected with the collieries, and his desire was that they should not suffer for their attachment to his person. With that view he wrote that letter; it was to benefit those who had so generously devoted themselves to his protection. There was another letter—the letter of Mr. Duffy to his client. He admitted that Mr. O'Brien did intend revolution—a revolution to restore to this country the constitution of 1782—to be effected by the repeal of a single Act of Parliament. When a revolution was to be effected there must be leaders, but if they did not proceed fast enough, the more violent and obstinate of their followers would take the lead, and bloodshed ensue. Mr. Duffy thought that Mr. O'Brien would be left behind; he therefore wrote that letter to Mr. O'Brien, and in it he referred to the instance of Lafayette. He need not go again over the ground which had been so ably reviewed by Mr. Whiteside, nor need he appeal to their feelings as his learned friend had done—justice his client asked; to be convicted, if he were convicted, according to law, and if not, to be pronounced innocent. Mr. O'Brien stood in the dock before them, not to deny what he had done, but to deny the intent attributed to him. The intent, and that alone, was the question on which they must be convinced before they could find him guilty. He had already told them that the question of intent was perplexed by legal distinctions. In the consideration of those distinctions they would have the aid of the Court; all that wisdom, discretion, and legal knowledge could do would be done by the learned judges to inform them on all questions of law. But the matter before them was manifestly and emphatically one for the jury rather than for the Bench. If he were not mistaken, the Court would tell them that the difficulties of the case arose from judicial decisions which had clouded the simplicity of the original statute, and after all the ambiguity and doubts entertained, which, as they had been introduced by words, could be but explained by words, on their conscience must rest the peril of the decision.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne.—William Smith O'Brien, I have now to inform you that if you mean to address the jury, you are now at liberty to do so, and that you cannot be heard after the Solicitor-General has commenced his address for the Crown. If you wish to consider with your friends whether you will address the jury or not, we will retire for a short time, and on our return you can state your decision.

Mr. O'Brien.—I am able to answer the question at once. I am quite ready to leave the decision of my case to the jury as it stands

and as it rests on the arguments of my counsel; and I have only, in conclusion, to thank the gentlemen of the jury for the patient attention they have given to the arguments in the case.

The Solicitor-General replied, on the part of the Crown. The case which had undergone so much serious and deliberate investigation was nearly drawn to a close, and the duty devolved upon him of making some observations on the whole of the case as it appeared in evidence. After making some observations on the serious consequences of the duty the jury would now have to discharge, the learned gentleman said, the counsel for the prisoner called on the jury for a just and impartial verdict. Surely those concerned for the Crown could ask them for nothing else. In the case before them, the jury must feel he had a duty to perform very different from that which devolved upon the gentlemen concerned for the prisoner at the bar. Every latitude the law could by possibility allow they were fairly entitled to avail themselves of, in order to accomplish the acquittal of their client. His duty was dry, and ought to be unimpassioned. He could only say he would do his duty to the best of his ability, and that, in the execution of it, he would be obliged to occupy a considerable portion of their time. The Solicitor-General then commented on the evidence, point by point. The following seems noticeable:—

Mr. O'Brien was charged with the offence of high treason. With respect to the evidence adduced of the past life and opinions of Mr. O'Brien, he (the Solicitor-General) was not there to deny that a person might avow peculiar political opinions, and might institute clubs and associations to express those feelings and opinions to the public. Mr. O'Brien was an ardent Repealer. But if, actuated by pride, prejudice, zeal, or ambition, any person should exceed the limits of the law, and was betrayed into such an offence as that with which the prisoner stood charged, it was no defence to produce his former companions to state that the opinions he had previously expressed did not amount to the crime of treason. If he were to be found guilty on the evidence, such opinions could not weigh a feather in the scale. Mr. O'Brien was charged with the levy of war. His learned friend (Mr. Fitzgerald) had told the jury that this was an artificial crime. He did not understand what that meant. The charge against Mr. O'Brien was for having committed the plain definite offence of high treason under the statute of Edward III. The levy of war under that statute must be for a general public purpose. He believed the speech delivered by Mr. O'Brien at the Confederation in March, 1848, to be most important, because it clearly and unambiguously established the fact that a change had come over Mr. O'Brien's political opinions between March and July. The revolution in France, which had subsequently caused so much human misery and so much national calamity, had warped and influenced the minds of men so far that many of them were led to extremities of which they previously would have entertained no notion. Mr. O'Brien accordingly seemed at that time to look to measures he had not before contemplated, and in that speech he set forth the means by which he sought to accomplish his object. The Crown did not prosecute the

speech as an overt act of treason, but they put it in evidence because it cast light on the insurrection in July. The prisoner threatened the landlords with confiscation of their property to the national treasury; he alluded to the establishment of an Irish national guard, an Irish army, and an Irish Parliament, and he advised the people to fraternize with the soldiers and police. In these and all other similar passages Mr. O'Brien seemed distinctly to look forward to a revolution to be effected by force. He spoke of French aid, and invoked French sympathy in their "coming struggle." What construction could the jury put on these words but that which they bore in their plain common acceptation? The Solicitor-General next commented on Mr. O'Brien's speech on his return from that mission, on the letter from the sympathisers at Philadelphia, on the letter found in Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau—on the evidence of Dobbin as to the proceedings at the Red Hand Club. It had been contended by the counsel for Mr. O'Brien, that the object that he had in view was his personal safety from arrest. It was for the jury to say whether that limited purpose was the object of the insurrection, or whether it was a general one. It was for them to say whether, when he was at Mr. Maher's house, when Mr. Dillon and Mr. Meagher arrived, he and his friends did not think that the crisis had arrived, that the time had come for the grand insurrection, and that the rallying cry should be the personal security of Mr. O'Brien, because it was more exciting from the popularity of that gentleman. The learned gentleman then traced the subsequent proceedings of Mr. O'Brien, and argued that it was unreasonable to suppose that the guard of 20 armed persons which Mr. O'Brien had around him was to save him from arrest, for that number would have been insufficient to have resisted the strong arm of the law. It was the mockery of a body-guard. They must also observe that, at the time the marching and drilling was proved to have taken place, no warrant had been issued for Mr. O'Brien's arrest. But did they ever hear of such a thing as raising barricades and having a large body of armed men to resist a personal arrest? But the evidence of Pemberton, the engineer of the Mining Company, put the case beyond all doubt. That witness, a most respectable person, had spoken to a conversation which he had had with Mr. O'Brien at Kenrick's Cross, on the morning of the 28th, in which he spoke of the people in other parts of the country being ready to rise; that a warrant was issued for his arrest, and that if he were taken he should be hanged. With respect to the words said to have been uttered by Mr. O'Brien at the widow M'Cormack's house, of "slash away, boys, and slaughter them all," he was willing to believe that, considering the high character, mild disposition, and the education of the prisoner, he had not used them—he believed Mr. O'Brien's honour was dear to him, and gave credit to his assertion, and that the words had proceeded from a man of less education and humanity; but then Mr. O'Brien was present at the time; he was the head of the party who were engaged in that fatal conflict. He had gone through the facts of the case, and it would be for the jury to say whether the object of Mr. O'Brien was not a ge-

neral insurrection. He had endeavoured to discharge the painful duty which had devolved upon him with firmness and impartiality, and he now left the case in the hands of the jury.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne proceeded to sum up:—"As the organ of this high tribunal, it now becomes my duty to offer to you the assistance which you have a right to ask, and which it is our duty to afford you in considering your verdict on this most momentous question, and which will receive from you that calm, dispassionate, and conscientious consideration which its importance deserves. The charge against the prisoner at the bar is that of high treason, and it will be my duty, in the first instance, to simplify the subject so as to enable you distinctly to apprehend what the law is upon it, and, being understood, will enable you aptly to apply it to the evidence you have heard. There are two distinct species of treason stated in this indictment. The first five counts are for levying war against the Queen in her realm, the last and sixth count is for compassing the death of the Queen. I shall at once relieve you from any misapprehension of the last count, because, though there is what in strictness of law must be considered evidence to sustain that count, that evidence is more clearly and distinctly applicable to the counts for levying war, and your attention may, therefore, be confined altogether to the charge of levying war against the Queen in her realm. In order to sustain that charge you must be satisfied that there was an insurrection—an insurrection by force, and that the object of that insurrection was a general object. Gentlemen of the jury, in stating this definition of the crime of levying war against the Crown, I have probably led your minds to the consideration of the true distinction which it will be important to keep in your minds, and on which distinction the defence of the prisoner is rested. He asserts that the object of recurring to the use of force, and that the end and object of all the exertions which are detailed in the cause, were not to effect any general object or particular purpose whatever, but that they were solely and exclusively done to protect his person from arrest; and I have to tell you that, if the object of all this arming and of all this force was solely and exclusively to protect Mr. O'Brien's person, and the persons of those in his company from arrest, he is entitled to your verdict of acquittal. The law does not require that the Crown should state in the indictment the evidence it intends to adduce of the intention—it does not require the Crown to state what acts were done; but it does require not only that the Crown should state the acts of war which were done, but that one or more of those acts should be established by two or more credible witnesses, and the acts which are stated in the indictment you will find to be as follows:—aiding and marching in a hostile manner through divers villages, towns, and public highways in this country—to wit, at Ballingarry; the erection of obstructions by means of cars, carts, pieces of timber, and other materials on the highway to obstruct and prevent the march of the soldiers of the Queen; attacking and firing on a large body of constables being then in the execution of their duty, and endeavouring, by force and violence,

to make the constables join them in a public insurrection and rebellion against the Queen. Then follows the charge of an attack upon a certain dwelling-house at Farrinrory, and firing upon the constables therein. These are the overt acts. They must each or one of them be proved by two witnesses; what was the object will depend upon the intention that is to be disclosed by the evidence. Of that evidence you are exclusively the judges in the case which is now before us. You will observe the period at which one class of evidence may be said to terminate and the other to commence. The evidence antecedent to the actual outbreak at Ballingarry, on the 25th, is in some respects contrasted with the evidence subsequent to that period. The evidence antecedent to that period cannot have any relation to the apprehension of arrest, because during that antecedent period no arrest was or could have been contemplated. The evidence subsequent to that time is connected with that apprehension of arrest, and I need not tell you that the latter is a period of great importance, and that, from the time the insurrection commenced, on the 25th, at Ballingarry, every one of the transactions that occurred is to be minutely and critically examined, and during that period you are to consider whether the acts of Mr. O'Brien, the acts of those whom he put in motion, his own declarations, the conduct of those who were assisting him, do manifestly relate to the object of effecting his personal safety and nothing else, or whether, upon a review of these facts and circumstances, they do not manifest an ultimate and general purpose—that is, the purpose of effecting a revolution in the country." His lordship then proceeded to sum up and comment upon the evidence at great length.

In the course of his lordship's address a discussion took place respecting the evidence of the informer Dobbin.

Saturday, October 7th.

The Lord Chief Justice proceeded with his charge, and continued his *resumé* of the evidence.—"I shall very minutely go through the evidence which bears on the important view of the case, respecting the general intention of Mr. O'Brien; and you will remember, and I must repeat it, as it is essential with respect to the prisoner's defence, that you should keep constantly in your thoughts, on the subject on which you are now to inquire, these questions:—Whether the insurrection and the force had a general object, or whether that insurrection and force were limited and confined exclusively to the prevention of the arrest of Mr. O'Brien. These are the matters for your consideration; and it is on these questions you have to decide whether the prisoner is guilty or innocent." His lordship then went over the evidence relating to the proceedings of Mr. O'Brien after he had left Dublin on the 22nd of July.

The learned judge next read the evidence of constable Coghlan, at Carrick, and was commenting on it when he was interrupted by the counsel for the prisoner, who requested his lordship to suspend his charge and allow counsel on both sides a space for deliberation, as new matter of importance to the prisoner had appeared. His lordship refused the request, but, by retiring for refreshment shortly afterwards, substantially acceded to it.

On his return, counsel requested

that Dobbin should be again placed on the table. The witness looked slightly agitated at first, but soon recovered his self-possession, and replied to the questions put to him in his usual dogged and sullen manner. He then underwent a most severe examination, the questions tending to impute to him that he was a thorough adventurer who had gained an infamous living by tampering with and endeavouring to entrap young men into political conspiracies, and that his statements were mere forgeries, and himself utterly unworthy of credit. To all these he returned a steady dogged denial.

A young man, named Henry Dalton, was then put upon the table as a witness for the prisoner. He appeared to be a person of respectable education but irregular and dissipated habits. His evidence affirmed everything that Dobbin had denied; and, if true, established a case of infamous treachery.

The Attorney-General (addressing Dobbin).—Do you know this gentleman?

The two witnesses stood on the table, confronting each other.

Dobbin.—On my oath, I never saw him.

This statement produced an extraordinary sensation in the court.

The Lord Chief Justice proceeded to sum up the remaining evidence for the prosecution, and then said—"And now, gentlemen, I have laid before you the entire of the evidence with respect to this unfortunate transaction. I shall now call your attention to the evidence adduced on the part of Mr. O'Brien. This is, in the first place, general evidence with respect to attachment to the Crown and as to his constitutional principles; and on this general evidence there can be no manner of doubt, but that upon any part of this case where your minds might be in doubt or might entertain difficulties with respect to the objects and conduct imputed to him it would be important to attend to it, and give it all the weight it deserved. But, unfortunately, in this particular case before us, we cannot do this, and it does appear to me that early in March last Mr. O'Brien had undergone some change in his political views, and that then ideas suggested themselves to his mind which he had not entertained before. Whatever may be the value of the testimony to his character, God forbid that I should deprive him of it. The other evidence on his part, which I have read carefully through, relates to the rules of the Confederation and of the Irish League. Those rules appear to me to be perfectly legal. I cannot discover any thing in them to attach to the Confederation the idea of criminality or suspicion, nor any thing, in short, if strictly observed, repugnant to any principle of the law, or open to any allegation. With respect to the rules of the League, which was formed, as it appears, of the members of the two bodies—the Confederation and Conciliation Halls—they are obnoxious to no observation whatever. But the question is, whether those rules were observed by him, or whether a course of conduct at variance with them was adopted by him when a member of those bodies, and professing to act in accordance with their rules. In the speech of the 19th of July—a remarkable speech on a remarkable occasion—Mr. O'Brien distinctly reserves to himself the right, uncontrolled by any engagement with respect to those bodies, to pursue his course through the medium of

the clubs to the object he then contemplated. And now, gentlemen, I commit this case to your serious consideration. A high duty you have to discharge—a most laborious duty it certainly is—a painful duty it must be, if you should take an unfavourable view of the evidence before you. I shall rejoice if seriously, soberly, and conscientiously you can come to the conclusion that the prisoner is not guilty of the charges alleged against him by the Crown; but if, on the other hand, seriously, soberly, and conscientiously you think him guilty of these charges, there is no consideration that can justify any human being in that box in doing otherwise than that which the obligation of his oath demands, and be the consequences what they may, you will, by finding a verdict of guilty, in that way and on your oaths, best discharge the solemn duty which devolves upon you.

The jury withdrew, and were absent about an hour.

About half past 5 o'clock the Judges again took their seats on the bench, and the jury returned.

The Clerk of the Crown then called over the roll of the jury.

Clerk of the Crown.—How say you, gentlemen of the jury, on the first count, guilty or not guilty?

The Foreman.—"Guilty."

The word caused a perceptible sensation in every corner of the court. Mr. O'Brien slightly nodded his head to the jury, and gave no other sign of emotion.

The same general verdict was returned on the other counts.

The Foreman handed in a paper with the following recommendation:—"We earnestly recommend the prisoner to the merciful consideration of Government, the jury being unanimously, for many reasons, of opinion that his life should be spared."

A verdict of "Not Guilty" was entered on the sixth count.

Monday, October, 9th.

The Attorney-General moved the judgment of the Court in the case of "The Queen *v.* William Smith O'Brien."

The prisoner was brought up.

Mr. Whiteside made an application in arrest of judgment, and he also submitted that the following three questions should be reserved:—First, whether the speeches in March or April were admissible in evidence; secondly, whether the account of the meeting of the 21st of July was admissible against Mr. O'Brien on the ground, as he contended, that the witness Dobbin was not confirmed, and that Mr. O'Brien was absent; and, thirdly, whether the contents of the portmanteau were admissible as evidence against Mr. O'Brien. There might also be a fourth, according to the opinion their Lordships might come to on the motion he had now properly to make. He moved the arrest of judgment on the following ground:—The indictment charged the prisoner with having compassed the death of the Queen, and with levying war against her in her realm. Of compassing the death of the Queen the prisoner was acquitted; of the crime of levying war against the Queen he had been convicted. His first proposition was, that no such treason as levying of war in Ireland against the Queen is indictable in Ireland, and the learned counsel argued that the word "realm" in the statute was confined to England only. His next point was more important in principle; it

was that the crime of levying of war, of which Mr O'Brien was convicted, was not indictable in Ireland as a substantive treason, but felony only. This depended mainly on the 11th of Victoria, c. 12. He contended that the prisoner must be acquitted, first, because the overt acts laid in the indictment as proof of the levying of war were the various acts done at Ballingarry, Killenaule, and Mullinahone, and not the actual levying of war; and, secondly, because the compassing of levying of war was by the statute of Victoria no longer treason, but felony. If their Lordships were of opinion that his argument was not well founded, and that levying war directly against the Queen remained as a substantive treason, then he submitted that the levying of war charged in this indictment was constructive only, and that it came within the late statute, and was punishable merely with transportation for life.

The Attorney-General showed cause against the motion.

The Lord Chief Justice.—"The motion now made is founded upon two objections. The indictment is in substance a charge under the statute of Edward III. for levying war against the Queen in her realm. Those are the very words of the statute of Edward, and an indictment following the words of the statute is always sufficient. The first objection is, that the act of Edward III. is not the law of Ireland. To that it is replied, that by Poyning's Act it is extended to Ireland, and the words of Poyning's Act, "Whereas there have been divers good and profitable statutes made in the realm of England, let it be ordained that all the statutes made in the realm of England concerning or relative to the public or common weal of Ireland, for henceforth be deemed statutes and be accepted and used in this land of Ireland," &c. It is admitted that the statute must refer to the act of Edward III.; but that its construction is confined to this—enabling a person who had committed this crime in England to be tried in Ireland. It appears to me the plain meaning of the statute that there should be the same law in both countries, and that what is treason in England should be treason in Ireland. The next objection is founded on the construction of the recent Act, 11 Victoria, c. 12, to which construction we find it totally impossible to accede. The treason created by the statute of Edward III. was the levying of war. Then came the English statute of 36 George III., which did not extend to Ireland, by which the compassing to levy war, when that is for certain purposes, was made treason. The statute of Edward III. made the levying of war the crime. This statute made the intention to levy war the crime. And the objection is that the statute of Victoria, which does extend to Ireland, converts that which was treason under the statute of Edward III. into felony. It does no such thing. I repeat that the Act of Edward III. makes treason consist in the actual levying of war, and this Act makes the intention, the compassing of levying war, felony. The two things are perfectly distinct. The crime in one case is the act, in the other it is the intention; and no doubt can remain on the subject that the construction of the statute is so, for the sixth section provides that nothing therein contained should lessen the force of or in any

manner affect anything enacted by the statute of Edward III. declaratory of what offences should be adjudged treason. So that the two statutes relate to distinct crimes; the act being the crime in the one instance, the intention in the other; therefore, in our judgment, it is perfectly plain that neither of these objections can be maintained. With respect to the points that were argued in the course of the trial, we have, over and over again, maturely considered them. We are perfectly satisfied with the opinion we have expressed. It is not our intention to reserve them for the opinion of the Judges."

On being asked by the Clerk of the Crown whether he could state any reason why sentence of death should not be passed upon him,

Mr. O'Brien stood erect in front of the dock, and said in a loud and firm voice—"My Lords, it is not my intention to enter into any vindication of my conduct, however much I might have desired to avail myself of this opportunity of doing so. I am perfectly satisfied with the consciousness that I have performed my duty to my country, —that I have done only that which it was in my opinion the duty of every Irishman to have done. And I am now prepared to abide the consequences of my having performed my duty to my native land. Proceed with your sentence."

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne.—"William Smith O'Brien, after a long, patient, and laborious trial, a jury of your countrymen have found you guilty of high treason—their verdict was accompanied by a recommendation to the mercy of the Crown—that recommendation, as is our duty, we shall send forward to the Lord-Lieutenant, to whom, as you must know, exclusively belongs the power to comply with it. It now remains for us to perform the last solemn act of duty which devolves upon us, and to pronounce that sentence by which the law marks the enormity of your guilt, and aims at the prevention of similar crimes by the example and infliction of a terrible punishment. Oh! that you would reflect upon that crime, and dwell upon it with sincere repentance and remorse. Oh! that you would regard it as it is regarded by every rational being —that you would feel and know that it is really and substantially as repugnant to the interests of humanity, to the precepts and spirit of the Divine religion we profess, as it is to the positive law, your violation of which is now attended by the forfeiture of your life. The few words you have addressed to the Court forbid me (I say it with the greatest distress) to proceed any further with this subject. It now only remains to the Court to pronounce the sentence of death. That sentence is, that you, William Smith O'Brien, shall be taken hence to the place whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until you be dead, and that afterwards your head shall be severed from your body, and your body severed into four quarters, to be disposed of as Her Majesty may think fit. May the Lord have mercy on your soul!

October 9th.

TRIAL OF M'MANUS.

Terence Bellew M'Manus was indicted for high treason. The indictment was the same as that on which Mr. O'Brien had been tried and convicted.

As the indictments found against this and the other prisoners were for the same crime, and manifested by the same overt acts, these trials, though protracted to great length, and conducted with unabated energy and vigour by the learned counsel, present few features of interest. Indeed after the conviction of the principal conspirator, all interest even in Ireland seemed to have died away, and the Courts presented an appearance of even greater desertion than upon ordinary occasions.

The same technical objections that had been taken in Mr. O'Brien's case were taken, *pro formâ*, in this and each of the following cases.

The jury having been sworn, the clerk read the indictment, which contained six counts, with the same overt acts and the same intents as those laid in the indictment against Mr. O'Brien.

The Attorney-General said that the charge against the prisoner was substantially this—that he had actually, and in fact, levied war against the Queen; and the question for their consideration was whether the prisoner had taken part in the transactions which had occurred in this country in the month of July last, and whether those transactions amounted to a levying of war? After having briefly explained the law of the case, the learned gentleman proceeded to say he believed he should be able to establish, to the satisfaction of the jury, that an armed insurrection or rising did take place in this country last July, and that with respect to Mr. M'Manus himself, the object of it must have been general. Mr. M'Manus was an Irishman, but resided in Liverpool; unfortunately for himself, he was in the habit of associating much with persons who had assumed the denomination of Chartists, and the first evidence which he (the Attorney-General) intended to produce against him was a speech delivered by him in Liverpool on the 6th of June last, the subject of which was that repeal should be carried by all means—that if it were not carried by fair means, there would be a bloody struggle to obtain it, and that those who joined him in that bloody struggle which he anticipated, would, as a reward for so joining him, obtain grants of land in Ireland. That would evidently imply that the conquering or successful party would have the means of making grants of land. Mr. M'Manus arrived in Dublin from Liverpool on the morning of the 25th of July. The speech to which he had referred as having been made by Mr. M'Manus at Liverpool, was considered of a very seditious and improper tendency, and for that and other reasons he was a person whose movements were watched by the constabulary. Immediately after reaching Dublin, he again left that city, and the next place he was seen at was either Mullinahone or on the march to Ballingarry, taking part in the proceedings which had already been proved in the case of Mr. O'Brien. It might be alleged that M'Manus had done those acts in order to protect Mr. O'Brien from arrest, but, however cogent such an argument might be in Mr. O'Brien's case, it could scarcely be supposed that M'Manus came over from Liverpool and appeared in arms for that sole object, and that he did not wish to protect Mr. O'Brien from arrest in order that he might become the leader of a revolution-

ary party. No one was a closer attendant on Mr. O'Brien than the prisoner. He pressed a horse into his service in order to reconnoitre the military, and had been active in erecting barricades and in the attack on the police. M'Manus was the man who arrested Carroll, the policeman, at a time when some idea was entertained of renewing the attack on the widow Cormack's. The only question for the jury was if there was a mistake in the case, and if M'Manus was the person engaged in those transactions, and to satisfy them of that he would at once call evidence before them.

The speech of the prisoner at Liverpool, his arrival at Dublin by the *Iron Duke* steamer, the leaving the tin case containing a military uniform behind him, were then proved by witnesses. The prisoner's course thence was unknown until he joined Mr. O'Brien, when the evidence was nearly the same as was given on that trial. In order to connect the prisoner with these,

William Egan, steward of the relief works at Ballingarry, repeated the evidence he gave in Mr. O'Brien's case. Identified Mr. M'Manus as having been with Mr. O'Brien on Wednesday evening at Ballingarry. Saw M'Manus on horseback riding about the streets; there was a crowd there at the time.

Thomas Burke, summons-server of Ballingarry, examined.—Saw a crowd of 400 or 500 people in the village on Thursday, the 27th of July. Some of them were armed. Identified the prisoner as being among them; he had a belt round his waist which held pistols. Saw him at Farrinrory afterwards, breaking open an outhouse in the attack on the widow Cormack's. Heard him say "that the house should be burnt."

George Sparrow proved the assemblage of armed men, and acts of drilling at Mullinahone, and identified Mr. M'Manus as having been at Ballingarry with Mr. O'Brien.

William M'Carthy lived on the road from Killenaule to Mullinahone. Recollected Friday the day before the fight at widow Cormack's. Somebody took his horse from him on Friday at Killenaule. The witness hesitated and refused to swear that the prisoner was that person; he had identified the man in London, but he had since been shown a person so exactly like him that he would not swear which it was. Constable Walpole was then placed on the table; the likeness certainly was very extraordinary.

John Pemberton, the superintendent of the works of the Mining Company, was examined and gave similar evidence to that which he had given on Mr. O'Brien's trial. He identified M'Manus as one of the persons who were with Mr. O'Brien when he met him at Kenwick's Cross, and said that on that occasion M'Manus had a pistol in his hand.

Owen Cullen, the manager of the works, proved having received from Mr. O'Brien the letter to the Mining Company, which afterwards became the main evidence against himself.

Sub-Inspector Trant was the next witness on the table, and for a second time recounted his gallant exploits at the battle of Ballingarry.

On his cross-examination a further and amusing fact was elicited. As he was marching with his party from Callan to Ballingarry they

called upon him to whistle or sing some martial air to cheer them on their way, and he began to whistle accordingly. When they reached the house and the bloody conflict was at its height, "thinking," said the witness, "that singing was as good for fighting as for marching, I called upon Constable Young to strike up 'the British Grenadiers;' he did so, and it was immediately taken up and chorussed throughout the house."

Constable Carroll, of the mounted police, who had gone with a despatch from Kilkenny to Mr. Trant, on the morning of the battle, and who was taken prisoner on his return by O'Brien's party, identified M'Manus as the person who came up to him and said, "You are my prisoner." M'Manus was armed with a gun. He was immediately surrounded, and thinking he was going to be shot, he expressed a wish to see Mr. O'Brien or M'Manus again. M'Manus then came up and took him out of the crowd into a field.

On his cross-examination by Mr. Butt, he said his impression, when taken into the field, was that he was going to be shot, but he afterwards believed that the prisoner had done it to protect him.

A young gentleman, named Lloyd, stated that he resided at Fethard Glebe. On the afternoon of the 29th of July last, about four o'clock, he was on horseback, riding in the direction of the Commons, when he saw a number of people, about 1500 persons, assembled near that place. Mr. M'Manus was amongst them. He was proceeding on his way when he heard a shot, and on turning round he saw the prisoner. That was about an English mile from the widow Cormack's house. The prisoner came up and presented a gun at him, and asked him whether there were any soldiers on the road, and he said he did not know. The prisoner then asked him whether there were any at Urlingford, and he answered no. Witness thought the prisoner meant to detain him, and he therefore asked for Mr. O'Brien, saying he was sure that gentleman would not detain him. The prisoner gave him no answer to that question, but he said he might go where he pleased.

Cross-examined.—The prisoner shook hands with him when he left, and told him to keep out of danger. The prisoner treated him with perfect civility.

Sub-inspector Cox went over the same details which he had given on the former trial.

Head-constable Crowley stated that on the 30th of August last he was stationed at Cork. On that day he arrested the prisoner on board an American vessel convenient to the harbour's mouth.

Mr. Butt addressed the jury for the prisoner, urging upon them the duty of dismissing all prejudice, and not to conclude the prisoner guilty merely because much had been said of the warlike proceedings which were supposed to have taken place; unless the overt acts adduced as proof were clearly proved, and unless the jury thought they were in themselves such acts as amounted to proof of the intent charged, they would find the prisoner not guilty. They would have two questions to try. First, how far the prisoner was connected with the acts alleged; and, secondly, how far the acts themselves constituted a levying of war. If, on either of those points, they were not satisfied of the guilt of the prisoner, they must acquit him.

God forbid he should ask them to do so unless his client was entitled to such a verdict. The first act charged against him was the erection of barricades. That, in itself, was not a levying of war. The indictment required that the jury should consider it and all similar acts as attempts to subvert the constitution of the realm. The levying of war must be actually carried into effect to constitute the crime set forth. If a man compassed the death of the Queen, he was guilty if he committed one act towards it, though the object were never accomplished; but the levying of war must be actually carried on. If a number of persons assembled together and incited the people to insurrection, the guilt charged in the indictment was not complete, and the leaders would only be liable to an indictment under another Act which had lately received the sanction of the Legislature. No design, intention, preparation, or conspiracy will prove the offence—there must be an actual series of acts done with the intention and object charged against the prisoner. The defence he submitted for his client to their judgment was, that every act charged and proved against him was perfectly reconcilable with the sole object of protecting Mr. O'Brien from arrest. If that were the case, they were bound to return a verdict of acquittal. Before he went to the particular case in detail, it was right he should allude to something that had been said with respect to the general evidence. Every particle of evidence respecting the speeches of Mr. O'Brien, or even of M'Manus, in Liverpool, were only calculated to mislead the jury, unless in so far as the words used cast light on the intention of the accused. It was not for the jury to decide whether he did or did not make the speech in evidence in Liverpool, but they were to consider whether he did or did not levy war against the Queen at Mullinahone. The next point of evidence referred to the uniform. The whole isle was frighted from its propriety at the time by the "discovery of the uniform of a rebel general," and people were terrified with the notion that some great French Marshal had come over to lead the insurgents. But it turned out, after all, that the terrible uniform was merely the state dress of the '82 Club, which was formed some years ago by some gentlemen anxious to promote the cause of repeal. Finding himself dodged by a policeman, and knowing he had connected himself with the party against which the vengeance of Government was directed, he resolved to leave Dublin, as it would not have been at all pleasant for a man in business to have been kept in gaol till March, 1849. He left Dublin and went to Kilkenny, where he visited some of his customers, intending to conceal himself from imprisonment. Having heard that Mr. O'Brien was in the neighbourhood, he went to see him, and became mixed up in the unfortunate events which afterwards followed. He did not join him till Thursday, and the acts committed by Mr. O'Brien before that day could not at all affect him. In Lord George Gordon's trial, Lord Mansfield left two issues to the jury; first, whether the design of the multitude was to force a repeal of an Act of Parliament; secondly, how far Lord George Gordon was implicated in that

movement with the same design. In the same way two questions here arose for the jury. What was the design of the movement which had taken place before the arrival of M'Manus? and, secondly, how far he had adopted and had acted on the same principle? Beyond all question, the origin of that movement had been the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the issue of a warrant for Mr. O'Brien's arrest. The learned counsel then went minutely over the details of the proceedings at Mullinahone and Ballingarry, endeavouring by his comments to show that these were not such overt acts as showed the intent charged in the indictment, and arguing that still less were the proceedings of the prisoner, as proved by evidence, of a nature to show that he was criminally connected with them; on the contrary, the learned counsel argued that they showed that his designs were peaceable, loyal, and humane. With respect to the letter written by Mr. O'Brien to the Mining Company, he believed it was written in a fit of the deepest indignation, that had deprived him of his better judgment. The purport of it was, that Mr. O'Brien in his own mind contemplated revolution; but whether to be brought about in July last, or, as some of his associates said, in six months' time, there was not one word of evidence. Were they to take away the life of his client upon that letter? Could it show what was passing in his client's own mind at the time it was written? And yet, to make it evidence against him, they must believe that at that time he contemplated the act charged in the indictment. He contended, however, that there was no evidence to that point, and that all the facts which were proved against him were consistent with the reasonable supposition of his innocence. He felt how imperfectly he had discharged his duty. Upon the honour and chivalry of the twelve Irish gentlemen in the jury box did he rely—upon their honesty, their integrity, their justice. He had feebly and faintly endeavoured to lay before them the acts of his client, not colouring anything, not perverting anything, not drawing them from the real questions they had to try—he dared not do that, even in this solemn case. They had a deeper interest in the pure administration of justice than they had in any particular case. He had endeavoured to keep within the law, and to assist them in the awful question they had to try, and he now confidently left his client's case in their hands, and called upon them in the name of the law to pronounce a verdict.

Witnesses were then called who gave the prisoner a high character, both as a private man and in business. The obnoxious uniform was also identified as that worn by the members of the '82 Club.

October 12*th.*

Lord Chief Justice Doherty summed up, and pointed out the law applicable to the case, and the bearing of the evidence. It is unnecessary to repeat matter which, in another form, has been before given.

After an absence of three hours, the jury entered the box, and answered to their names.

The Clerk of the Crown.—Gentlemen of the jury, how say you on the first count?

The Foreman.—"Guilty."

The Clerk of the Crown took the issue paper from the foreman and read as follows: — "We strongly recommend the prisoner to the merciful consideration of the Crown.—For self and fellows,

"S. W. BARTON, Foreman."

A verdict of "Guilty" was entered on the remaining four counts, the sixth having been withdrawn.

The next person put on his trial was Patrick O'Donoghue, who was tried under the same indictment as O'Brien and M'Manus. It is unnecessary to go again over these well known facts. It is sufficient to state that the complicity of the prisoner was clearly proved, and the jury found him "Guilty."

October 16th.

Thomas Francis Meagher was placed at the bar, and put on his trial for felony, under a similar indictment to those of the preceding prisoners.

On the panel being called over, only 128 out of 288 gentlemen answered to their names; whereon Mr. Whiteside, for the prisoner, suggested that the jury should be chosen by ballot, as in the case of Frost; but this was refused by the Crown.

The indictment being read, the prisoner pleaded "Not Guilty."

The following gentlemen were sworn of the Jury:—J. Willington, foreman, H. W. Briscoe, A. Hartford, S. Ryall, R. Hawkshaw, jun., N. B. Green, R. Kennedy, J. E. Carden, R. Mason, B. Hawkshaw, sen., R. Hammersley, and T. Lindsay.

Mr. Lynch having opened the pleadings,

The Attorney-General stated the charge against the prisoner to the same effect as in the preceding cases. It was undoubtedly the law of high treason that it was not necessary that the accused should be personally present, and personally take part in the entire of the proceedings. It was settled and established in contradistinction to other crimes, such as murder, that a man might be guilty of levying war, though he himself had not left his own dwelling. A man who incited, advised, encouraged, or sent out others for the purpose of levying war, was himself guilty of the offence. Accordingly, if he were rightly instructed, he should be able to show that Mr. Meagher took a sufficient part in the transaction, the subject matter of the present charge, to render himself guilty of levying war by his actual presence. From what had already occurred in this Court, he did not anticipate that any question would be made as to the accuracy of the speeches stated to have been made by Mr. Meagher in the early part of the year, and which he (the Attorney-General) thought would satisfy them that Mr. Meagher had the object and intention of endeavouring to effect a revolution, which, indeed, he did afterwards attempt, and that at the time the only thing undetermined in his mind, was as to the time at which it should take place. It would appear that there was an association in Dublin, called the Repeal Confederation, of which Mr. Meagher was a distinguished member. He did not say that that Confederation was formed for treasonable purposes — the professed object of it was to obtain a repeal of the Union; and he did not mean to say that it was to be obtained by illegal means; but he thought he should be able to prove that, soon after its formation, and some time in February or March in

this year, very many of the members of that Association—and none more conspicuously than Mr. Meagher—formed the design of effecting a revolution by force of arms. The first piece of evidence he should adduce was a speech delivered by Mr. Meagher at a meeting of the Confederation on the 15th of March. Of the accuracy of the report of that speech, he believed there would be no doubt; it having been taken down by a gentleman who had been especially employed by the Government to do so. The meeting to which he had alluded took place shortly after the French revolution, and the object of it was to propose an address to the Irish people, calling upon them to vote an address of congratulation to the Provisional Government of France. At that meeting Mr. Meagher read an address purporting to be drawn up by Mr. Charles Gavan Duffy, and to be an address to the citizens of Dublin, the object of which was that the people should preserve order and avoid as much as possible a collision with the troops at the aggregate meeting of the citizens, proposed to be held on the 17th or 18th of the month, to vote an address of congratulation to the French nation. The learned counsel then read different parts of the speech made by Mr. Meagher on moving the adoption of the address, in which he advocated the independence of Ireland, and stated the mode in which he thought it might be effected. The speaker proposed that delegates, elected from the chief cities and towns, should proceed to London and demand an audience of the Queen; if it were yielded, then that they should implore Her Majesty to exercise her Royal prerogative and summon a Parliament to meet in Dublin; but if it were refused, then—he said it advisedly and deliberately—it would be their duty to fight, and fight desperately. The whole of that speech would be in evidence before them, and if it contained anything that qualified the passages to which he had referred, Mr. Meagher would have the advantage of it. In the same speech he stated that M. Lamartine had, as they now knew from history, declared that the Provisional Government of France should be the protectress of the liberties of other nations in Europe. Another meeting was held, and a deputation, consisting of Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. O'Gorman, was appointed to proceed to France with a congratulatory address from Ireland. He should mention that that speech was made the subject of a prosecution. Mr. Meagher was held to bail to answer the charge, but no further proceeding could take place until the 15th of April. The deputation went to France and returned early in April, and on the 15th of that month a *soirée* was held to compliment the deputation on their return; and at that meeting Mr. Meagher presented to the Confederation a flag which he said he had brought from France, and which, from his speech, he seemed to anticipate would be the flag under which the struggle would take place. He had stated that the speech of the 15th of April was prosecuted. At that time speeches or meetings of such a character were by the law of Ireland only misdemeanours, but in England they were high treason. An Act was accordingly passed, making it felony in both countries to compass, imagine, or intend to levy war against the Queen, and

to express such intention by open and advised speaking, or the publication of any written or printed document. That Act was passed on the 22nd of April, and in May, Mr. Mitchell was prosecuted under it, for certain articles published in his newspaper. In the mean time the charge against Mr. Meagher had been brought to trial, but the jury did not agree to a verdict. At that period a number of clubs had been established in Dublin, and he thought he should be able to prove, by the evidence of Mr. Meagher himself, that immediately before the trial of Mitchell, consultations were held as to whether, in the event of Mitchell's conviction and intended transportation, their efforts should not be made to rescue him, and whether an attempt should not be made at the same time to effect a revolution which they had arranged and planned, though the precise mode of effecting it had not been previously determined on. He would allege that Mr. Meagher went about night after night through the clubs for the purpose of ascertaining their opinions, and whether they were prepared at that moment to break out in open insurrection; for it was downright nonsense to suppose that the object was merely to break out in arms to rescue Mr. Mitchell, who was at that time confined in Newgate, in the city of Dublin, where there were then 8000 or 9000 troops. He would allege also, that they determined ultimately to postpone the insurrection until after the harvest, as there would not be a sufficient quantity of provisions before, and the Government might starve them into submission. The learned counsel then referred to the speech of Mr. Meagher on the 6th of June, after the transportation of Mr. Mitchell. Early in July, he continued, Mr. Duffy and others were arrested, and it then became a matter of serious consideration with Meagher, and those connected in this transaction, as to what should be done in relation to those parties. Accordingly, on the 14th or 15th of July, proceedings were taken by the Confederation for a discussion as to whether the time had then arrived for the revolution to be attempted. One reason stated in May for the postponement, was, that the clubs were not sufficiently organized, and in the early part of July, several members of the clubs had gone through the country to review them, and ascertain their state of organization, the object being, as far as they could judge from the statements of the different parties, that there should be a simultaneous rising in the country. It would appear that, on the 15th of that month, Mr. Meagher held a large meeting at Slievenamon. At the meeting of the Confederation, therefore, on that day Mr. Meagher was not present. He, therefore, would not go into the details of it, though it was probable evidence of the proceedings would be before the jury. On the 19th of July, however, arrangements were made for another meeting on the 21st of July, and at that meeting Mr. Meagher was present; and he should produce a witness who was present at that meeting, and who would prove that it was held for the purpose of electing a council of five persons as a council of war, to conduct an armed revolution in the country. No reporters were present at that meeting, and he would produce a person named Dobbin, who was the representative of the Red Hand Club, and who took part in the proceedings of the

meeting, to prove what occurred. He had reported the proceedings of the Club to the Government from day to day, and from his information the parties had been prevented from carrying out their project. Attempts would be made to impeach the veracity of that witness, but he (the Attorney-General) was fully prepared to support his general conduct and credit, if any such attempts were made. The balloting papers that were used at that meeting of the 21st of July, were afterwards found in the possession of Mr. Lalor, who was present at the meeting, and probably was a candidate for the office of one of the council; and Dobbin, who had never seen those papers from the day they were used, would prove that those were the actual balloting papers, and that the council elected was composed of Mr. Meagher, Mr. O'Gorman, Mr. Dillon, Mr. D. Reilly, and Mr. M'Ghee. Immediately after that election, a resolution was proposed, that the revolution should not be postponed beyond the 8th of August. Mr. Meagher refused to give a positive pledge to that effect, but said he would use every effort in his power for encouraging the people by whom the revolution was to be effected. He could produce no witness to corroborate Dobbin; but if the meeting to which he would depose were innocent, it would be competent for the counsel of the prisoner to produce any man, or number of men, present at it, to contradict Dobbin. He asked them not to give Dobbin's evidence more weight than it deserved; but they must ask themselves whether, if his case were true, according to the nature of it, he could be expected to produce further evidence to corroborate the testimony of Dobbin? The learned counsel, after detailing the circumstances subsequent to Mr. O'Brien's leaving Dublin on the 21st of July, which have been stated on the former trials, continued, that he was not able to show that Mr. Meagher was at Mullinahone, but it would be proved that he was at Ballingarry, on Friday, with Mr. O'Brien, addressing the people. It was not necessary to the prisoner's guilt, to show that he was aware of what was about to take place the following day. If he was aware of the nature of the proceedings generally, it was sufficient. He was not able to produce any evidence; but he might call upon them to infer from the facts proved that he was aware of the previous transaction, of the general nature of the transactions in which Mr. O'Brien was engaged, and that it was in furtherance of that object that he joined that gentleman on the Friday; and if he (the Attorney-General) were right, then Mr. Meagher was responsible for all the transactions that occurred. The learned counsel, after detailing the proceedings on Saturday, the 29th, then read the letter written by Mr. Meagher from Cahirmoyle to Mr. O'Brien, and another to a Mr. Smith, in whose possession it was found at the time of his (Mr. Smith's) arrest. The following are extracts from it:—

"Well, as to public opinion again—the 'Nation' is admirable this week, and I am delighted to find that Kenyon's speech was so splendid. As to the 'Freeman,' we must do our best to crush it. With regard to Cork, Barry (that is a secret) is rather tame; is adverse to a Confederate move, whilst Charley Murphy and Denny Lane are decidedly for it. I am urging them with all my might and efforts to carry every point

triumphantly. There's no doubt we shall have the upper hand in time. The clubs will do the business. Don't forget France and her revolution."

Having gone over the whole case, he concluded by leaving the case to the jury. As far as the jury were concerned, it would be their duty, as he knew it would be their inclination, to ascertain what were the exact facts as laid before them in evidence. They, and they alone, were to decide upon that; but with respect to the law, they must take it from the Court. On the application of the law, as laid down by the Court, to the facts as proved by the evidence, it was their exclusive province to decide. If they calmly and considerately took those topics into their minds, giving Mr. Meagher the benefit of any reasonable doubt that might arise from the evidence, and exist, in their opinion, as to his guilt, he would ask no more; but if, on the other hand, the evidence should satisfy them of the guilt of that gentleman, he certainly asked them, on the part of the Crown, for that verdict which it was their duty as jurors to give; and he called on them to discharge that duty to themselves and to society, no matter how painful it might be.

J. G. Hodges examined by the Solicitor-General.—Was a short-hand writer, and had had great experience in reporting public meetings and speeches. Attended a meeting of the Confederation on the 15th of March, 1848. Mr. Meagher (whom he identified) made a speech there.

Mr. Whiteside objected to the speech being read, on the ground that, being made before the acts by which it was proposed to prove the intent, it could not be evidence; this objection being held untenable (as in the case of Mr. O'Brien), Mr. Butt objected to this and other speeches being then read, as there was no proof of their relevancy. The Court decided that they should be read; if they proved to be irrelevant, the Court would discharge them from their notes.

Mr. Hodges then proceeded to read his notes of the *soirée* at the Music Hall on the return of Mr. O'Brien from France, on the 15th of April, and of a meeting of the Confederation on the 6th of June, at which latter Mr. Meagher delivered the speech on the conviction of John Mitchell.

The Court expressed its opinion that the document should be made part of the case for the prisoner.

Mr. Hodges, who was highly complimented by Mr. Whiteside, cross-examined.—The Queen's health was given at the *soirée* before the rest of the proceedings; "God save the Queen" was also played. One gentleman wished for the "Queen of Ireland," but the toast was not given in that form.

William Shearman, examined by Mr. Scott.—Was acquainted with the character of Mr. Meagher's handwriting. Believed some letters produced were written by him.

October 17*th*.

James Stephenson Dobbin, examined by the Attorney-General.—I live in Dublin, was a member of the Red Hand Club. The club met on Constitution Hill, and was a branch of the Curran Club, which met in Capel Street; in other words, it was founded by the members of the latter. It consisted of about thirty members when I joined; others were added

afterwards. The Curran consisted of about 500 members; many of of them had arms. Saw Mr. Meagher at the Curran Club about June 22. The occasion of the meeting was the presentation, by Mr. Meagher, of a flag to the club. I could see a variety of colours in it. Meagher spoke about standing by their colours, and establishing the independence of the country. Attended another meeting of the representatives of clubs on the 19th of June, in the day time: it was to defeat the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation. Mr. O'Brien and the prisoner were there. Attended another meeting on the 21st of June, when Meagher was also present. I went about 8 o'clock. The meeting was held in consequence of what took place at the meeting on the 19th. There were about a dozen people present when I first went in. Mr. Dillon was moved to the chair, Mr. Meagher being present at the time. Dillon stated from the chair what the object of the meeting was; it was to form an executive council. The council was stated to be for the management of the clubs. It was stated that as the council was then constituted their business would ooze out too much, and that if they were reduced to five there would be a greater probability of security. Mr. Lalor handed Mr. Dillon a letter from Mr. Duffy, who was in gaol at the time, in which he proposed the names of three clergymen as members, namely—Rev. Mr. Hughes, Rev. Mr. O'Mally, and Rev. Mr. Kenyon. The members exclaimed that it was to be a council of war, and that no priests were to be on it. The members representing the clubs said that. The next thing they did was to go to the election of the council. There was a general feeling at the meeting that Mr. O'Brien should be elected one of the members, but Mr. Dillon said Mr. O'Brien would be of greater service in organizing the country than he would be in the council. Dillon then read the names of each club from a book, and the representatives answered. No person was allowed to vote unless he represented a club. The election was by means of papers. Five were to be elected. The balloting papers were put into a box, and two scrutineers were appointed, who retired into a back room with it. I wrote a balloting paper myself. I never saw that paper until a few days before I was produced as a witness in Clonmel.

The Attorney-General requested Mr. Kemmis to produce the papers, and that gentleman handed them to witness.

Attorney-General.—Would you look through those papers and see if you can find the paper you wrote yourself?

Dobbin looked over them carefully, and after a time took out a slip and said "There is the one I wrote." There were thirty papers in all, and in reply to Lord Chief Justice Doherty he stated that twenty-nine members and Mr. Dillon had voted for the executive council. Witness identified three other papers as having being written by Mr. M'Dermott, Mr. J. F. Lalor, and Mr. O'Higgins. On second thoughts, he said, he was not clear on the latter fact. Witness further stated the names of a number of those who voted, and among them was Mr. Meagher.

Examination continued.—The persons elected were Mr. Dillon, Mr. Meagher, Mr. O'Gorman, jun., Mr. M'Ghee. There was an equality

of votes for Lalor and Devin Reilly, and on a new election the latter was chosen. Mr. M'Dermott and Mr. Lalor proposed that the executive should give a pledge to have a rising on the 8th of August; Mr. Meagher objected to give a pledge to have a rising on the 8th of August, but said he would do everything in his power to expedite it even before that day. Dillon gave a similar pledge, and confirmed it by "So help me God." M'Ghee said he would do all in his power to promote it by writing, speaking, and acting. Three of the executive council were to form a quorum. It was arranged that the council was to sit next day, to have four club meetings next day in Dublin. There were to be no speeches at all, but the members' names were to be called out. If the clubs were well organized it was considered that two hours' notice was quite sufficient to turn them out. The object of the meeting was to ascertain their numerical strength. They were not to be armed,

Cross-examined.—Did you not swear on Mr. O'Brien's trial that Mr. Meagher was present at the meeting of 21st of June?—No.

Will you swear that?—If I said so then, I swore what was not true.

Oh! I have no doubt of that, but will you tell me what you swore?—I will positively swear Meagher was not at the meetings of the 19th and 21st.

But you swore to the contrary on Mr. O'Brien's trial?—I did not.

Mr. Whiteside.—My Lord, I rest this examination on the accuracy of the newpaper reports, but on this point I appeal to your Lordships' notes.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne.—You cannot do so; you cannot ask us to refer to our notes of the past trial for this purpose.

Cross-examination continued.—Was the council of the Confederation dissolved on the 21st? Was it intended to dissolve it?—I believe it was; I don't know.

Did you ever speak to Mr. Meagher?—No; he spoke to me.

When, and where?—At the meeting of the 21st.

Who introduced you to this meeting?—Mr. Dillon. He knew me.

What did Mr. Meagher say to you?—When we were separating at night, he shook hands with me, and bid me good night.

The witness underwent a long and most severe cross-examination; the object being to ascertain discrepancies between his present evidence and that which he gave on Mr. O'Brien's trial, and to impute to him discreditable transactions in his former life.

Mr. W. Franklin proved the handwriting of Mr. W. S. O'Brien in a paper produced—the letter to the Mining Company.

Augustus Guy examined.—Was superintendent of the Dublin police. Was at the house of Mr. Smith last July, in Old Kilmainham, when a search was made by him. Identified a letter as having been found there by him. This was the letter written by the prisoner to Mr. Smith, and given above.

Michael Kerwick, of the Dublin police, swore that there was a club called "The Red Hand," at 3, Constitution Hill, which he had been placed to watch. The name was on the window blinds. Had seen Dobbin since he came to Clonmel; during the month of July had observed Dobbin going into the club frequently; knew a man named Nugent; had observed him also.

Thomas Griffin, constable.—

Was stationed, on the 20th of July, in Borrisoleigh, in Tipperary; arrested Mr. J. F. Lalor, at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July, at Mr. J. Kennedy's, of Balleyhale. Lalor was in bed; there was a bag in the room; examined it, and found the papers produced in the bag (among them were the balloting papers); kept the bag, and delivered it up to Major Brownrigg, in Dublin.

Cross-examined.—Did not mark the papers; gave them up to the Deputy Inspector General of Police on the 29th of July; cannot tell what became of them since.

To the Court.—They had never been out of his sight or possession from the time he got them till he gave them up.

James Burns examined.—Knew James Dobbin. Had been in the same office with him as solicitor's clerk. Had seen him write often. Identified one of the balloting papers produced as being in Dobbin's handwriting. (Witness was here handed a paper by Mr. Butt, which he was asked to examine.) Had no doubt the paper produced was his (Dobbin's) handwriting.

Major Brownrigg and Mr. Kemmis, senior, traced the documents until their production in Court.

Mark Prender, one of the Dublin police, proved having seen Mr. O'Brien near Dublin on the 21st of July.

On his cross-examination he said he had been for some time previously directed to watch certain places that were suspected.

Mr. O'Hara, at whose house Mr. Meagher and Mr. Dillon are stated to have joined Mr. O'Brien on the morning of Sunday, the 23rd of July, gave his evidence with great reluctance. I saw Mr. Meagher and Mr. Dillon. They came to my house on the Saturday immediately before the outbreak, whatever date that was. It was the 22nd.

Cross-examined by Mr. Whiteside.—Two gentlemen dined at his house on the same day, in the ordinary way of hospitality; there was nothing very remarkable in their doing so—nothing treasonable.

Patrick M'Kenna, mail guard between Dublin and Wexford, drove two gentlemen to Enniscorthy on the 22nd of July.

Constable Dunleavy stated that he was stationed at Enniscorthy last July. Saw Mr. Meagher there on Sunday, the 23rd, about 11 o'clock. Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien were there. Mr. O'Brien introduced the prisoner to the people as "Mr. Meagher." Meagher addressed the people, and said he always was, and ever would remain, the unrelenting enemy of the British Government; that a short time before he had addressed 50,000 men in Tipperary, who were prepared, or had sworn, to do their duty. He also spoke of the difference he had had with the late Mr. O'Connell—that the best way to make amends was to bring the flag of liberty and plant it on his tomb. Mr. Dillon then addressed the people, but witness could not say whether Mr. Meagher was there. Saw them afterwards leave the town in a car with Mr. O'Brien.

On being asked what Mr. Dillon said,

Mr. Whiteside objected to the question, the witness not being certain that Mr. Meagher was present when Mr. Dillon spoke.

The Solicitor-General contended that the parties having been proved to have been, on the 21st of July, elected members of the War Council, there was sufficient evidence of

a conspiracy to make the speech of the one evidence against the other.

The Lord Chief Justice.—It is clearly evidence.

The examination was then continued.—The witness repeated the substance of Mr. Dillon's speech, in which he said that the Wexford men had always a gun ready in the corner, and their powder dry.

In cross-examination, Mr. Butt asked witness whether Mr. O'Brien said any thing about his arrest? The witness replied, he did,

Whereon the Attorney-General proposed to re-examine the witness as to what Mr. O'Brien said, the prisoner being now connected with those proceedings. After much discussion this course was allowed.

The witness then stated the substance of Mr. O'Brien's speech, in which he said he was glad that clubs had been established in the town, and also that so many policemen were there; that he had been received very favourably in many parts by the British soldiery; that he did not know but that at that moment there was a warrant for his arrest; and he finished by calling upon the people to be prepared for any emergency.

Constable Dillon confirmed the direct evidence given by the last witness. He identified Mr. Meagher as one of the three gentlemen who addressed the people at Enniscorthy on Sunday, the 23rd of July. Mr. Meagher said he had had the honour of addressing 50,000 stout Tipperary men, and that they swore they would do their duty; that he hoped the Wexford men would do their duty too. The people said they would, and Mr. Meagher said he should take that pledge from them, and would remember it to the day of his death. Mr. Dillon also addressed the people, and said, if he was as sure of all the men of Ireland as he was of the Wexford men, he would not care, and finished by saying "God protect the just."

Serjeant Dowling remembered, on Sunday, the 23rd of July, seeing three gentlemen coming into Graigue. Identified Mr. Meagher as one of the three. They stopped in the town about half an hour, and addressed an assembly of about 300 or 400 persons.

Constable Mahoney proved seeing the prisoner, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Dillon at Callan, on Monday, the 24th, about one o'clock; there were 800 or 900 there. They had been collecting since nine o'clock. Mr. O'Brien addressed the people. He stood outside the market-house. Mr. Meagher was in the house at the time. He afterwards spoke, and said he was glad to see amongst the people so many in the green cloth, as he expected himself to wear it before long. He told the people to treat them as brethren; that they were all Irishmen, like themselves; that their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters were amongst them: there were only two alternatives—to lie down and let the halter be placed about their necks, or to make one bold and determined effort to throw off the yoke and make Ireland a free and independent nation. Witness further deposed to Mr O'Brien's speech on the same occasion. The three gentlemen afterwards all went on the Clonmel road, in the direction of Nine-Mile House.

Constable Hamilton proved that, on Monday, the 24th of July, about six o'clock, he saw Mr. W. S. O'Brien and two other gentlemen come into the town of Carrick-on-Suir. They went to the house of a Dr. Purcell,

and addressed the people from one of the windows. Mr. O'Brien first addressed the people. Mr. Meagher then addressed the people, and told them he had not expected to have seen them again so soon, but the base and bloody Government of England had taken another step in the work of destruction; but that for every step they took he would take another, till they stood face to face. "Were they ready to stand before the military? What they (Meagher and his friends) were about to do required but a few hours' deliberation. Then was the time to strike the blow—to make Ireland for her lovely sons. Were they ready, with nerved arms, to give effect to the blow? He was ready, with those stalwart bodies, those stout hearts, through good or ill success, to strike that blow. If they fell, they should sink like the fire-ship of the French Republic; they should sink from men with one cry of 'Long live the Republic,' which would rise to the hearing of generations yet unborn. There were many of them there that day who had children, who, if they failed, would rise in 30 years to come to avenge their fathers' bloody graves. What cared he for all their power? They might threaten them with death—they might tear from them their lives—more they could not, for they had already deprived them of all else besides. Death was the most they could inflict. Death was the utmost bounds of all their threats. They were about to renew the bloody scenes of '98. Then they had men of talent to stand by them. Then, too, those talented men were persecuted. Then, too, they had packed juries and bloody judges." Mr. Meagher then went into the house. The crowd appeared to be excited.

Cross-examined by Mr. Butt.—The crowd were excited, but were not cheering. Mr. Meagher did not speak rapidly—perfectly quietly and deliberately. He used no violent gesture. Never heard him speak before. Commenced taking the notes immediately after the speakers. Witness then underwent a severe cross-examination as to his power of reporting these speeches, and the manner in which he had done so. Many of the strongest passages were made subjects of cross-examination, in order to obtain different versions of them.

Constable Coghlan corroborated the preceding witness upon all material points, and underwent a similar cross-examination.

Constable Geary, who was also one of the police at Carrick-on-Suir, gave similar testimony as to the speeches of Mr. Meagher, with some slight variations. He was also cross-examined in a similar manner.

Mr. G. Jones, resident magistrate, stated that he was in Carrick-on-Suir on the 24th of July. Saw Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Meagher there, but was not near enough to hear their speeches. There were at least 2000 people assembled. That was all he knew of the matter.

David Williams, head-constable of police, was called, and was about to give evidence as on his former examinations with respect to Mr. O'Brien's visit to the police barrack at Mullinahone, when

Mr. Whiteside interposed. From the statement of the Attorney-General, on opening the case, he had understood clearly that Mr. Meagher never appeared in company Mr. O'Brien after the occurrences at Carrick, except for a short time on Friday night at the Common. He submitted, therefore,

that the immense mass of evidence which they were called on to hear as to what took place at Mullinahone, Killenaule, and Farrinrory, should not and could not be received against his client, who was not present or concerned at those places. The Attorney-General contended that the evidence was perfectly admissible.

Lord Chief Justice Blackburne delivered the judgment of the Court:—"We are all clearly of opinion that this evidence must be received. The authorities are so distinct that the law on this subject is beyond all manner of doubt. The prisoner is indicted for a levy of war against the Crown, and it is admitted there is evidence—no matter what may be its value—of a conspiracy and incitement to levy war. The Crown alleges war was actually levied. Now, in high treason, all are principals, whether they are accessory before or after the fact. An accessory after the fact can only be tried after the conviction of the traitor, as is laid down in Hale. [Here his lordship read the passage in the *Pleas.*] Hale further says that all such as aid or abet the committing of any treason, whether present or absent, are principals. Again he says (in p. 133)—'If divers conspire to levy war, and some of them actually levy war, it is high treason in all the conspirators, because all are principals.' We cannot prevent the Crown, with evidence such as that before us, from proving the levy of war."

The same series of witnesses were again introduced, and told over again their thrice-told tale, as to the occurrences at Mullinahone, Ballingarry, Killenaule, and Mr. O'Brien's portmanteau.

Thursday, October 19th.

John Tobin, car-boy, deposed that he drove a car from Killenaule towards the Commons of Ballingarry with three persons; he heard their names were Cantwell, Leyne, and Meagher. Meagher wore a chip hat. On being asked to identify the prisoner, witness could only say "he thought it was the same person." The man in the chip addressed the people. He said he would free Ireland in three months.

Mary Keenan, an old crone with a most significant cast in her eye, and who is stated to have had the honour of nursing the prisoner, was brought forward as a witness. On ascending the table she said —"My Lords, I got a bribe of some shoes and stockings for the prosecution."

The Attorney-General.—Well, never mind that, tell us about that by and by. You must now answer my questions.

The witness was then sworn.

The Attorney-General.—Where do you live?

Witness.—At the Commons.

Do you recollect the day before the attack at the widow Cormack's house?—I do.

Now, turn round and say whether you know the gentleman at the bar?—Oh, I got a bribe; I will say nothing.

But you are bound answer to my question?—Oh, I don't know him.

The Attorney-General.—Now, turn round, and look at that gentleman in the dock. Do you know him?

Witness.—Oh, Sir! I got some shoes and some stockings and a handkerchief, Sir.

You are bound to answer my question. Now, turn round again,

and say whether you know that gentleman?—I don't know him.

Did you ever see him before?—The witness hesitated, but at length blurted out, I never saw him before.

The witness, though severely pressed, refused to identify the prisoner.

Mr. Owen Cullen, the manager of the collieries, and Mr. Pemberton, the superintendent, repeated the testimony they had given on the former trials, as to Mr. Smith O'Brien's visit to the works, and his letter to the Mining Company.

William Prinlock also gave the same testimony as before, as to seeing Mr. O'Brien, and several gentlemen with him, at Sullivan's house on the Commons, on the evening of Friday, the 28th. He identified the prisoner as one of the gentlemen who were with Mr. Smith O'Brien, and who was called by him "Mr. Meagher." The prisoner addressed the people, and said that within three weeks they would have Ireland for the Irish. Another of the gentlemen said within six weeks.

Sub-Inspector Trant and his men repeated their evidence as to the attack on Widow Cormack's house.

The letter from Mr. Meagher to Mr. O'Brien, found in the latter's portmanteau, that addressed to Mr. Smith, the balloting papers, and Mr. O'Brien's letter to the Mining Company were put in and proved.

Mr. Whiteside addressed the jury for the prisoner.—In this case, he said, it now becomes my duty to address you on the behalf of my client, the prisoner at the bar. I shall not be guilty of the silly affectation of asking you to dismiss from your minds what you may have heard of the proceedings in this case—on the contrary, I do not desire that you should forget all that you know and must necessarily have read of the trials which have taken place at this unfortunate commission. Had my client been tried first, and had he been tried in any happier portion of this empire, I aver his acquittal would have been certain. But the Attorney-General, with consummate art, has reserved this case for the last. The previous trials have paved the way for the conviction of the prisoner, and my learned friend, flushed with his past successes, has kept the case of Thomas Francis Meagher for the closing scene of the commission. Gentlemen of the jury, you heard the Attorney-General's statement. That statement was clear, and in one or two respects was remarkable. He told you Mr. Meagher was indicted for levying of war against the Queen, and he further told you—I wrote down the sentence as he spoke it—that it was not necessary for him to prove that Meagher was present at the levying of war, for that he would be equally guilty if he were seated in his parlour, (I presume in Dublin,) while all the transactions spoken of were taking place in your county, and if the Attorney-General be right, and succeed in convincing the Court that his view of the law be correct, and if the Court succeeds in convincing you that it ought to be adopted, of course my client must be convicted. But if, on the contrary, the case of my client be heard and be tried with reference to everything he has done—with reference to his conduct and all his actions—then his acquittal is certain. Now, the difficulty in my way is to have him

tried according to the principles of common sense and common justice —by the fundamental rule of our law, that one man is not to be affected by the declarations, speeches, and conduct of another, unless that other is in effect almost himself— that is to say, identified in one purpose and one object, and that the identical purpose stated in the indictment; to affect Mr. Meagher, my client, with any thing which has been said or spoken by another, unless on such grounds, is simply to deny the first principles of justice, and to violate the law you are to administer. Now, what is the offence with which the prisoner is charged? It is with a levy of war against the Queen. I will address you very shortly about this part of the case. The learned counsel then explained his view of the law of treason, and depicted in strong colours the doctrine of the Attorney-General that the prisoner sitting in his parlour could be convicted for treasonable practices done by other parties at a distance. You were no doubt surprised to hear that when Mr. Meagher might have been sitting in his parlour in Dublin he was guilty of levying war in open field in Tipperary. But that was his proposition. How does he make it out? In this way:—Mr. Meagher, with several persons who are not mentioned in the indictment, engage in a certain object. The indictment and the law are so cautiously framed that they are— if I can use such an expression with respect to the law—formed to blind, to deceive, and entrap the prisoner with respect to the charges against him. In the indictment he is charged with having marched in arms at Ballingarry; with having erected barricades at Killenaule, with having attacked the police at Mullinahone. Not one of these things did the prisoner do. The mere operation of drilling and marshalling did not amount to high treason. The means by which treason was committed was by overt acts, and accordingly all the overt acts charged in this case were set out in this indictment. The learned counsel then proceeded to give an animated account of the past life of the prisoner, and his connexion with the agitation for the peaceable and lawful repeal of the Union between the two countries. The learned counsel then commented severely upon the conduct of the Crown officers in making speeches delivered long ago evidence in the present indictment, and then went at length into the documentary evidence which had been produced.

October 23rd.

Mr. Whiteside resumed his address.—In reference to the Deputation to the revolutionary Government of France, he said there was nothing treasonable in that; at the time of the first revolution much worse things than that had been done, but the parties accused were acquitted. He then took up the evidence of Dobbin, the approver, which he unmercifully dissected. The learned counsel then proceeded to comment upon the speeches made by Mr. Meagher, and which were relied on by the Crown. He dissented altogether from the doctrine that the substance of words was enough to convict a man of high treason. The substance of words would not suffice in an action for slander, and should it be received by the jury against their fellow-man on trial for his life? No one could be safe if what a man thought was the substance of another's observations

could be advanced against the latter in a criminal prosecution. The most pious and virtuous sentiments could be perverted utterly by taking a sentence here and a sentence there; and yet this was the course adopted by the policemen who gave evidence of the speeches. He appealed to their conscience and honour that when the Judge laid those speeches before them as quoted by the policemen they should at once reject them. If there was to be any safety for life and liberty, let them reject such evidence as that. Let them not find a man guilty of high treason—not upon the words, but —good God Almighty!—the substance of the words spoken by him —a young and perhaps an ardent and unthinking man. Such was the evidence which had struck down liberty in the despotic countries of the world. "Words" had sacrificed victims, and those nations were now struggling to get free from such a bondage. In the name—the solemn name—of God, he asked them, would they revive those bad laws for these speeches in Dublin and these speeches in the country proved by policemen who, like stupid schoolboys, went over their lessons by rote, and, if interrupted, resorted to their caps for the memoranda which they conned over in the back passages of the Court? The learned Counsel then proceeded to the evidence against the prisoner from Graigue down to Farrinrory. Every speech noted down, every step tracked; what would become of the country, if this system were pursued? But down to his arrival at Carrick nothing was brought against him but speeches, speeches, speeches! How were they reported? By ignorant policemen. Other men had been convicted for their acts. Here they had nothing but speeches. Where did Mr. Meagher arm? Nowhere. Where did he fight? Nowhere. Where did he levy war? Nowhere. Whom did he attack? No one. But the Attorney-General told them he was guilty. It was in their power to believe or deny that assertion; but he had no hesitation in saying, if they found a verdict on such evidence, they would deluge their country in innocent blood. Having analyzed the evidence of the witnesses at length, the learned gentlemen addressed himself to the jury in a peroration of remarkable eloquence, and enforced upon them in the strongest terms the unusual nature of the prosecution, the mode in which it had been carried out, and the consequences to arise from a conviction on the personal liberties of the subject. The learned gentleman concluded his long and brilliant address with these words:—"I only ask you to act in conformity with the law, and I tell you the honest verdict of acquittal will be hailed with delight by all reflecting men, by your countrymen throughout the wide world, with gratitude; and, better still, it will receive the lasting approbation of the impartial monitor within your hearts. Posterity will remember and bless your names; it will be said of you, that when impanneled in a time of unparalleled excitement you did your duty between the Crown and the subject, and executed justice temperately, wisely, reconciling many to the law who had doubts of its impartiality and fairness; that you would not listen to sophistry, nor convict your fellow-creature on conjecture and guess; that you struck down the odious doctrine of constructive treason, and restored the law to the noble sim-

plicity in which it was fashioned by a free and virtuous ancestry. May that law, not a law of subtleties and quirks, quibbles and constructions, but a law of broad reason, be perpetual as the greatness of the people from whom it springs, and may the free and happy constitution, defended and guarded by that law, flourish in unbroken strength and splendour, until that dread day on which we are taught to believe this fabric of nature must be dissolved in eternal ashes."

Some evidence was adduced on behalf of the prisoner, chiefly to show that his share in the agitation had been peaceable and constitutional; the character of Dobbin was also attacked.

Mr. Butt then addressed the jury for the prisoner with great power; but it would answer no good purpose to give a summary of his speech: what there was of argument has been given before; and his eloquence cannot be preserved in short extracts. The learned gentleman did not conclude his address until late on the second day.

October 21st.

The Solicitor-General replied on behalf of the Crown.—For the same reasons his very able arguments upon the points raised by the counsel for the prisoner are omitted; the positions assailed were reasserted and supported.

The Lord Chief Justice Blackburne then charged the Jury. Gentlemen of the Jury,—After a long and patient investigation of this case it is now in your hands, and into your hands exclusively the law devolves its determination. It is now my duty to state to you the nature of the charge preferred against the prisoner at the bar, and to bring it distinctly before you, so that, when you come to apply the evidence to it, you may be under no misapprehension with respect to it. It is your duty to decide upon the credit which the witnesses are to receive—to decide upon the weight and value of this evidence—to apply that evidence to the charge preferred against the prisoner. The charge in this case is that of having levied war against the Queen in her realm; and various acts are stated in the indictment of that levying of war; and the prisoner is charged by the indictment with having done those acts. The charge of levying war, in the form of this indictment, may mean either an actual appearing in arms with the purpose charged, or it may mean that the prisoner has incited others to appear in arms, and he may be guilty of the crime of levying war if others appear in arms, though he has not done so, provided they do it on his advice, incitement, or procurement. You will, therefore, observe, that in the consideration of the case you will have two facts to decide—first, whether war was actually levied; secondly, whether the prisoner was actually present, or, if he was not, if those acts constituting a levy of war took place; or whether, though not present, he incited, advised, and aided those by whom the war was levied. You have in the course of this case heard repeatedly this position laid down—that in high treason there are no accessories, but that all are principals. If one man incites another to commit murder, and that murder is committed, he not being present, the man inciting the other is what is called an accessory, and he must be indicted,

when brought to justice, in a peculiar form—he must be indicted as an accessory before the fact, and such is the form of the indictment: but in high treason all are principals; the man who incites to the commission of war, or any other species of treason, is held to be himself guilty, and to stand in the same degree of guilt with the person who actually commits the crime of treason; or, in a few short words, he who incites to war, if war be levied, himself levies war within the meaning of the phrase, and according to the authority of the law. So that, if you should be of opinion that the levy of war which took place was at the incitement, procurement, or by means of a conspiracy to which the prisoner was a party, he is as guilty in the eye of the law—as much a principal—as if he actually appeared in arms. That, gentlemen, is the law; there can be no misunderstanding about it. You will therefore carry in your minds this as the result, the clear result of the first legal authorities, the settled law in the land—that he who advises, incites, or conspires to levy war, if war be afterwards actually levied, is himself chargeable with the crime of having actually levied war, though that war may have been levied in his own personal absence. In order to constitute a levying of war it is necessary that there should be an insurrection—an insurrection with force for some general object; you will, therefore, in the first instance, have to consider, was there an insurrection with force? Unless that be established to your satisfaction, of course the charge against the prisoner must fall to the ground; but, of the fact that there was an insurrection with force, it was to that I adverted just now as being a matter scarcely of controversy either at the bar or on the evidence. The events which have a direct bearing on that matter are comprised in the history of those five disastrous days commencing on the 25th of July and terminating on the 29th. [Of these transactions his lordship gave a brief summary.] Therefore, with respect to this part of the case, there is no difficulty in dealing with it; and now I proceed to assist you as far as I am able in considering that which is matter for your most serious, minute, and patient consideration—that is the question, did the prisoner at the bar incite or procure the levying of this war? Did he conspire to have it levied? Did he aid in the levying of it? If he did, although he was not himself present on any of those occasions I have referred to, he would be as guilty as if he were the mover himself. The evidence by which it is sought to implicate the prisoner consists of speeches, and it will be right for me to tell you in what light you should regard them, and for what purpose alone they ought to serve in your investigation of the case. If these speeches are mere general essays or exhortations unconnected with any treasonable purpose or design, they do not and ought not to bear upon the issue in question. You ought to be satisfied, in my judgment, that they both indicate a treasonable intention and point to the execution of that intention—in other words, that they were uttered with the design, to be acted upon at some future period by some means or other of exciting an insurrection in this country. I fully agree in the arguments of the prisoner's

counsel, that it is not enough to take up a speech and say that it is seditious or an imputation on the loyalty or principles of the person who uttered it; but they are evidence bearing on the issue, if you look at these speeches and the evidence you have heard for the purpose of finding out whether an intention existed, and whether those speeches were delivered in prosecution of that intention." His lordship then read and commented on the speech of the 15th of March and others, and left it to the jury to say whether these did not show treasonable designs. His lordship, after reading some passages of the speech which was made on the 6th of June, and related to the suggested rescue of Mitchell, said, "Other disclosures in this document authorize me to say that there was a conspiracy, as treasonable a conspiracy as ever existed in any country; and one of the objects of this speech was to justify the speaker for having promoted an insurrectionary movement for the purpose of rescuing Mitchell. That was the merit of the speech—he, having the power, had exercised that power so as to prevent that insurrection. He first advised it—he afterwards withdrew that advice, and for very obvious reasons." After reading a further part of the same speech, his Lordship said:—"That shows what was the power which this gentleman and the others had over this body in restraining them. I need not say that those who could restrain could impel them into action, and 'the others' whom the speaker alluded to were the movers and governing power of this Confederation, existing, and fit and capable of acting, on the 6th of June, and before that day, if necessary. It will be for you to consider upon the evidence whether what subsequently occurred was not an expansion of the same system—whether it was not an identical body in principle, in government, and in object with that which was ready on the 6th of June, and before, to burst into open rebellion. We know from the evidence of the prisoner himself that the clubs were the places in which this treason was hatched—in which treason and disloyalty flourished as in their proper soil—and from which was to emanate that strength which was to encounter the power of the empire itself. It is said that, if the prisoner had rescued or attempted to rescue Mr. Mitchell, that was a particular object, and therefore, not being general in its nature, did not amount to high treason. How that might be I need not now say, but as an abstract point of law it is not high treason. But the question now is, did this gentleman advise the levying of war? Upon that question it is important to say that he had already an organized armed body under the command of him and his associates, ready to start into existence and operation; and it will be for you to say whether you can discover in the events subsequent to the 6th of June any change of purpose, any departure from that system inconsistent with what he then said; and whether all that afterwards occurred was not a propagation of the same open revolution, and a reiteration of the same speeches, by force to accomplish the same objects. The next evidence, and important evidence it is, is the evidence of Dobbin; but it is for you to consider whether, if you disbelieve all that is sworn to by Dobbin, you

would not find in this case ground for sustaining the charge against the prisoner. If you consider the evidence of this witness corroborated by other circumstances, and trustworthy in itself, you should apply it to the facts; but, if you entertain any rational doubt with respect to his evidence, you should dismiss it at once from the case, and see if there is not other evidence against the prisoner that he incited this insurrectionary movement. The Crown, in the next stage of the case, has brought forward evidence of very considerable value, which is increased by the circumstance that it occurs immediately before the actual insurrection. [His lordship then proceeded to state the evidence, and commented on it as he proceeded.] Mr. O'Brien, the leader in that insurrection, left Dublin on Saturday, 22nd of July. That he was at the head of the rebellion is beyond all question. On the night of that day Mr. Dillon and Mr. Meagher joined Mr. O'Brien, and on Saturday, July 23, they appeared in Enniscorthy. Permit me again to repeat the observation with which I began, that if you find a continuation of the same system, the same projects, and a profession of the same principles, and an inculcation of the same advice in the subsequent period of his conduct which appears to have entered into the prisoner's address of the 6th of June, you have to consider whether he had undergone any change of opinion or had abandoned his design. The evidence I am about to read to you has been most violently assailed by counsel, on the ground that it is utterly useless for the foundation of a verdict; I refer to the reports of the speeches made by policemen; and it has been broadly stated that those men ought not to be asked now, and should not hereafter be asked, to perform duty of a similar character. I cannot concur in that observation. I think, when people go through the country collecting crowds and haranguing them, it is the duty of the police to watch and observe proceedings of the kind, and, as far as their means allow, to be particular and precise in reporting transactions of such a character. I fully agree in this—that in reports of speeches by such persons there must be a total want of the accuracy which is observed by persons who possess the skill of Mr. Hodges; it is true that in the nature of things they cannot report them accurately; but, on the other hand, I must say that it is plainly and distinctly laid down in law that it is not necessary for the purpose of evidence that these speeches should be literally and accurately reported; it is enough if the jury be satisfied that the substance of the thing spoken by the accused be accurately reported. His lordship here quoted an authority to show that the substance of words was sufficient to prove intent in treason. So in the very case of high treason, when counsel contended against the admission of such evidence, it is the law of the land that the substance of words is admissible evidence, subject of course to the objections which arise on the grounds of probability of misconception and the chance of mistake. I shall now call your attention, gentlemen of the jury, to the speeches in detail; and it is a fact which you cannot avoid carrying in your recollection, that here are three persons, Meagher, Dillon, and O'Brien,

on the Sabbath-day, going from place to place, travelling together, and speaking in succession to multitudes, and all, as it appears to me, for the same purpose; and it will be for you to say what that object was, and what induced them to pursue this conduct. If you have a doubt on your mind, from the way in which these speeches are reported, that there has been anything omitted which could qualify the meaning of a speech, you are to look upon that speech as if it never existed. It is for you to say if you think the statements of the police agree, or if they had any motive for committing perjury in their evidence. The prisoner's counsel have argued that they were not called on to prove what became of him during a portion of these transactions, but the fair presumption of facts bound him to furnish some explanation. There is very strong evidence against the prisoner of an intention to excite rebellion. He was in direct connection with the leaders of the rebellion during the 23rd and 24th of July." His lordship went through his notes of the evidence, which has already appeared in the course of the trials, and in conclusion, having commented on it very minutely, said, "This is the whole of the evidence for the prosecution and the defence, and it is for you to say whether the prisoner is by this evidence satisfactorily shown to have incited this levy of war; if there was a levy of war; and whether he was aiding and assisting at it. I have now done my duty; it remains for you to discharge yours. If you have a reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the prisoner, you are bound to give to the prisoner the benefit of that doubt. If, on the other hand, you are of opinion that he participated in the original design—that all the acts done in execution of that design were resolved on and committed by him—that his fixed determination on the 6th of June was not abandoned—and that he was in connection with the leaders of the movement up to a few hours previous to the outbreak of the rebellion—you must find him guilty."

The jury, after long deliberation, found a verdict of "Guilty," with a unanimous recommendation of mercy from the prisoner's youth, and for other reasons.

October 23rd.

This morning several prisoners of minor note were placed at the bar to plead to their several indictments. They each pleaded not guilty, apparently for the sake of taking the benefit of the technical pleas raised in the other cases.

The Solicitor-General.—I have now to apply to your lordships that Terence Bellew M'Manus, Patrick O'Donoghue, and Thomas Francis Meagher, may be brought to the bar to receive the judgment of the Court.

They were accordingly placed at the bar.

The clerk of the Crown (having read the indictment), said—What have you, Terence Bellew M'Manus, now to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon you?

M'Manus.—My Lords, I trust I am enough of a Christian and of a man to understand the awful responsibility of the question which has been put to me. Standing upon this my native soil, standing in an Irish court of justice, and

before the Irish nation, I had much to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon me, and why the sentence of the law should not be pronounced against me; but upon entering into this Court I placed my life, and, what is of more importance to me, my honour, in the hands of two advocates, and, if I had a thousand lives and ten thousand honours, I should have been content to place them all under the watchful and glorious genius of the one, and under the patient zeal and devotion of the other. I am, therefore, content on this point, and have nothing to say with regard to it. I have this to say, which no advocate, however anxious and devoted he may be, can say for me—I have this to say—that whatever part I may have taken in my struggle for my country's independence—whatever part I may have acted in my short career, I stand before your lordships now with a free heart and light conscience, ready to abide the issue of your sentence. And now, my lords, in this, which may be the fittest time for me to put this sentiment on record, I say, that standing in this dock, and about to ascend the scaffold, it may be to-morrow—it may be now, it may be never—whatever the result may be, I wish to put this on record, that in no part of my conduct, in no part of the proceedings I have taken have I been actuated by animosity towards Englishmen, for among them I have spent some of the happiest days of my life, and of the most prosperous, and in no part which I have taken was I actuated by enmity towards Englishmen individually, whatever I may have felt of the injustice of English rule in this island. Therefore, I have only to say, it is not for having loved England less, but for having loved Ireland more, that I now stand before you.

O'Donoghue, on being asked by the clerk of the Crown what he had to say, spoke as follows:—I beg to say that the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General have conducted the case against me fairly but strictly, and that I find no fault with them, nor with the evidence given against me, as far as it was stated to the jury. My lords, I do complain that in such a country as this the jurors summoned to try me—a stranger—for a political offence were exclusively my political opponents, and with such a panel I regret that your lordships did not, as my counsel requested, allow my jury to be called from those who had not served or had been rejected on a former trial. The jury thus selected could not be supposed to overcome all bias, and I believe they found a most mistaken verdict. Mr. Justice Moore in his direction told the jury that, if I assisted Mr. O'Brien whilst engaged in a treasonable design, I was guilty of treason, although I might not know of his intent, and from their recommendation to mercy it appears they found me guilty on that direction. To one unlearned in the law, who might suppose that treason depended on intention, it seems contrary to common sense that I can participate in a treasonable design of the existence of which I am ignorant. I do not, however, presume to dispute the law as your lordship has stated it; but no earthly judge is infallible, and as the doctrine is so startling, and is stamped with the authority of Mr. Moore's high

constitutional character, and would form a precedent dangerous to the lives and liberties of the best men, I humbly request your lordship to reserve the point for the consideration of the judges; if your lordship be in error, that error will be corrected; if not, it will be a protection to every one to know that the law laid down here has been confirmed. It is not for me on this occasion, nor is it fit, to defend my opinions and character; I will therefore only say those opinions have been tolerant, sincere, and consistent. I am grateful to my eminent counsel, Mr. Butt, for his eloquent and truly able defence—the more so, because that defence was generously given without fee or reward, and given to his political antagonist. I cannot express my admiration for the sincerity and great talent shown by my junior counsel, Mr. Francis Meagher, and his zeal in my defence. I also beg to thank my solicitor, Mr. Laffan, for the ability with which he conducted my case, and the great exertions made by him on my behalf. I thank your lordship for this patient hearing.

Meagher, on being called on to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, spoke as follows:—My lords, it is my intention to say a few words only. I desire that the last act of a proceeding which has occupied so much of the public time should be of short duration; nor have I the indelicate wish to close the dreary ceremony of a state prosecution with a vain display of words. Did I fear that hereafter, when I shall be no more, the country I have tried to serve would think ill of me, I might indeed avail myself of this solemn moment to vindicate my sentiments and my conduct; but I have no such fear. The country will judge of those sentiments and that conduct in a light far different from that in which the jury by which I have been tried and convicted have received them, and by the country the sentence which you, my lords, are about to pronounce will be remembered only as the severe and solemn attestation of my rectitude and truth. Whatever be the language in which my sentence be spoken, I know that my fate will meet with sympathy, and that my memory will be honoured. In speaking thus, accuse me not, my lords, of an indecorous presumption. To the efforts I have made in the just and noble cause I ascribe no vain importance, nor do I claim for those efforts any high reward; but it so happens, and it will ever happen so, that they who have tried to serve their country, no matter how weak their efforts may have been, are sure to receive the thanks and blessings of its people. With my countrymen I leave my memory, my sentiments, my acts—proudly feeling that they require no vindication from me this day. A jury of my countrymen, it is true, have found me guilty of the crime of which I stood indicted. For this I bear not the slightest animosity or resentment towards them; influenced as they must have been by the charge of the Lord Chief Justice, perhaps they could have found no other verdict. But what of this charge? Any strong observations upon it, I feel sincerely, would ill befit the solemnity of this scene; but I would earnestly beseech of you, my lord,—you, who preside on that bench,—when the passions and prejudices of this hour shall have passed away, that you will appeal to your

own conscience, and ask if it were a charge as it ought to have been, impartial and indifferent between the subject and the Crown. My lords, you may deem this language unbecoming in me, and perhaps it may seal my fate. But I am here to speak the truth whatever it may cost. I am here to regret nothing I have ever done—to retract nothing I have ever spoken—I am here to crave with no lying lips the life I consecrate to the liberty of my country. Far from it. Even here, where the thief, the libertine, and the murderer have left their footprints in the dust—here, on this spot, where the shadows of death surround me, and from which I see my early grave in an unconsecrated soil is opened to receive me—even here, encircled by those terrors, the hope which beckoned me on to embark upon the perilous sea upon which I have been wrecked still consoles, animates, enraptures me. No, I do not despair of my poor old country. I do not despair of her peace, her liberty, her glory. For that country I can do no more than bid her hope. To lift up this isle, to make her a benefactor to humanity, instead of being what she is—the meanest beggar in the world—to restore her ancient constitution and her native powers—this has been my ambition, and this ambition has been my crime. Judged by the law of England, I know that this crime entails on me the penalty of death, but the history of Ireland explains this crime and justifies it. Judged by that history, I am no criminal; you (turning and addressing Mr. M'Manus) are no criminal; you (turning again to Mr. O'Donoghue) are no criminal; and we deserve no punishment. Judged by that history, the treason of which I stand convicted loses all guilt, has been sanctified as a duty, and will be ennobled as a sacrifice. With these sentiments I await the sentence of the Court. Having done what I conceive to be my duty,—having spoken now, as I did on every occasion during my short career, what I felt to be the truth,—I bid farewell to the country of my birth, of my passion, and of my death; the country whose misfortunes have invoked my sympathies, whose factions I have sought to quell, whose intellect I have prompted to lofty aims, whose freedom has been my fatal dream. To that country I now offer as a pledge of the love I bore her, and as a proof of the sincerity with which I thought, and spoke, and struggled for her freedom, the life of a young heart, and with that life all the hopes, the honours, the endearments of a happy and an honourable home. Pronounce, then, my lords, the sentence the law directs, and I shall be prepared to hear it—I trust I shall be prepared to meet its execution. I hope I shall be able, with a light heart and a clear conscience, to appear before a higher tribunal—a tribunal where a Judge of infinite goodness as well as of infinite justice will preside, and where, my lords, many, many of the judgments of this world will be reversed.

Lord Chief Justice Doherty proceeded, amidst the most profound silence, to pass sentence upon the prisoners. Prisoners at the bar—Terence Bellew M'Manus, Patrick O'Donoghue, and Thomas Francis Meagher, after deep consideration before entering into this court, it was my intention, in the performance of the very painful duty

which devolves upon me, not to have prolonged your stay at that bar by any length of observation. You, and each of you, appear there, having been convicted by the verdict of three successive juries of the crime of high treason—the crime of the greatest enormity known to our laws. I feel bound to say this, that it is the deliberate, dispassionate, and calm opinion of the Court that the verdicts which were found by those juries, and the verdict which was found by a former jury, could not have been other than they were. That no honest, fair, impartial and conscientious jurors, attending strictly to their oaths, and listening to the evidence that was produced in this Court in the course of these unusually protracted trials, could have come to any other conclusion than that which they have done. They have pronounced you, one and all, guilty of the crime of high treason. That crime consists in having levied war in this county within and during the last week of the month of July—of having levied war for treasonable purposes—and that you, and each of you, more or less participated in, excited to, and prepared for, and were yourselves, some of you more, some less, actively engaged in the furtherance of that project. In order to constitute the crime of high treason by the levying of war, it is no ingredient that the means should be proportioned to the end sought to be accomplished, or that there should be a rational prospect of success. The parties who engage in such transactions become responsible if they have arrayed, assembled, collected, drilled, and prepared those who, by force, endeavoured to accomplish that object—the common object that was in view. It is not, I am sorry to say, to any forbearance on your part, that that rebellion—for such I may term it—which broke out in that week was brought to a speedy conclusion. It is not due to you; it is, under God, attributable to the fidelity and to the bravery of the police force. When I reflect on what might have been the consequences if that police force, either seduced by promises or intimidated by threats which were made use of, had yielded to the advances that were made to them, if they had been overwhelmed by the congregated numbers that assembled and attempted their destruction, or if they had failed in dispersing those bands of rebels who assembled around them on the hills,—I think there is no fair man who, looking at and contemplating what the state of this country might have been, will not see how rapidly a temporary success might have added to the numbers of the insurgents, and how soon this country might have been deluged in blood, and given over to all the horrors of a civil war. It is from that we have escaped by the fidelity and by the bravery of the police force. I am very far, God knows, from wishing to say one word at this moment that can raise or enhance the feelings which some of you may endure. But I cannot, in looking to what was the state of the country in the month of May last, avoid adverting (without entering into particulars of it) to that authentic speech which was given in evidence upon the last trial—eloquent no doubt it is—but who can avoid seeing, in the perusal of that speech, delivered by you, Mr. Meagher, on the 6th of June, a terrible picture of what was at that time the state of this country, and

the calamities which were impending and meditated, and from which, by God's assistance, we have escaped. I have told you that it was my wish to abstain from enlarging or giving any details, and I shall do so. I shall merely add this observation, that from the commencement to the conclusion of this commission, which has now extended to the fifth week, there has been a perfect coincidence in the views of every member of this bench as to the law; and if the observations of the distinguished judge who presides here did seem to you (and I can make every allowance for their doing so) to press and bear severely upon you, perhaps, in a calmer moment, when you come to reflect upon it, you will see that it was from the very nature of the transactions themselves that those comments legitimately arose which appeared to you to press with undue severity upon you. Perhaps, when you come to reflect dispassionately, you will see this in the same light, and I trust that you may be more reconciled than you appear at present to the justice of the unhappy fate which awaits you, and which there is not an individual with a heart to feel who must not deeply deplore. I shall now not detain you longer. I have merely to exhort each of you to reflect on the awful situation in which each of you at this moment stand, and to prepare for the dreadful fate that impends over you. We have not failed to send, as was our duty, to the Lord Lieutenant, the recommendations with which the juries in your respective cases have accompanied the verdicts that have been found against you. But you must be well aware that it is with the Executive Government, and the Executive Government alone, that the fate of those recommendations rests. And we, in the discharge of our most anxious and painful duty, have now only to proceed to pass upon you, and upon each of you, the awful sentence of the law, which is, that you Terence Bellew M'Manus, you Patrick O'Donoghue, and you Thomas Francis Meagher, be taken hence to the place whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and that each of you be there hanged by the neck until you be dead, and that afterwards the head of each of you shall be severed from his body, and the body of each divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as Her Majesty shall think fit—and may the Almighty God have mercy upon your souls.

PATENTS

From December 24th, 1847, to December 30th, 1848.

*** It is frequently difficult to make an abstract of the lengthy descriptions given by the patentees of their inventions, sufficiently short for the purpose of this list, and yet sufficiently accurate to indicate exactly the nature of the invention. It is hoped, however, that sufficient is given to afford to an inquirer the means of making more accurate researches in other authorities.

Abbey, R., *preserving liquids*, July 29
Abion, E., *chimneys*, April 8
Adams, S., *mills*, Nov. 16
Adcock, H., *furnaces*, June 3
Alliott, A., *steam boilers*, March 8
Alliott, A., *breaks*, March 14
Allman, F., *electricity*, Sep. 28
Anderson, J., *chemistry*, Nov. 11
Archer, H., *paper*, Nov. 23
Archer, H., *light*, June 24
Armstrong, G., *steam engines*, Dec. 2
Armstrong, G., *engines*, May 11
Armstrong, J., *water closets*, Dec. 2
Arnott, A. R., *salt*, Jan. 5
Asaert, J. E., *motive power*, Oct. 19
Ashbury, J., *wheels*, March 11
Ashby, J., *cleaning grain*, Oct. 12
Atton, M. J. *fastenings*, Dec. 31, 1847
Attwood, C., *iron*, April 18
Babington, B. G., *metallic pens*, Mar. 27
Bachhoffner, G. H., *telegraph*, Nov. 4
Bailey, G. S., *combing wool*, Oct. 5
Baker, W., *railway wheels*, Dec. 21
Bakewell, F. C., *electric telegraph*, Dec. 2
Balfour, A., *buffers*, Nov. 16
Barber, T. H., *sawing*, June 1
Barlow, H. W., *elect. telegraphs*, Apr. 27
Barlow, H. W., *railway keys*, Jan. 27
Barnes, R., *gas*, June 6
Barsham, W. J., *mats*, June 1
Beale, J. T., *propellers*, June 13
Beardmore, N., *walls, piers, &c.*, July 3
Beattie, G., *air power*, July 6
Bell, G., *wheels*, Jan. 7
Bell, H., *aërial machines*, Nov. 23
Bessemer, H., *glass*, March 22
Bethell, J., *preserving*, Aug. 21
Biddle, G. A., *gas burners*, Nov. 2
Bird, J., *measures*, Feb. 8
Black, H., *evaporation*, Feb. 14
Blackwell, J., *furnaces*, Feb. 2
Boyce, G., *grinding machine*, March 8
Bramwell, F. *furnaces*, Nov. 23
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Bright, R., *lamps*, Nov. 2
Brindley, W., *papier maché*, June 6
Britten, J., *heating rooms*, April 20
Brooman, R. A., *hinges*, Nov. 2
Brown, W., *stockings*, Oct. 26
Browne, J., *fire escapes*, Nov. 11
Buckhobz, G. A., *motive power*, Feb. 9
Burleigh, R. C., *burners*, Feb. 8
Burn, R., *roller gin*, Dec. 2
Burrows, J., *steam engines*, Oct. 26
Cannon, W. J., *carriages*, Feb. 10
Capper, C. H., *cleaning minerals*, June 13
Cartwright, J., *brace*, Dec. 16
Castelain, L., *soap*, July 11
Chamberlain, W., *reckoning*, June 13
Chance, J. T., *furnaces*, Feb. 14
Chown, W. D., *ventilation*, Dec. 28
Chrees, E., *sealing wax*, Aug. 29
Church, W., *machinery*, Oct. 26
Clark, J., *boots and shoes*, Oct. 26
Clark, R., *gas burners*, June 26
Clay, W., *rolling machine*, Dec. 16
Clegg, S., *gas meters*, April 20
Clement, W. H., *sugar*, Nov. 21
Clinton, J., *flutes*, Dec. 16
Coad, R., *fire places*, Nov. 9
Coates, J., *printing*, April 4
Cochran, M., *designs*, April 20
Cole, J. L., *steam engines*, March 22
Collins, F. W. M., *china, &c.*, Mar. 14
Collins, J., *furnaces*, Jan. 27
Collins, R. N., *drugs*, Dec. 2

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Coode, G., *machinery*, March 11
Cooper, J., *dress fastenings*, Nov. 4
Croll, A. A., *gas*, Aug. 22
Cullen, J., *steering*, Nov. 18
Curtain, W., *velvets and rugs*, Dec. 16
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Dalton, T., *fringes*, June 8
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Davies, J., *steam engines*, Dec. 2
Davies, D., *carriages*, April 15
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De Beauregard, F. A. F., *steam*, July 11
De Bergue, C., *bridges*, Oct. 12
De Bergue, C., *railway carriages*, Jan. 5
Deeley, J., *ovens*, Dec. 16
De la Rue, T., *paper*, Aug. 15
De la Rue, W., *cardboard*, March 8
Dench, E., *roofs*, Aug. 26
Derham, J., *carding*, April 10
Dickens, T., *weaving*, Dec. 21
Dickinson, W., *looms*, Sept. 11
Donian, M. J. J., *compounds*, Apr. 4
Douche, F., *boilers*, Feb. 10
Drayton, T., *silvering*, Dec. 2
Dundonald, J., *steam boilers*, Feb. 11
Duley, J., *stoves*, Dec. 2
Dunn, A., *pressure of fluids*, Oct. 12
Eccles, J., *looms*, Dec. 15
Ecroyd, J., *valves*, April 10
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Fowles, R., *propellers*, Feb. 8
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Froud, W., *valves*, Jan. 5
Galloway, W., *steam engines*, Aug. 17
Gardner, J., *girders*, Dec. 9
Gilbert, W., *dental surgery*, Apr. 20
Gill, T., *manure*, April 8
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Goucher, J., *thrashing*, Nov. 25
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Greenstreet, F. H., *engines*, Dec. 2
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Halliday, A. P., *chemistry*, Sep. 28
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Hancock, C., *machinery*, July 29
Handcock, E. R., *propellers*, Oct. 12
Hancock, J., *gutta percha*, Dec. 30, 1847
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Heath, R., *railway carriages*, Jan. 13
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Knowlys, T. J., *heat*, April 5
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Lee, G. L., *designs*, Dec. 11
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Le Molt, *lighting*, July 20
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Lines, E. D., *colours and oils*, Feb. 18
Lister, S. C., *combing wool*, Oct. 19

Llewellin, P., *valves*, Nov. 23
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Losh, W., *steam engines*, Sep. 4
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Low, C., *smelting*, Dec. 28
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Mackenzie, D., *Jacquard mach.*, Aug. 5
Madigan, R., *railway wheels*, April 15
Maguin, J. M., *platting*, Feb. 9
Major, W., *looms*, Dec. 16
Mansell, R. C., *carriages*, June 1
Martin, J., *flax, tow, &c.*, July 6
Massey, E., *sounding apparatus*, Feb. 18
Massey, E. J., *measuring*, Oct. 5
Masters, J., *fastenings*, April 12
Masters, T., *stoppers*, Nov. 18
Maudslay, J., *motive power*, March 8
Mc Conochie, J., *locomotives*, March 8
M'Dougal, A., *chemistry*, Nov. 21
Meacock, J., *ventilation*, April 12
Metcalf, J., *spinning*, Aug. 8
Metcalf, T., *chairs and sofas*, Oct. 5
Miller, J., *locomotives*, June 13
Mitchell, B., *manure*, Jan. 13
Mitchell, J., *smelting*, Dec. 28
Mitchell, J. B., *soda*, Jan. 25
M'Lardy, W., *spinning*, May 9
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Morse, E. S., *embossing*, Jan. 13
Mowbray, F. W., *looped fabrics*, June 27
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Newson, H., *trusses*, Nov. 23
Newton, A. V., *casting*, Dec. 16
Newton, A. V., *shot*, Jan. 31
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Newton, D., *glass*, Aug. 7
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Newton, W. E., *steam engines*, Dec. 28
Newton, W. E., *stoves*, July 6
Newton, W. E., *printing*, July 18
Nicholson, W. W., *machinery*, Sep. 28
Nickels, C., *gloves*, Dec. 9
Normanville, W. J., *axle-boxes*, May 2
Orsi, J., *cements*, March 22
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Palmer, W., *candles*, Feb. 28
Palmer, W. O., *threshing*, July 10
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Pattinson, W. W., *soda*, Jan. 27
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Penn, J., *steam engines*, Dec. 21
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Percy, J. P., *copper*, May 26
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Piggott, W. P., *instrument cases*, Feb. 8
Pilbrow, J., *propellers*, April 4
Poole, M., *casks*, Aug. 8
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Poole, M. *propellers*, May 26
Poole, M., *swivels*, Dec. 28
Porritt, J., *carding wool*, March 14
Porter, J. H., *iron girders*, March 8
Porter, J. H., *fire-proof floors*, Dec. 2
Potts, T., *flues*, April 10
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Pratt, G. W., *printing ink*, July 29
Pratt, R. D., *machinery*, April 27
Price, V., *motive power*, May 11
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Remington, J., *locomotives*, May 26
Ricardo, J. L., *telegraphs*, Sep. 4
Richardson, T., *chemistry*, Aug. 21
Richardson, T., *manure*, May 26
Riddle, W., *pencils*, Dec. 21
Ritchie, C., *locomotives*, March 2
Roberts, J. C., *signals*, Feb. 28
Roberts, R., *clocks*, July 11
Robertson, J., *casks*, July 29
Robertson, J., *consuming smoke*, Nov. 2
Robertson, J. C., *gas*, July 6
Robinson, T., *looms*, Jan. 27
Rogers, J. W., *fuel*, June 1
Roof, W. B., *respirators*, Sep. 21
Roose, G., *tubing*, June 13
Ross, J., *propellers*, July 11
Rowley, C., *buttons*, Aug. 28
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POETRY.

LYRICS.

FROM "THE PRINCESS:" A MEDLEY.

By Alfred Tennyson.

THEN she, 'Let some one sing to us: lightlier move
The minutes fledged with music:' and a maid,
Of those beside her, smote her harp, and sang.

"Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean,
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart, and gather to the eyes,
In looking on the happy Autumn-fields,
And thinking of the days that are no more.

"Fresh as the first beam glittering on a sail,
That brings our friends up from the underworld,
Sad as the last which reddens over one
That sinks with all we love below the verge;
So sad, so fresh, the days that are no more.

"Ah, sad and strange as in dark summer dawns
The earliest pipe of half-awakened birds
To dying ears, when unto dying eyes
The casement slowly grows a glimmering square;
So sad, so strange, the days that are no more.

"Dear as remembered kisses after death,
And sweet as those by hopeless fancy feigned
On lips that are for others; deep as love,
Deep as first love, and wild with all regret;
O, Death in life, the days that are no more."

* * * *

Then I remembered one myself had made
What time I watch'd the swallow winging south,
From mine own land, part made long since, and part
Now while I sang, andmaiden-like as far
As I could ape their treble, did I sing.

'O, swallow, swallow, flying, flying, south,
Fly to her, and fall upon her gilded eaves,
And tell her, tell her, what I tell to thee.

'O, tell her, swallow, thou that knowest each,
That bright and fierce and fickle is the south,
And dark and true and tender is the north.

'O, swallow, swallow, if I could follow and light
Upon her lattice, I would pipe and trill,
And chirp and twitter twenty million loves.

'O, were I thou that she might take me in
And lay me on her bosom, and her heart
Would rock the snowy cradle 'till I died.

'Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,
Delaying as the tender ash delays,
To clothe herself, when all the woods are green?

'O, tell her, swallow, that thy brood is flown;
Say to her, I do but wanton in the south,
But in the north long since my nest is made.

'O, tell her, brief is life, but love is long,
And brief the sun of summer in the north,
And brief the moon of beauty in the south.

'O, swallow, flying from the golden woods,
Fly to her, and pipe and woo her, and make her mine,
And tell her, tell her, that I follow thee.'

FROM THE SAME.

On a sudden rush'd
Among us, all out of breath, as pursued,
A woman-post in flying raiment. Fear
Stared in her eyes, and chalk'd her face, and wing'd
Her transit to the throne, whereby she fell,
Delivering seal'd dispatches which the Head
Took half-amazed, and in her lion's mood
Tore open; silent we with blind surmise
Regarding, while she read, till over brow
And cheek and bosom brake the wrathful bloom
As of some fire against a stormy cloud,
When the wild peasant rights himself, and the rich
Flames, and his anger reddens in the heavens;

For anger most it seem'd, while now her breast,
Beaten with some great passion at her heart,
Palpitated, her hand shook, and we heard
In the dead hush the papers that she held
Rustle: at once the lost lamb at her feet
Sent out a bitter bleating for her dam; she crush'd
The scrolls together, made a sudden turn
As if to speak, but, utterance failing her,
She whirl'd them on to me, as who should say
'Read,' and I read—two letters—one her sire's.

I read;
And then stood up and spoke impetuously.

'O not to pry and peer on your reserve,
But led by golden wishes and a hope
The child of regal compact, did I break
Your precinct: not a scorner of your sex
But venerator, and willing it should be
All that it might be; hear me, for I bear,
Though man, yet human, whatsoe'er your wrongs,
From the flaxen curl to the gray lock a life
Less mine than yours: my nurse would tell me of you;
I babbled for you, as babies for the moon,
Vague brightness; when a boy you stoop'd to me
From all high places, lived in all fair lights,
Came in long breezes rapt from the inmost south
And blown to the inmost north; at eve and dawn
With Ida, Ida, Ida, rang the woods;
The leader wild-swan in among the stars
Would clang it and lapt in wreaths of glow-worm light
The mellow breaker murmur'd Ida. Now,
Because I would have reach'd you, though you had been
Sphered up with Cassiopëia, or the enthroned
Persephone in Hades, now at length,
Those winters of abeyance all worn out,
A man I came to see you: but, indeed,
Not in this frequence can I lend full tongue,
O noble Ida, to those thoughts that wait
On you, their centre; let me say but this,
That many a famous man and woman, town
And landskip, have I heard of, after seen
The dwarfs of presage; though when known, there grew
Another kind of beauty in detail
Made them worth knowing; but in you I found
Mine old ideal involved and dazzled down
And master'd while that after-beauty makes
Such head from act to act, from hour to hour
Within me, that except you slay me here,
According to your bitter statute-book

I cannot cease to follow you as they say
The seal does music; who desire you more
Than growing boys their manhood; dying lips,
With many thousand matters left to do,
The breath of life; O more than poor men wealth;
Than sick men health—yours, yours, not mine—but half
Without you, with you, whole; and of those halves
You worthiest; and howe'er you block and bar
Your heart with system out from mine, I hold
That it becomes no man to nurse despair,
But in the teeth of clench'd antagonisms
To follow up the worthiest till he die:
Yet that I came not all unauthorized
Behold your father's letter!

On one knee
Kneeling, I gave it, which she caught, and dash'd
Unopen'd on the marble; a tide of fierce
Invective seem'd to wait behind her lips,
As waits a river level with the dam
Ready to burst and flood the world with foam:
And so she would have spoken, but there rose
A hubbub in the court of half the maids
Gather'd together; from the illumined hall
Long lanes of splendour slanted o'er a press
Of snowy shoulders, thick as herded ewes,
And rainbow robes, and gems and gem-like eyes,
And gold and golden heads; they to and fro
Fluctuated, as flowers in storm, some red, some pale,
All open-mouth'd, all gazing to the light,
Some crying there was an army in the land,
And some that men were in the very walls,
And some they cared not; till a clamour grew
As of a new-world Babel, woman-built,
And worse-confounded: high above them stood
The placid marble Muses, looking peace.

FROM THE SAME.

"Yea, but, Sire," I cried,
"Wild natures need wild curbs. The soldier? No:
What dares not Ida do that she should prize
The soldier? I beheld her, when she rose
The yesternight, and storming in extremes
Stood for her cause, and flung defiance down
Gage-like to man, and had not shunn'd the death,
No, not the soldier's; yet I hold her, king,
True woman: but you clash them all in one,
That have as many differences as we.

The violet varies from the lily as far
As oak from elm; one loves the soldier, one
The silken priest of peace, one this, one that,
And some unworthily; their sinless faith
A maiden moon that sparkles on a sty,
Glorifying clown and satyr; whence they need
More breadth of culture: is not Ida right?
They worth it? truer to the law within?
Severer in the logic of a life?
Twice as magnetic to sweet influences
Of Earth and Heaven? and she of whom you speak,
My mother, looks as whole as some serene
Creation minted in the golden moods
Of sovereign artists; not a thought, a touch,
But pure as lines of green that streak the white
Of the first snowdrop's inner leaves; I say,
Not like strong bursts of sample among men,
But all one piece; and, take them all in all,
Were we ourselves but half as good, as kind,
As truthful, much that Ida claims as right
Had ne'er been mooted, but as easily theirs
As dues of Nature. To our point; not war;
Lest I lose all."

FROM THE SAME.

Deep in the night I woke; she, near me, held
A volume of the Poets of her land;
There to herself, all in low tones, she read.

"Now sleeps the crimson petal, now the white;
Nor waves the cypress in the palace walk;
Nor winks the gold fin in the porphyry font;
The fire-fly wakens: waken thou with me.

Now droops the milk-white peacock like a ghost,
And like a ghost she glimmers on to me.

Now lies the Earth all Danaë to the stars,
And all thy heart lies open unto me.

Now slides the silent meteor on, and leaves
A shining furrow, as thy thoughts in me.

Now folds the lily all her sweetness up,
And slips into the bosom of the lake;
So fold thyself, my dearest, thou, and slip
Into my bosom and be lost in me.

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